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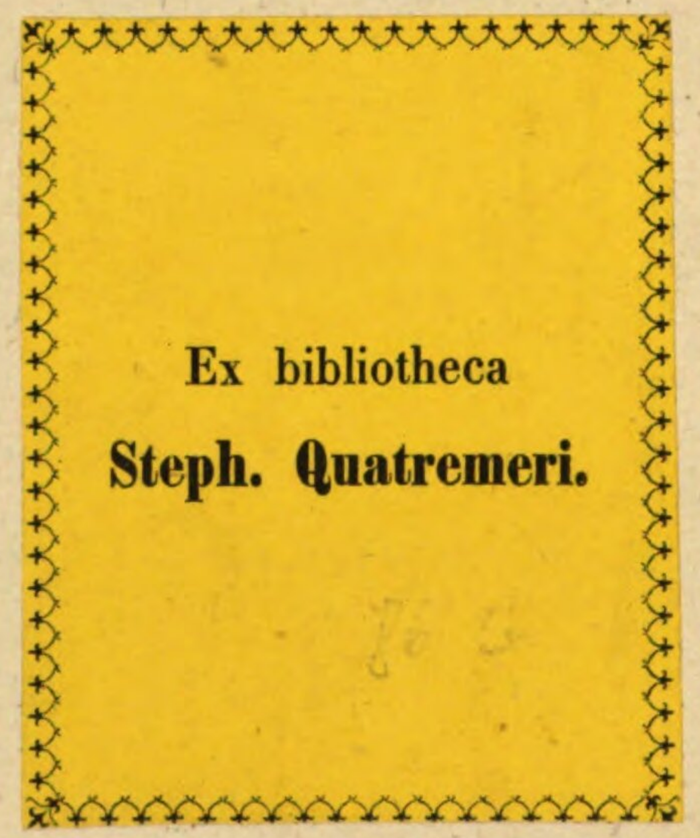

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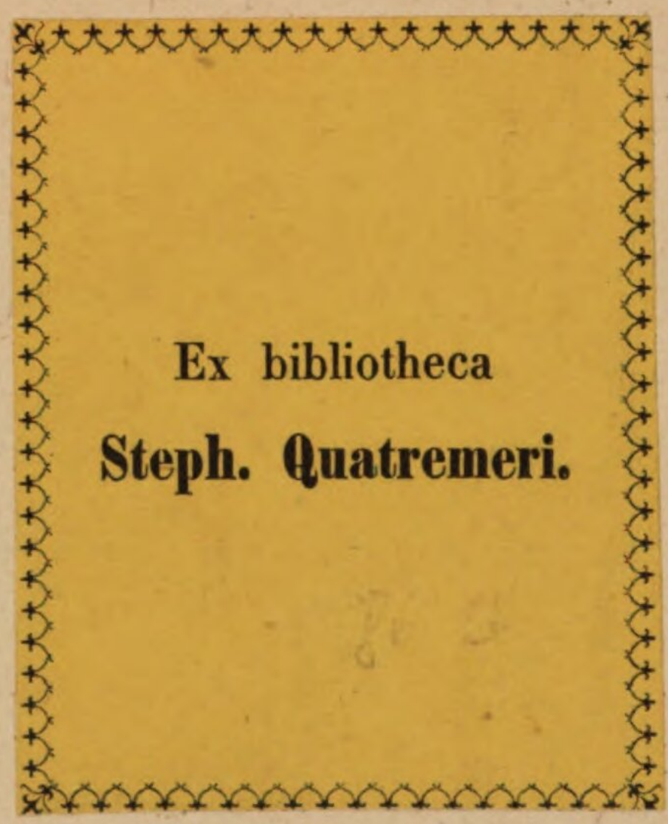

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Paris. 9th. July 1835.

To his esteemed Friend
Monsieur Roth,
with the affectionate regards
& respectful compliments of
The Author.

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Drawn by P. Byrne.

Engraved by W. Smith.

SOUTH EAST VIEW OF

S.T PATRICKS CATHEDRAL,

DUBLIN.

Dublin, Published July 1.1818.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COLLEGIATE AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

St. Patrick,

NEAR

DUBLIN,

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1190, TO THE YEAR 1819:

COMPRISING

A TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LANDS AND PARISHES APPROPRIATED TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE CATHEDRAL, AND TO ITS MEMBERS; AND BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF ITS DEANS.

COLLECTED, CHIEFLY, FROM SOURCES OF

Original Record,

BY WILLIAM MONCK MASON, ESQ.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY W. FOLDS, STRAND-STREET.

1820.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

TO

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH,

THIS ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES AND TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND, IS, WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

HUMBLY DEDICATED, BY HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST DUTIFUL SUBJECT,

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

WILLIAM MONCK MASON.

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COLLEGIATE AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

St. Patrick.

INTRODUCTION.

Sect. I.

Of its Parochial State.

ON or near the site of the present Cathedral of St. Patrick there formerly stood a Parochial Church, dedicated to the celebrated Apostle of Ireland; its claim to remote antiquity is testified by historians, both of early and of latter times.—Jocelin, a Monk of Furness, records the fact of our great Patriarch having there baptized, at a well, produced by his miraculous powers, the first converts to the Christian Faith. This well is noticed by our great countryman, Primate Usher, who determines its site to have been in the North Close, not far from the steeple.[a]—Hector Boethius likewise informs us, that Gregory, King of Scotland, in an expedition to Ireland, made a solemn procession to perform his devotions in this Church about the year 890[b]; but, without trusting to such doubtful evidence as that of Jocelin or Boethius, there is proof that this Church was dedicated to St. Patrick before the establishment of a College of Priests by John Comin: in 1170, one

[a] "In Patricianæ Ecclesiæ claustro, non procul a campanili, illum Patricij fontem vidimus (intra privatas ædes inclusum nuperrime et obstructum) ad quem Dublinienses neophytos ab eo fuisse baptizatos, juxta civitatem ad austrum, ex Jocelino jam audivimus." Brit. Eccl. Antiq. fol. 449.

This well is mentioned by Andowe, who was Proctor of the Oeconomy in 1509. He describes the house of the Preb. of Howth, as situated "juxta fontem Sancti Patricij." A MS. of Dr. John Lyon's mentions that it was in the outer court of the Archdeacon of Glendalogh's cloister.—MS. penes me.

[b] Quum a Gregorio Scotorum rege Dublinia obsidione cincta esset, Cormachus loci antistes solemni habitu amictus, manibus crucifixi Christi effigiem cum cruce tenens obviam ibat. "Nobiles inde Hiberniæ utriusque sexus quos illuc fugisse diximus, civitatisque primores ac reliqua multitudo, supplices cuncti, veniam precantes sequebantur. His inspectis Gregorius Scotorum copias jussit esse aliquantisper immotas, equoque dissiliens, positis ante Cormachum genibus Christi effigiem venerabundus est deosculatus. Tunc ad eum Cormachus, gratias, inquit, Deo Opt. Max. habemus, ac agimus immensas, quod quum te nobis Dominum constituit, eam tibi dederit mentem, ut tuis servis deditæque urbi parcens, ferrum, flammam, aut hostile quicquam evagari non siveris, sed corpora ac fortunas quæ tua sunt jure belli, victoria clementissime usus, nostra esse permiseris—Porro Gregorius sic urbem ingressus ad forum recta pergit; ubi ingens militum agmen ad omnes casus paratum permanere jussit immotum. Ipse alio agmine stipatus ad Deiparæ Virginis ædem, inde ad Divi Patricij templum Voti nomine adequitavit. Sacris ibi celebri ritu peractis, in arcem se recepit." Vide Boethij Scotorum Hist. typis Badij Ascensij. lib. x. fol. 220.

Edan,[1] a Priest of this Church, was a subscribing witness to Laurence O'Toole's grant to the Church of the Holy Trinity, and the bull of Pope Alexander III. mentions it among the Churches of Dublin in 1179. [c]

That this Church was originally founded by Native converts to Christianity, and, therefore, at an earlier period than any ecclesiastical establishment of Danish origin is, I think, highly probable: its vicinity to that well, of whose reputed sanctity in early times the learned Primate Usher bears testimony as well as others, somewhat confirms this opinion; with this tradition concurs, and though in itself it be no sure guide, it will go some length in confirmation: amidst a paucity of records it is, perhaps, all we have to rely on, and is surely stronger evidence in sacred matters, than in any others; neither does it appear reasonable to attribute to Danish settlers, the original foundation of a Church dedicated to the Apostle of Ireland, inasmuch as those foreigners disdained to acknowledge that they derived their conversion from the natives of this realm: they even sent their Bishops to Canterbury for consecration; nor would they admit the Comhorb of Patrick (as the Archbishop of Armagh was called,) to exercise ecclesiastical dominion over them. A letter from the Inhabitants of Dublin to Radulphus Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1122, is sufficient evidence of this fact; when they presented to that Prelate their Bishop Gregorius for consecration, they used the following remarkable words: "Sciatis vos, quod Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent, et maxime, "Ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardmachæ, quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordina- "tioni, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus[2]." Whatever evidence can be adduced, which must be small of things so remote, tends to confirm an opinion which is in itself reasonable, that the Danish converts dedicated their newly established Churches to Saints of their own Country. Hence, that parish, north of the Liffey, (which was so certainly appropriated to them that it still retains the name of Ostmanstown,) is dedicated to St. Michan, a Saint not known in Ireland: through the district of Fingal[d] we find other Churches dedicated to Danish and Saxon Saints; St. Olave, [e] the celebrated Norwegian king, had one in that territory and one in Dublin, placed under his patronage; the former still retains his name, as did the latter likewise, through many succeeding centuries.

From its former more humble state of a Parish Church, in 1190, it was erected by the first English Archbishop, John Comin, into that of a sacred College: that Prelate, as soon as the new edifice was compleated, consecrated it with great pomp and ceremony. A manuscript collection of Irish Annals, now extant in the library of this Cathedral, informs us, that on St. Patrick's day, in the year 1191, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, together with the Legate O'Heaney, met at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, from whence they made a solemn procession to the new built Church in the south suburbs of the City of Dublin, which they dedicated to God, our blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick. [f]

[1] Lib. Alb. S. Trin. fol. 41.

[2] Usseri Epist. Hib. Sylloge. fol. 100.

[c] By this bull it is called, St. Patrick's "in Insula," probably therefore it stood between the two streams of the Poddle river, not far from the steeple of the present Cathedral. Those two streams still run under ground and are marked in the plan annexed. The Valley where St. Patrick's Cathedral stands was called the Coombe; which, being a Saxon word, signifying a valley, was given either by the Danes or the first English settlers; a street in the neighbourhood is still called the Coombe.

[d] The erritory of Fingal derives its name from those foreigners; the word may signify either, the White Foreigners, or the Foreign People.

[e] In the City of Waterford there is a parish church dedicated to St. Olave.

[f] This volume was the property of Dr. Dudley Loftus; after the account here quoted, are the following words:

"This account was taken out of an ancient book of Roger "Cradock's, Bishop of Waterford, and now in the custody of "Lord Viscount Chichester; the 26th of x^ber, 1623, by "Miles Maguire."

Sect. II.

Of its Collegiate State.

To this establishment Archbishop, John Comin, by his foundation Charter,[a] made the following ample concessions. The Church of St. Patrick itself, with its tithes, alterages and funeral oblations; likewise the Church of St. Nicholas, in the City of Dublin; the Church of St. Bridget, in the suburbs of the same; the Chapel Rich. Norrens town[b]; the Chapel of William Kryks town and of Ada Roths town; a pension of five shillings from the Chapel of Cromlin; the Church of Donoghmore; the Church of St. Kevin and tithes of the same; the tithes of the Archbishop's demesne lands there; the tithes of the whole land of St. Patrick, and of the grove thereto adjoining so much as they might require for fuel or for fencing their lands; right of commonage of the pasture of St. Kevin; three parts of the offerings in pentecost week through the Diocess[c]; the tithes of all the Archbishop's mills, except those of Swerdes[d]; the tithes of his demesne lands of Ballymore, except the tithes of wool; also, the tithes of his demesne land of Rathcoole, and the tenth acre of all his meadows there.

He likewise granted eight void spaces about the Church Yard, for building on; and for the encouragement of each Canon, who should erect an Edifice there, allowed that he might charge his successor with a moiety of the expenses by his last will; but after that sum had been paid by the successor, the house was to be annexed to that prebend for ever. In case, however, that the successor should fail to pay within a year after his preferment, the Chapter might discharge the debt and retain the issues and profits until redeemed by a succeeding Prebendary. He ordained further, that if any Canon should die, his Prebend, with all its emoluments, should still remain as it were his own for one full year after his decease; his commons were to go to defray the expense of his anniversary; should he die intestate, the other Canons might dispose of his goods in such manner as, according to their opinion, he would have done had he made a will. The Canons were not required to answer to any personal plea concerning ecclesiastical matters, but in the chapter of St. Patrick. If any Canon went beyond sea or elsewhere, for sake of study or otherwise, with consent of the Chapter, he was to enjoy his prebend and commons; but if he went without leave, he was to lose his commons only. He further ordained, that their prebends should not be subject to the visitation or procuration of the Archdeacon; that they should not be suspended from ecclesiastical functions, but by the judgment of the Chapter.

This Charter received the sanction of Pope Celestine III. in April the first year of his pontificate (1191.) His bull[e] recites the following Churches confirmed to the newly erected College, viz. Swerdes, Glemmethan, Hirlandsie, Fineglas, Clondolkane, Imelagh or Tavelagh, with its chapels and parsonage house, Kyllescopsantan, Staheloch or Staney, Donachimelecha, Tehgumnill, St. Nicholas de Dublin, Ballimore, Dovenaumore.[f]

[a] See Appendix No. I.

[b] Perhaps Narraghmore.

[c] "In parochia nostra."

[d] The Tithes of the Archbishop's mills at Swords and of wool from his demesne lands of Ballymore, had been previously granted to the Monastery of Grace-Dieu; they were therefore excepted in this grant.—Alan's notes to his register.

[e] This bull is to be found in the Dean's register, called Dignitas Decani, pag. 11, and likewise in the register of Archbishop Alan, who remarks the conformity between the number of Prebends (13) and that of Christ and his Apostles. See this bull in Appendix No. II.

[f] "Hodie Yago," saith Alan.

By another Charter the same Archbishop granted to the Canons of St. Patrick, like liberties with those which the Secular Canons of Exeter [f] enjoyed, both in their Collegiate Church and in the Prebends thereto annexed. [1]

In the year 1193, John, Earl of Morton, granted the Church of Crumlin in frankalmoigne to become an additional Prebend, but reserved the advowson to the Archbishop. [g]

Archbishop Comin further enriched this community by the grant of a mill, which William de Wavill built on the lands of St. Patrick. [2]

In the year 1216, King John transferred to the use of the oeconomy, the Church of Crumlin, [h] which, when Lord of Ireland, he had made prebendal; this arrangement was confirmed by a bull of Pope Innocent III. [3] who thereby confirmed to them their other possessions, among which, for the first time, we find mentioned the following, viz.: the tithes of the land belonging to the citizens of Dublin, near Donealbrow, (Donabroke); half the burgage before St. Kevin's gate and a mill near Donore; he likewise enjoined the observation of certain rules according to the usage of the Church of Sarum. [i]

About the same period of time the Chapter transmitted a petition to the court of Rome, relative to a dispute they then had with R. de Bedford, Dean of Glendeloch, afterwards Bp. of Lismore: they asserted that the Chapter of Glendaloch was abolished by the act which united the two Sees, and the matter was, by papal authority, referred to Felix O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam, [4] whose decree, in favor of the Chapter, was confirmed by Pope Honorius in the first year of his pontificate. [k]

[1] Al. Reg. T. C. D. fol. 630. [2] Al. reg. T. C. D. fol. 65. [3] Dign. Dec. fol. 56. et Al. reg. fol. 3. [4] Al. reg. fol. 7.

[f] Exoniæ.

[g] Dated Warham "in Crast. Beati Jacobi Apost. 4 Rich. I." This Church is called Trum, Crum, Crumel or Crumeln, in the several records extant. Archbishop Alan appears from his note to have imagined that the Church of Trim was bestowed by this patent of donation. Al. reg. fol. 118.—It is called Trum in Lib. Nig. Stæ. Trin. fol. 65.—This grant of Crumlin is likewise to be found in a very ancient register of the Archbishop, called "Crede mihi."

[h] Apud Winton 26 die Junii, Anno Regni 17—Cr. Mihi, fol. 88, et Dign. Dec. fol. 38.

[i] We find a copy of the Statutes of Sarum entered in the Dean's book denominated, "Dignitas Decani, &c."; there are however, in Dugdale's Monasticon, three other rules given as of Sarum, which are not here to be found. See Appendix No. III.—It is probable that the Service Book, "Ordinale Secundum usum Sarum," was adopted by this Church; it was written by Bishop Osmond, who, in 1096, founded that Church. See Dugdale's Monast. Angl. Vol. III. pag. 375, from Chron. of John Brompton.

[k] From this time the Chapters of the Holy Trinity and of St. Patrick, although distinct Corporations, became canonically united and possessed of equal power and interest in all matters which concerned the Diocess. The terms of conciliation, published by Archbishop Richard de Ferringes, emphatically stiled "Pacis Compositio," [vide Append. Numb. VI.] ordains as follows: "Item, quod dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedrales et Metropoliticæ sint UNA, etin omnibus libertatibus pares habeantur." The words of that Bull of Pope Eugenius IV. whereby he confirmed the establishment of the Minor Canons, are remarkably expressive of this union; of St. Patrick's Church, he says, "Quæ, et Ecclesia Stæ. Trinitatis Dub. Metropolitica, diversa capitula facientes, invicem canonice unitæ sunt." Dign. Dec. fol. 72. Many other documents published in this work describe in terms of like significance, the nature of this union.

It has been alledged at different times and by persons of respectable authority, that St. Patrick's, properly speaking, is the Cathedral of Glendaloch, not of Dublin; and the principle, that two Cathedrals cannot exist in one Diocess, is brought forward in proof of this assertion.

But, however well-founded this principle may be, considering it in the abstract, the Diocess of Dublin exhibits nevertheless, a remarkable exception to the general rule, for the Churches of St. Patrick and the Holy Trinity are not only both Cathedral, but likewise Cathedrals of the Archdiocess of Dublin—To which Diocess the latter appertains has never been questioned; it becomes necessary, therefore, to confine our attention exclusively to the former.

That St. Patrick's Church was not the Cathedral of Glendaloch, will appear manifest from consideration of the following circumstances:

1. When this Church was erected into the state of a sacred College, (and from that period it has always been esteemed a Cathedral, and the seal of its Chapter annexed to all Episcopal acts,) the Diocess of Glendaloch was not united to Dublin; it is true that King John did annex Glendaloch to Dublin at a period previous to that event, but it is equally true, that the proposed incorporation did not take effect and that there was a regular Bishop of Glendaloch (W. de Piro,) after the date of John's Charter.

2. Neither the Foundation Charter of this Cathedral, nor any other existing record of ancient date, makes mention of such an arrangement; nor do they allude to any transfer of rights from the ancient Chapter of Glendaloch to that of St. Patrick's in particular.

3. The most considerable Churches, granted by Comin to this establishmeut, were situated within the Diocess of Dublin, not in that of Glendaloch—The Parishes of Swords, Clonmethan, Hirlandsie and Finglass, were never at any time reputed to be contained within the latter Diocess; those of Tawny, Kilmesantan, Clondalkan, and Tallagh, are declared by the bull of Pope Alex. III. (dated 1179,) to be within the Diocess of Dublin, and the same Document, (which is extant in the register called Crede Mihi,) declares the Church of St.

Sect. III.

Establishment of a Dean and Chapter.

Henry de Loundres, who had succeeded to the See of Dublin upon the death of Archbishop Comin in 1212, finding several deficiencies in the plan of his predecessor, granted, in 1219, a new Charter, [a] whereby he instituted four Dignitaries; he likewise ordained that the Dean should be chosen by the Chapter from their own body, [b] in which election he specially reserved to himself a vote, by right of a Prebend then first by him established; the other Dignitaries constituted by this Charter, were those of Precentor, Chancellor and Treasurer, to each of whom he assigned distinct possessions.

This new establishment was confirmed by a bull of Pope Honorius III. bearing date the fifth year of his pontificate [1] (A. D. 1221.)

To this improved establishment the Founder gave a new Charter of privileges, whereby he freed the Prebendal Churches and their Chapels, and likewise the Churches of the Oeconomy, from paying synodals or proxies either to the Archdeacon or the Dean; he provided, that the Canons should have the pleas of their own families, whether clerks or laicks, and of those who dwelt within the sanctuaries of their Prebends; that the Dean should have the pleas of the Churches and Chapels

[1] Dign. Dec. pag. 15. Dated, Lateran. 2do. Non. Martii.

Patrick (" Sti Patricii in Insula,") to be at that time an appendage of the Archdiocess of Dublin.

4. From the earliest period the Archdeacon of Dublin was a member of the Chapter of St. Patrick; but the Archdeacon of Glendaloch did not obtain a seat or stall in this Cathedral till a period long subsequent; this fact rather proves that St. Patrick's was intended, at its original foundation, to be the Chapter of Dublin Diocess, exclusive of that of Glendaloch.

5. During the frequent disputes wherein the two Chapters were engaged, relative to the right of electing an Archbishop, no objection on this score was at any time urged by the Convent of the Holy Trinity; yet we cannot suppose they would have neglected to use an argument so strongly favoring their claim of exclusive right.

6. The Chapter of Glendaloch existed for at least twenty-five years after the foundation of this Cathedral. It is likewise remarkable, that when R. de Bedford, last Dean of that Church, preferred his petition to the Holy See against the encroachments of this Cathedral, the Canons of St. Patrick pleaded, not that they were constituted a Chapter of Glendaloch, but that the other Corporation was dissolved by the union of the Sees.

7. St. Patricks, if it were the Cathedral of Glendaloch and not of Dublin, would be found confirming only such leases of the Archbishop as related to the former Diocess, nor would their confirmation be essential to render valid the acts of that Prelate which related to the latter; but no such thing was pretended, when the legality of a lease, made during the dissolution, was contested. In truth, we find each Chapter confirming every Episcopal act; nor can any distinction, such as is above described, be traced among the more ancient records.

Other reasons might be adduced to prove that this opinion, which originated in comparatively modern times, is altogether erroneous. But when the dissolution of religious establishments became a favorite measure, this manner of accounting for the unusual phenomenon of two Cathedrals existing within one Diocess, appears to have been invented by the friends of this establishment, who hoped thereby to set aside the chief argument alledged in favor of such a measure.

The Charter of Philip and Mary which restored the Cathedral, to remove for the future all such like objections ordains as follows: " Sintque idem Decanus et Capitulum et successores " sui, Archiepiscopo Dub. pro tempore existenti et succcessc- " ribus suis, loco Decani et Capituli olim Ecclesiæ Cath. Glend, " perpetuo futuris temporibus annexi, incorporati et uniti, eisdem " modo et forma, quibus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cath. " et Metropoliticæ Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, vulgo nomi- " natæ, Ecclesia Christi Civitatis Dublin. eidem Archiepis- " copo Dublin. ac suæ Cathedræ aut sedi Archiepiscopali " annexi, uniti et incorporati existunt."——But the record shews not much consistency in this respect; in another place it restores this Ch. to its primitive state, which state it describes to be that of an Archiepiscopal Cathedral—The words are as follows: " Volumus etiam, et per præsentes ordinamus et statui- " mus, quod prædicta Ecclesia S. Patricii sit et imperpetuum " deinceps erit, Ecclesia Cath. et sedes Archiepiscopalis Archie- " piscopi Dublin. pro tempore existentis; eisdem modo et " forma, statu et conditione, ac ad omnem juris effectum, " sicut erat ante nuper dissolutionem ejusdem, ac si eadem " Ecclesia nunquam fuisset dissoluta."

Another opinion has pretty generally prevailed, viz. that the ground whereon St. Patrick's Cathedral is erected, does actually lie within the Diocess of Glendaloch; that of Dublin being alledged to be confined within the walls of the City. This is, however, equally erroneous with the former; the extent of the above named Diocesses is set forth in two bulls of Pope Alexander III. both which bear the same date, (A. D. 1179,) they are extant in the Crede Mihi; from those records it appears that no part of the Diocess of Glendaloch approached nearer to Dublin than Shankhill; and St. Patrick's Church, which was at that time parochial, is, as I have before shewn, specially mentioned and declared to be within the Diocess of Dublin.

[a] Appendix No. III.

[b] The words are, " ut de gremio ejusdem Ecclesiæ idoneam " eligant Personam, &c."—Alan hath a note hereon: " E con- " trario, facta extra gremium, requiritur licentia etiam obtenta " Archiepiscopi, alias electio est nulla, tam ex defectu potes- " tatis eligentium quam ex incapacitate eligendæ Personæ."

belonging to the Oeconomy, two parts to go to the use of the Archbishop [c] and the third (which the Archdeacon was wont to receive,) to the uses of the Oeconomy. Neither was the Archdeacon allowed to have power of suspension in the Prebendal Churches or those of the Oeconomy, without consent of the Archbishop. [2]

By another Charter which is to be found in the register of Archbishop Alan, [3] he enjoined that they should observe the rules established by the Church of Sarum, to which the Prebendaries were already bound by the Charter of his Predecessor: he further extended their privileges in the following respects, viz.: that the Dean and Canons should have, freely and absolutely, of their own right, the hearing of all pleas [d] of their Parishioners as well clerks as laymen in their Prebendal Churches and in the Churches of the Oeconomy, in as full a manner as such rights were possessed by the Archbishop himself. [e]

About the time of the establishment of those Dignitaries, the Archbishop founded the College of Vicar's Choral, and gave for their support, the Church of Kinneath, in frankalmoigne. [4]

[2] Orig. Charter, also Dign. Dec. pp. 10, 39. [3] Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 629 et Dign. Dec. fol. 8.
[4] Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 63.

[c] The Archbishop, at his visitation of this Cathedral, receives the sum of 5*l.* for proxies.

[d] "Habeant libere et absolute in perpetuum omnia placita et "perquisita Parochianorum suorum, &c."

[e] "Quantum ad nos vel successores nostros pertinet, in spiri-"tualibus"—Archbishop Luke, in his 7th year, confirmed this Charter.

FOR MASON'S HIBERNIA.

Drawn by F. Byrne.

Engraved by W. Radclyffe.

VIEW OF THE CHOIR OF

S^T PATRICKS CATHEDRAL,

DUBLIN.

Dublin. Published July 1.1816.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Collegiate and Cathedral Church

OF

ST. PATRICK.

BOOK I.

Chapt. I.

Description of the Cathedral.

WE learn from some ancient [a] descriptions of this Cathedral, that before the civil wars it was a building of considerable extent and splendour. The Close was separated from the rest of the City Suburbs by an ample wall, which contained within its circuit, the Archiepiscopal Palace, the Manses of the Dean, Dignitaries and Prebendaries, the Halls and Dormitories of the Minor Canons and Vicars Choral, beside other buildings[b]; on the north and south west sides of the Cathedral there were Cloisters for the Canons. The Church itself, Sir James Ware hath declared to be, for extent of compass, beauty and magnificence of structure, preferable to all the Cathedrals of this kingdom, and Dudley Loftus, in his account, written in the year 1668, prefers it to many Cathedrals at that time in

[a] The following description of this Cathedral is taken from the travels of a person of the Egerton family, who dwelt at Handford, in Cheshire, and visited Ireland in 1635. I am indebted to the proprietor of this MS. Sir William Betham Dep. Ulster King at Arms, for the following extract.

"St. Patrickes Church is the Cathedral and Prime Church in this kingdome, itt is denominated from St. Patricke the tutelar Saint and Protector of this kingdome, itt is in the best repaire and the most neatley whited and kept of any Church I have seen in Scotland or Ireland, espetially the Chauncel wherein itt is curiously and very artificially arched and whited over head; the bodye of the Church is a strong auntient structure, wherein are great and strong pillars, but this is not floored over-head.

"This structure affoardes two parrish Churches under one roofe, in either of which there is a sermon every sabbaoth; in a corner a small part of the middle isle, there is a prettie neate convenient place framed wherein there is a sermon every sabbaoth att 10 hour, and this though itt be verye little and narrow, yett itt is sufficiently enlarged to receave a great congregation, by reason of capacious galleries round about, wherein are abundance of seates placed one above another with great advantage of roome; there is also, at one hour in the afternoon, a sermon in the quire."

[b] "Eccl. Cath. Divi Patricii divisa est a ceteris suburbiis, et "muro proprio vallata, cujus amplissimo ambitu habentur pala- "tium Archiepiscopi, nec non separales domus Decani, Dignita- "riorum, Prebendariorum, Parvorum Canonicorum Vicariorum "choralium et Choristarum." Dudleij Loftus descriptio Civ. Dub. 1668—MS.

England[c]. The Choir[d] was covered with a curious stone roof, painted of an azure colour and inlaid with stars of gold, this, being in a state of decay, was removed early in the last century, at which time were observable the traces of one hundred windows; the vaults and isles were supported by forty great pillars, distant from each other eleven feet and joined in acute angles; the exterior wall was supported on the north side by four buttresses with demi-arches, and by five on the south; in the walls were several nitches, which the superstition of the times furnished with images of Saints[e]; these were demolished in the year 1537 by an order from the Lord Cromwell, a measure from which the Dean and Chapter were much averse, and finding them "gainful to retain," they neglected to put the order into execution, until inforced by a repetition.

From the west gate to the east wall of St. Mary's Chapel, the Cathedral is in length 300 feet, the breadth of the Nave 67 feet and that of the Cross 157, the height of the square Steeple 120, exclusive of the Spire, which measures 101 more. In the Steeple there is a chime of eight Bells. [f]

The Cathedral had three entrances, the north was called Nicholas's gate, the south Paul's gate, and the west which was very lofty, obtained the name of St. Patrick's gate. The raising of the street pavement has much diminished the height of this last, so that there now is a descent into the Church by four steps; over this gate there was a stately window embellished with stained glass; no part however, now remains of this beautiful work[1]. In the latter part of King Henry the VIII. reign, the great stone arch which covered the west isle fell in, and destroyed many ancient monuments; the level of the west isle was raised by this accumulation of rubbish, three feet above the original floor, a circumstance, which was discovered by sinking a grave near the west gate; it appeared to be a beautiful work, composed of small burnished tiles four inches square, so artfully cemented together, that it was with difficulty two of them were taken up whole; each tile bore the representation of an indented figure, those preserved had a lion on one side and a rose on the other[2]. The Parishoners of St. Nicholas without the walls, had part of the north isle for their place of worship, and from 1665 until the present year,

[1] Butler's Descript. MS.

[2] Butler's Descript. MS.

[c] "Hæc Eccles'a, amplitudine et ædificii structura superat "omnes alias in Hibernia, et etiamsi eam cum templo S. Petri "Romæ, vel cum Eccl. Cath. Eboracensi conferre non liceat, "multæ tamen sunt Eccl. Cath. in Anglia, quæ cum ea minime "sunt conferendæ. Chorus tegitur lapidea fornice, campanile "ejus habetur in præcelsa et ampla turri, quæ de ipsis funda-"mentis usque ad supremum culmen quadris et exacte sectis "marmoribus est constructa." Descript. Civ. Dub. 1668. MS.

[d] The celebration of divine service which used to take place twice every day in the year in the Choir of this Cathedral, was never interrupted but on Easter Monday. The annual return of that day, emphatically stiled Black Monday, was observed with peculiar ceremony by the Citizens of Dublin; in celebration of it they were joined by the Canons of both Cathedrals; the origin of this custom will be related in its proper place among the Annals of this City.

[e] Isaac Butler's Descript. MS. in possession of the Author.

[f] Almost all the ancient Bells of this Cathedral were re-cast n the year 1670. Min. of Chapt. 5. June 1670. The following nscriptions are perhaps worthy of insertion:

On the 1st.

DVRET ILLÆSA AD PRECES EXCITANS VSQVE AD SONITVM SVPREMÆ TVBÆ. 1724.

On the 2d.

GIDEON DELAVNE. SAMVEL HOLT. JVLY THE I. AN. DOM. 1670.

On the 3d.

ROBERTVS BRADY VIRGER. 1670. W. P.—R. P.—J. P.

On the 4th.

W. P.—R. P.—I. P.—ANNO DOMINI, 1670.

On the 5th.

HENRY PARIS MADE ME WITH GOOD SOVND
TO BE FIFT IN EIGHT, WHEN ALL RINGE ROVND.
AT THE CHARGE OF DEAN LINDSEY OF ST. PATRICK'S, 1695

On the 6th.

IOHANNES DODSON, JOHANNES PREENE. AN. DOM. 1670.
NON CLAMANS SED AMANS SONAT IN AVRE DEI.

On the 7th.

FEARE GOD AND HONNOR THE KING,
FOR OBEDIENC IS A VERTVOVS THING.
ANNO DOMINI, 1670; W. P.—R. P.—I. P.

This Bell has been recast, and the old motto retained, to which the following inscription has been added:

RECAST ANNO DOMINI 1809, REVD. JAMES VERSCHOYLE L. L. D. DEAN; THE REVD. THOMAS CRADOCK L. L. D. PREB. OF ST. AUDOEN PROCTOR. CAST BY JAMES WELLS ALDBOWRN WILTSHIRE AND REHUNG UNDER THE DIRECTION OF FRANCIS JOHNSTON ARCHITECT, DUBLIN, IN THE 50TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

On the 8th.

R^DMO. IN X^TO PAT. MICH. D. ARCH. DVB. ET TOT. HIB. D. CANC. NECNON R. V. THO. SEELE, S. S. TH. PROF. A. D. 1670 HVJVS ECCL. DECANO ET R. V. IO. PARRY EJVSD. PRÆCEN. ET PROCVRANTE. HAS CAMPANAS FVDIT G. PARDVE CVM SOCIIS.

the French congregation [g] have been possessed of St. Mary's Chapel, which lies east of the Choir, in which place were the tombs and monuments of many English and Irish noblemen, long since defaced. The little Chapel south west of this last, was dedicated to St. Stephen,[h] herein was erected an high altar to his name, the western end thereof lately served the French congregation for a Vestry-room. [i]

The south isle, formerly called St. Paul's Chapel and now the Chapter-house,[k] is of considerable dimensions, here the Dean hath his throne and the Prebendaries their stalls. On the left as you enter into the chapter-house was the prison of the inquisition, wherein ecclesiastical offenders were formerly confined, a practice which the reformation has turned into disuse.

Adjoining to the south wall of the west isle stood the Bishop's Court,[l] erected early in the last century for the decision of spiritual causes, and a little more westerly in

[g] On the 23d of Dec. 1663, the Dean and Chapter, with advice and consent of the Archbishop, granted this Chapel to the Congregation of French Protestants Refugees, upon condition that it should be preserved entire in its property, that the Dean and Chapter should have the privilege of burying there, which was also allowed to the French Minister gratis, but to no other person of that congregation without license from the Dean or Proctor; the repairs were to be at the charge of the French Congregation, the upper house of convocation was to have liberty to meet there as in times preceding; the times of public service were not to interfere with those in the choir; and, finally, the congregation were to be governed wholly according to the rites and discipline of the Church of Ireland and subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin. This lease was for 21 years, at 1s. per annum, and was often afterwards renewed. The Chapter also reserved a right of revocation, giving three years notice.—Reg. St. Pat. Cath.

As soon as the Chapel was ready to receive the Congregation, His Grace the Duke of Ormond, at that time Lord Lieutenant, who had contributed largely to its reparation, was pleased to countenance their first assembly with his presence; "Thither "he proceeded on Sunday, the 29th April, 1666, his guard and "gentlemen preceeding him, with the Maces and Sword carried "before him, accompanied by the Lord Primate of Ireland, the "Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Lord High Chancellor of Ire-"land, the Council of State, and several great Lords and other "persons of quality, of both persuasions, followed by the Lord "Mayor, Sheriffs and Officers of the City, who had the Sword "and Mace likewise carried before him. There was also present "at the solemnity, Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond, accom-"panied by the Countess of Arran, and followed by a great train "of Ladies of quality. All of them having taken the places "designed for them, Monsieur Hierosme, his Graces Chap-"lain, Minister of this new Church, read the service of the "Church of Ireland in French, after which, being conducted by "the verger to the pulpit, he made an excellent sermon upon "the occasion; which ended, the Archbishop of Dublin, giving "the benediction likewise in French, dismissed the Assembly. "His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and his Lady, being recon-"ducted to the Castle with the same ceremony as they came." London Gazette, 21st May, 1666.

In June 1689, the Minister of this Church, Monsieur Rosselle, with several other French Protestants belonging to the congregation, were seized and delivered to the Count D'Avaux, in order to be sent over to France; however, through the mediation of friends they obtained a respite, and by the overthrow of the papal power at the Boyne, a final release from the execution of this cruel sentence. Kings state of Prot. &c.

In 1681 the Chapter demised to the same congregation a burial ground 86 feet long and 30 broad for the like rent of one shilling annually; in 1816 the Chapel was resumed, the congregation having become extinct.

[h] Aaron Crosley, in his Peerage, (p. 199,) describes the site of this Chapel, as being "just as we go up to St. Mary's Chapel; "formerly that place was called St. Stephens Altar, there being "in those days an altar there dedicated to the said Saint."

[i] Besides the Chapels above described, there are vestiges of others which formerly existed within this Cathedral. About the year 1442, we find that Richard Talbot converted into a parochial church, a Chapel, which before that time had been a Chapel of Ease to his Palace of St. Sepulchre's. Rob. Ware's MSS.

Thomas Brown likewise founded a Chapel within this Church, which was dedicated to St. Michael; this appears from a MS. of Bishop Sternes, deposited in the Library of the University; the manuscript contains the testament of Brown, who is stiled "Clericus Parochiæ S. Nicholai Dub." He therein directs as follows: "Corpus suum sepeliendum a dextro latere Capellæ S. "Michaelis Archangeli, quam ipse nuper fundaverat in navi "Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S. Patricii Dub. Anno 1495." This extract is taken, as itself expresses, from the Records of the College of Vicar's Choral in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Some appearance of an ancient Chapel was discovered at the east end of the north Isle, when the Cathedral was undergoing some repair in the year 1816; very many of the ancient tiles were at the same discovered by the ingenious Mr. W. Maguire Sexton, who shewed them to the Author; they were each about four inches square, some of them had gothic letters on the upper side, but the arrangement had been destroyed by the workmen, before it was known that any injury was done.

We meet with frequent mention of another Chapel which stood at no great distance from the Cathedral itself, it was dedicated to St. Laurence, and is mentioned by Alan in his register, fol. i—He calls it "Capellam quam Magister Will. de Fferys "aliter Ffernys, nuper construi fecit in parvo cemiterio;" this was about the year 1302. It appears there was some connexion between this Chapel and the Hospital of St. John without Newgate; for the grant from whence this last passage is extracted reserves a sum of one marc yearly, to be paid to that Priory. In the first year of Edward VI. it was demised for 21 years, at ivs. per annum, to John Woods.—Rot. Pipæ.

[k] In the Chapter-house there is a statue representing at full length, the late Marquis of Buckingham, arrayed in the Robes of the Order of St. Patrick which was instituted during his government. Under it is placed the following inscription:

The most Noble
George Grenville Nugent Temple
Marquis of Buckingham,
&c. &c. &c.
First Grand Master of the
Most Illustrious Order
of St. Patrick.

This Statue was made at the
Expense of Lord Tyrawly,
as a Mark of his Esteem for
the late Marquis of Buckingham.

[l] The Consistory Court was held in this Cathedral so early as the year 1277. Alan likewise mentions its existence here in 1530—A stone fixed in the wall near the north west corner of the Cathedral at once determines the ancient site of this

the Church the free-school[m] of the Diocess, which was for some time endowed with annual pensions from the Dean and Chapter, and from the Archbishop.

The Steeple which occupies the north west angle, is built of blue lime stone chiselled; it was the work of Archbishop Thomas Minot, who erected it about the year 1370, hence he used in his seal the device of a Bishop holding a steeple in his hand. A spire of granite[n] was erected in 1749, a work which John Stearne Bishop of Clogher, sometime Dean of this Cathedral, enabled the Chapter to perform, having in his will bequeathed the sum of 1000*l.* to be expended in this manner. [o]

But, from these splendid accounts of fine pavements, arched roofs, numerous pillars, demi-pillars and columns, which are recorded to have decorated the galleries in the walls, we turn with melancholy regret to view the present state of this venerable pile, which, until it received the very recent repair[p] timely bestowed upon it under the auspices of the late Dean, was verging fast toward utter ruin. Notwithstanding it has at various times been converted by the civil government to their uses, and hath from thence derived the greatest injuries its fabrick has sustained; I have not been able to discover a single instance where the public purse has contributed towards its repair or embellishment. To sustain its mouldering walls the produce of the Oeconomy estates are ill suited; this fund has been moreover impoverished, during the last century, by maintaining expensive suits in defence of the highest privileges which this Church enjoys. Whether the preservation and embellishment of a Cathedral of the Metropolis, dedicated to our Patron Saint, does not deserve, at least as much attention as is bestowed on public buildings erected for profane uses, is a matter not unworthy of public consideration: it appears from their minutes that the Deans and Chapters of neither Cathedral have been negligent in representing to the higher powers the dilapidated state of their Churches, which there are few, I believe, that do not feel to be a principal disgrace to this City and to the Nation at large. [Note A.]

Court and the period of its removal from thence. The inscription is as follows:

In hac Area
Olim habebatur Curia
Metropolitica Dublin. et
de hinc translata Fuit ad
Ædificium positum juxta
Parietem Meridionalem
Navis hujus Ecclesiæ A. D.
1724.

[m] This School was of early foundation, but removed from hence, in the beginning of the last century, to the Church of St. Michael of Pole in Ship-street, which was granted by the Chapter to Dr. Ffloyd (or Lloyd) for that purpose.

[n] On the 13th May 1749, the Chapter signed an agreement with George Wurmston, of Drogheda, and George Burton, of Stillorgan, Stone-cutters; who, for the sum of 950*l.* conditioned to build a spire one hundred feet high, of an octagonal form, composed of granite from the mountains of Kilgobbin or the Golden-hills, and according to the design of George Semple Esq. which spire they conditioned to complete before the 1st of September 1750. Orig. Deed. St. Pat. Reg.

I have, in my possession, a proposal for building the spire, according to Semple's design. The cost of scaffolding is estimated at 400*l.* besides what the materials would sell for, overseeing for 2 years at 100*l.* the other charges amount to 1,028*l*

[o] The ground plan annexed, it is presumed, is sufficiently intelligible without any further description. The centre part of the transept now forms part of the choir, which, before this enlargement, must have been very small, a singular circumstance, considering that this Chapter consists of a number of persons unusually great, (anciently six dignitaries and 22 prebendaries)—Two small ornaments are discoverable in the choir, which deserve particular attention, as they exhibit the same device that occurs on the coins of King John, (a blazing Star in a Crescent); they may be observed upon the columns which stand at the east end of the prebendaries stalls, about eight feet from the ground; these columns formed in ancient times the western boundary of the choir.

[p] Those repairs are recorded by the following inscription, fixed recently upon one of the columns on the south side of the west isle:

THE ROOF OF THE NAVE
BEING DECAYED AND
SUPPORTED BY SCAFFOLDING
TWENTY FIVE YEARS,
WAS TAKEN DOWN,
THE PRESENT ERECTED,
AND THE CATHEDRAL AND
ORGAN RECEIVED MANY
IMPROVEMENTS AND
THOROUGH REPAIR
A. D. 1814 AND 1816
VERY REVD.
JOHN WM. KEATINGE, D. D.
DEAN.
REVD. THOS. CRADOCK, L. L. B.
PRÆB. OF ST. AUDEON'S PROCTOR.

GROUND PLAN of the Precincts of St PATRICKS CATHEDRAL near DUBLIN, Shewing the extent of the DEANS LIBERTY, &c.

Copied by Jn.º Longfield.

CITY LIBERTY

BRIDE St.

BRIDE STREET

BISHOP St.

Bull Alley

Encroachment

Chantors

Orchard

Petty Canons Ground

Clandalough Lane

City Liberty

The Chantors Manse

Archdeacon of

or Mylors Alley

Glandalough's Ground

Oeconomy

Walker's Alley

Goodmans Lane

Oeconomy

Patricks North Close

Oeconomy

CANON St.

Remains of Treasurers House

Treasurers Ground

Passage

Library

Arch Bishops Palace now a Barrack

Out Office

LIBERTY of St SEPULCHRES

Court

St.

KEVIN

Deans Garden

Residentary House

Deans house

Deans Ground

Arch Bishops Ground

Stable Yard

Court

Mitre Alley

Deans Ground

Vicars Choral Ground Remains of Vicars Hall

Arch Bishops Ground

Edges Court

Remains of Chancellors House

Cathedral Lane

St SEPULCHRES LIBERTY

Old Burial Ground

Steeple

Choir

Chapter House

Consistory Court

South Close

Oeconomy

Vicars Choral Ground Set in fee Farm to the Earl of Bandon

The Chancellors Ground

Corbalis Row

French Burial Grd

CITY LIBERTY

RIVER PODDLE now covered over

PATRICK STREET

Arch Bishops Ground

Archdeacon or Dublins Ground

Prebt. of Clonmethans Ground

St SEPULCHRES LIBERTY

Crofs Poddle

Arch Bishops Ground

Three Stone Alley

LIBERTY of St SEPULCHRES

NEW St.

Scale 100 Feet to an Inch.

100 50 0 100 200

Engraved by R.Roff.

Dublin. Published July 1.1818.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Precinct or Close.

The Precinct or Close of this Cathedral was originally a portion of the Archbishop's Lordship of St. Sepulchre's; it was granted to this Cathedral by its Founder John Comin, under the denomination of "eight void spaces about the Cemetery." This tract contains, according to an admeasurement made about the year 1750, five acres, two roods and seven perch. [a]

Beside the buildings alluded to in the preceding chapter, others have existed, and some do still exist, which, although not contained precisely within the precinct of the Close, may be considered as intimately connected therewith; of these the library, founded and endowed by the munificence of Primate Marsh,[b] may be justly

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[a] The Church-yard contains - -	0	3	25
The remainder of the Liberties - -	4	2	22

[b] Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, when he was incumbent of the See of Dublin, out of his generous inclinations to the public good of the kingdom and for the encouragement of learning, erected a large house upon part of the garden of his Archiepiscopal Palace at St. Sepulchre's, wherein he resolved to establish a public Library: after his removal to the See of Armagh, he continued to fulfil his original intentions; he appropriated the second floor of the building to this purpose, to be "for the use of all persons who should resort thereto at the "hours appointed for the Library-keepers attendance and were "willing to conform to the rules and directions of the Gover-"nors thereof for the time being." The lower appartment of the house he fitted up for the accommodation of Mr. Elias Bohereau, first Library-keeper, and his successors for ever; to this latter part was annexed a convenient court or garden and a passage communicating with the Archbishop's Palace; he likewise obtained a grant from the Dean and Chapter, of a passage to the said Library, through which a communication between the Library and the south Close of that Cathedral was effected. In this Depository the Archbishop placed a very choice collection of books which he had purchased, the library of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester; this magnificent collection was somewhat encreased by a donation from the first Librarian.

In the 6th year of Queen Anne the same Archbishop became a suitor to Parliament, that an Act might be passed in such form as would secure to posterity the perpetual possession of this valuable donation: an Act was accordingly passed in the Session of 1707, (6th Anne, chapt. 19,) at the instance of the Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's and Mr. Elias Bohereau. It was thereby enacted that the house and several portions of ground, occupied by the yard or garden of the Librarian, and the several passages to the Archbishop's house and to St. Patrick's Close, together with the books and all other appurtenances, should be from thenceforward vested in certain Trustees, in trust for the several purposes expressed in the same Act, to remain and "continue "in the said Trustees and their Successors for ever unalienable, "without their being capable of forfeiting, selling, or other-"wise disposing of the same, otherwise than as in this Act is "mentioned." The property hereby vested, was likewise by this same Act freed, not only from any claim on the part of any the afore-mentioned persons, but also declared to be, as itself expresses, "for ever discharged of and from all manner of "taxes, and of and from all chimney-money, hearth-money and "lamp-money, and of and from all manner of taxes or charges "hereafter to be imposed by Act of Parliament, unless the same "shall be charged expressly and by name, in and by such future "Act or Acts of Parliament, any law usage or custom to the "contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding." The Trustees nominated were, the Primate, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chief Justices of the Courts of Chief Place and Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Deans of each of the Cathedrals in Dublin and the Provost of Trinity College, each for the time being, and the Successors of each of them for ever: they were, by the Act, declared to be a Corporation or Body Politic for ever and so far forth as the purposes of this Act might require, and were constituted Governors and Guardians of the said House and Library; any three or more of them, (whereof the Archbishop of Dublin to be always one, or provided he were sick or out of the Kingdom or the See should be vacant) any five of that body, were given authority to meet from time to time, so often as occasion might require, "to consider and make such "seasonable rules and orders for the better government and "management of the said House and Library, as they should "think necessary and convenient." To such rules and orders, the Librarian and his Successors were to be subject, and to observe, on pain of being suspended from his office and from the income, lodgings and perquisites thereto belonging, during the pleasure of the said Governors. The Act further provides, that in case the Library-keeper should continue for seven days after suspension obstinately to refuse obedience to the Governors, two or more of that body (of which number either the Archbishop of Armagh or of Dublin should be one,) might deprive him of that office and another should be appointed in like manner, as if the Librarian, so deprived, were naturally dead.

For the support and maintenance of Elias Bohereau (whom the Act nominated first Library-keeper for and during his life) and of his Successors, it was enacted, that whenever either the Chantership or Treasurership of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick should become void, the same should be conferred upon the Library-keeper for the time being, to be enjoyed by him during his continuance in that employment, subject however to all such jurisdictions as he was or might be subject to as a Dignitary of that Cathedral Church, of which should he be at any time deprived, upon certificate thereof to the Governors, he should be forthwith deprived of his office of Librarian and another person put in his place. It was further provided, that the Archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, should have the future nomination to the office of Librarian, whenever the same should become vacant, whether that should happen by death, promotion or forfeiture, provided the person so nominated were a Presbyter of the Church of England or Ireland and had taken the degree of Master of Arts in some University or College in England or Ireland, and that upon his admission he give security to the value of 500*l.* "that none of the said "books shall be lost or otherwise embezzled," and do likewise take an oath, that he will use his utmost care to preserve all the books and other things committed to his charge and will not "willingly suffer any of the said books to be lent abroad, given

FOR MASON'S HIBERNIA.

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Copied by Jn° Longfield.

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BRIDE STREET
BISHOP St.
Bell Alley
Encroachment
Chantors
Orchard
Petty Canons Ground
Glandaloughs Lane
The Chantors Manse
Archdeacon of
or Mylors Alley
Glandaloughs Ground
Oeconomy
Goodmans Lane
Walkers Alley
Patricks North Close
Treasurers
Passage
Ground
CANON St.
Remains of Treasurers House
Library
Out Office
Arch Bishops Palace now a Barrack
LIBERTY of St SEPULCHRES
Court
St.
Oeconomy
St Mary's Chapel
Choir
Chapter House
Old Burial Ground
Consistory Court
Steeple
Passage to the Library
Deans Garden
Residentary House
Deans house
Deans Ground
Arch Bishops Ground
Stable Yard
Court
Deans Ground
Mitre Alley
Vicars Choral Ground
Remains of Vicars Hall
Archdeacon of Dublins Ground
Arch Bishops Ground
Oeconomy
South Close
CITY LIBERTY
RIVER
Arch Bishops Ground
PODDLE now covered over
PATRICK STREET
St SEPULCHRES LIBERTY
Crofs Poddle
Arch Bishops Ground
Three Stone Alley
KEVIN St.
Vicars Choral Ground
See in fee Farm to the Earl of Ranelagh
NEW St.
Arch Bishops Ground
Edges Court
Remains of Chancellors House
Cathedral Lane
St SEPULCHRES LIBERTY
Corbalis Row
The Chancellors Ground
French Burial Grd.
LIBERTY of St SEPULCHRES
Scale 100 Feet to an Inch.
100 50 0 100 200

Engraved by E. Roth.

Dublin. Published July 1.1816.

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esteemed the most considerable; the Hospital or Alms-house of Dean Aleyn,[e] although it has been long suppressed, is likewise deserving of notice; the establishment of an University for the education of youth, which formerly existed within this Cathedral, will of itself supply subject matter for an entire chapter of this work.

" away, or in any wise damnified through his default," but will, to the utmost of his power, observe all the statutes made or to be made, concerning the said office so long as he should continue to hold the same; which oath, the Archbishop of Dublin, or in his absence two or more Governors, were by the Act authorized and empowered to administer.

It was further enacted, that all lands or sums of money or books which should from thenceforward be given, either personally or by Deed or Will to the use of this Library or its Keeper, should be vested in Governors to the use of the same or to whatever other uses or purposes the persons so giving or devising, should appoint, and the said Guardians were authorized to receive and stand possessed of the same to the uses and under the trusts above described, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain or any other law otherwise providing, and might sue for the same in any Court of Law or Equity, by the title of *The Governors and Guardians of the Library, erected by Narcissus Lord Archbishop of Armagh, at or near to St. Sepulchre's, Dublin.*

The same Act further provided, that if any person should bestow for the support of the said Library-keeper, the sum of 150*l.* per annum for ever, that then the Dignity annexed to that office, should on the next avoidance be disposed of by that person to whom the right did originally belong, and that the office of Library-keeper should, upon the next vacancy and ever after, " be in such manner as the said Governors and " Guardians and such Person or Persons who gives such annual " sums, shall direct and appoint;" in that case they shall not be obliged to choose a Presbiter, but may choose any person otherwise qualified for said office. In the sections following, the Act proceeds to empower the Governors to change or sell duplicates; to perpetuate the memories of future Benefactors, and likewise (that all might know how sums of money, given for use of the Library, were disposed of,) it enacted, that the Librarian should keep a vellum book, (prepared by the Founder for that purpose,) wherein he should enter an exact account of all such donations, with the names of the Benefactors and how the same had been disposed of; another vellum book was likewise deposited by the Founder, wherein it was required that he should enter the present Act of Parliament, a plan of the ground vested and all such rules or regulations as the Governors should in future, from time to time, establish or ordain; both of which books were to " be exposed to view in the most public place of " the Library." The Library-keeper was further to make three catalogues, one to be lodged with the Archbishop of Dublin, another in the Registry of the Diocess, and a third to remain in the Library, to which Catalogue he was, from time to time, to add such books as should be in future, given or granted to the same.

The second Thursday in the month of October in each year, was fixed upon as a general visitation day, for three or more of the Governors personally to visit and inspect the state and condition of the Library; upon these occasions, the Archbishop to be always one (unless then sick or out of the Kingdom or that the See should happen then to be vacant, and in case of such absence or sickness, whomsoever he, under his hand and archiepiscopal seal, should appoint to be present, and one of that number,) at such visitation they were to make such orders or rules as to them or the major part of them should seem necessary, and they might adjourn their visitations to such further time or times, as they or the majority of them should think fit.

It was also enacted, that due notice should be given by the Archbishop of each intended meeting, at least twenty-four hours before such meeting should take place, or in case of his absence or neglect, then by any two of said Governors.

It was further enacted, that Elias Bohereau and every of his Successors, should maintain the said Library and all its buildings in good and sufficient repair at their own cost, which if they should neglect to do, the Archbishop, for the time being, might apply so much of his revenue as was or might be necessary for such repairs, and from and after the time the Chantership should be annexed to that office, he might suspend him *ab officio et beneficio* until the same should be sufficiently repaired.

From the same Act of Parliament, we learn that this Library originally consisted of 2,574 books in folio or thereabout, 6,938 in quarto, octavo and volumes of lesser size, besides many pamphlets; at first the larger books were chained and the smaller enclosed within closed-presses, being however found incommodious, they were afterwards removed.

The collection of Elias Bohereau is specified in the same Act, wherein it is said to consist of 373 volumes in folio, 383 in quarto and 1,322 books of smaller size, besides some unbound books; they were to remain deposited in the Library as his gift, as an addition to the collection of Narcissus Lord Archbishop of Armagh, " for the same use and purpose and no " other."

Having thus, by the authority of Parliament, fixed the foundation of his favorite establishment upon firm grounds; the Founder next proceeded to the ultimate completion of his object, he purchased certain Lands in the County of Meath, out of the issues of which he appropriated the annual sum of 250*l.* to the maintenance of a Librarian and Under-Librarian, to the future support of the fabric itself and to the purchase of books; but the intentions of this benevolent Prelate are so well expressed by his own words in his last Will, that I shall place an abstract of that document before the Reader's eyes, as a sequel to the Act of Parliament upon which it is in a great measure grounded.

In this Document, which is dated 22d February, 1711, the Most Reverend Prelate declares his intention, thereby to dispose of certain Lands he had recently purchased, being his real estate. He begins by reciting that part of the Statute which enacts, that if any person should, at a subsequent period, bestow for the support of a Library-keeper the sum 150*l.* per annum or more, that then the Dignity of the Chantership or Treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral should immediately upon the next avoidance of said office, become disunited therefrom and be disposed of by those persons to whom it did of right belong, in such manner as if the Act had never been made; and that when such yearly sum should be given, the nomination of the Library-keeper when that office should next become vacant, should be in such manner as the Governors and that person who should give such annual sums, might direct; and, that then the persons so empowered to nominate should not be obliged to choose a Presbiter, but after the said dignities being taken away from said office, should be empowered to choose any person otherwise qualified. And, whereas, there had been conveyed to him, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, (by Deeds of Lease and Release, dated 18th and 19 March, 1708,) the Town and Lands following, viz.: Little Finlaghs-town alias Little Finglass-town and Craroge, containing 240 acres profitable land; Grange-Boyne, containing 270 acres profitable land, both situated in the Barony of Deece, Co. Meath; and also, the lands of Newtown alias Clonburn alias Clonbon, containing 620 acres of profitable land, in the Barony of Navan and County of Meath; he proceeds next to appropriate them to the uses and purposes for which he had purchased them.

To carry this measure into full effect, he bequeathed the above-mentioned lands to Marmaduke Coghill and the Rev. John Stearne Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, their Heirs and Assigns for ever, as Trustees, to the intent that his Brother

Archbishop John Comin, the Founder of this Cathedral, held out very ample encouragement to the Canons to build upon the ground which he had allotted to them; they were empowered to charge the succeeding Canon with one-half the expense, which, if paid within the time specified, the manse became appropriated to that Canonry for ever: if it were not redeemed, the Community might purchase and become proprietors; hence arose, in subsequent years, frequent change of proprietors in those tenements. The map, hereunto annexed, distinguishes the respective lots as they are now appropriated; this division has obtained from very remote times; to trace further the several transitions, would be perhaps an useless labor. The several Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Canons, and Vicars, have long since deserted these their ancient residences and have demised the site of their respective habitations to various tenants; the Dean alone has a dwelling within the Close which he personally inhabits.

Epaphroditus Marsh should enjoy the issues and profits for and during his life, but after his decease and the decease of the Lady Tyrconnell, "who at that time received the said rents," he declared it to be his will that the said Trustees should ever after pay to the Governors of the Library, out of the first rents and profits of the premises above named, the yearly sum of 250*l.* for ever, over and above all taxes or contributions; the said payments to be made quarterly, and the first payment to commence in the first quarter after the death of Epaphroditus Marsh and Lady Tyrconnell; this sum was to be appropriated by the Governors in manner following, viz.: 210*l.* per annum to the said Library-keeper, "to assist him to keep, "support and maintain said Library and the Buildings thereof "in good and sufficient repair, as required by said Act;" 30*l.* per annum to an Assistant Librarian and 10*l.* per annum to buy books. The residue of the issues and profits from these lands the Most Reverend Prelate appropriated to the maintenance of certain widows houses which he had built in Drogheda, of which mention will be made in another place.

Having therefore, himself, bestowed a sum exceeding 150*l.* per annum, according to the provisions of the Act; he proceeds to declare his will and meaning to be as follows. That as soon as the office should become vacant after the Governors were entitled to receive the sum above mentioned, that then and ever after, they or the major part of them, might nominate whom they should think fit to be Keeper, and the person so elected should be qualified, subject and liable to all the rules, regulations, &c. ordained in the Act of Parliament. In appointing a Sub-librarian, he required that they should have regard to the recommendation of the chief Library-keeper, he being subject to the losses which might happen to the said Library. He likewise desired, that the books purchased by him from the Bishop of Worcester, should be kept and remain in the Library for ever entire and never be exchanged for others or otherwise disposed of, "though there be duplicates of several books in said "Library." He moreover, makes earnest request to the Governors, *that they will at all times elect the most able and eminent person they can hear of or find, either in Great Britain or Ireland or any Foreign Part, being first qualified as the Act requires, to supply the same, that thereby the said Library may answer the end and design for which it was erected, that is, the public benefit and advantage of this Kingdom.* He further willed that the deeds or evidences which related to the property above-mentioned, should be deposited with the Governors and likewise a duplicate of his Will. These documents were accordingly deposited by Marmaduke Coghill, Esq. in the custody of the Governors, in October, 1714, being the next visitation day which occurred after the decease of the venerable Founder.

The following occurrences, among which are interspersed some of the Acts of the Governors at their respective visitations, are perhaps worthy of notice:

The first visitation was held 14th October 1708; it was not, however till 1711, that the Librarian took the oath prescribed and entered into the recognizance required by the Statute, and inasmuch as the rules and regulations did not, till then, receive the approbation of the Governors, the Library was probably opened for the first time in that year.

On the 8th of October 1713, several regulations were made; it was ordered that the Library should be open to Graduates and Gentlemen, from 10 to 1 o'clock every day in the year, and from the kalends of April till the kalends of October, beside the above-mentioned hours, from 4 to 6 in the evening. It was ordered likewise, that no one should be allowed to remove a book unless he should previously take an oath not to injure the same.

In 1714, the Librarian (Bohereau) deposited several manuscripts relating to the reformed Church of France, formerly lodged at Rochelle, which he required should remain until demanded by the said Church. These Documents, I have been informed by the Librarian, are still in his custody. Upon the same day a new addition of books, the bequest of the Founder, were likewise deposited, he having left to them such books from his private collection as they did not before possess duplicates of.

In 1745, the Library received a further addition, the Bishop of Clogher (Stearne) having bequeathed to them such books from his Library, as they were not before possessed of; the other donations to this Establishment, consist chiefly of small parcels or single books, and are therefore, undeserving of particular notice in this place.

In 1747, the Governors altered the Librarian's hours of public attendance; according to their new regulations the Library was to be opened every day, from the hour of ten in the morning till three in the afternoon.

In 1760, the Archbishop of Dublin, who alone of all the Governors attended the visitation of that year, directed that the Records of the reformed Church of Rochelle, which had been deposited there by Elias Bohereau, should be locked up "least "Papists, who had access to the Library, should destroy them."

In 1779, it was ordered, that no person should be permitted to take down or read any book, but in presence of the Librarian.

In 1782, the period between the 1st of August and the second Thursday in October, was ordered to be observed as a vacation: this was declared to be, in lieu of that before kept, viz. from the 1st of September to the second Thursday in October, and a fortnight following the respective festivals of Easter-day and Whit-sunday, the Library being little frequented during the summer months, but chiefly in the spring of the year.

The following persons have, since the foundation, served the office of chief Librarian.

Rev. Elias Bouhereau, A. M. He was nominated by the Act which founded the Library, in 1707. On 23d March 1708, he obtained the Precentorship of St. Patrick's.

Rev. Robert Dougat, A. M. elected Librarian and installed Precentor in October 1719. He is noticed as having made great improvements in the Library, in October 1720.

Rev. John Wynne, A. M. was nominated 22d August 1730 upon the death of Dougat, and collated on the same day to the Precentorship.

It appears from the account of John Andowe, who was Proctor to the Oeconomy in 1509, that many of the houses within the Close were held by the Canons for a rent payable to the Oeconomy. The inquisition of 1546[d] sets forth the value of nineteen houses occupied by the Dean, Canons, &c. which are valued along with the possessions of the Oeconomy; but the account drawn up in 1660 (which is attributed to one Wilkinson,[e]) appropriated to the several Dignitaries and to the two minor Corporations their peculiar manses, and mentions likewise, that the other houses occupied by the Prebendaries were held by them from the Oeconomy. [f]

When this Corporation was suppressed by Henry VIII. the Cathedral was appropriated to the Courts of Law and the Manses of the Canons to the officers of those Courts; thus we find the Prebendary of Tymothans was granted, 4 Edward VI. to Bart. Cusack, for 21 years, at 12*s.* per annum, but with a clause, "that the grant should be void if conveyed to any person not exercising the office of Examiner in Chancery or some other office in the King's Four-Courts." [1]

From a representation made to the Lord Deputy and Council in 1623[g] it appears that, "formerly great merchants resided within the Close," but the case then was so far altered that "either professors of learning or manuel men necessary for the "Corporation, as is used in other Collegiate Churches, did possess most of the "houses," which were then 30 in number. Christopher Robinson's [h] tract, published in 1757 informs us, that the number was then encreased to 140.

Of this district the south east portion has been from the earliest times, appropriated to the Dean[i]. The inquisition of 1546, describes the Dean's Manse as "a "capital messuage with gardens and other necessary edifices," it was valued at

[1] Rot. Pipæ.

Lady Tyrconnel died in March 1730, as appears by the Register of this Cathedral; the Office of Librarian did not however become vacant and therefore not disunited from the Precentorship until 1762; nevertheless we find that the Governors were soon after in possession of the rent charge above-mentioned; in October 1733, they ordered the Librarian to receive the same from thenceforward, upon such days as it should become due.

Rev. Thomas Cobbe, L. L. D. was elected 2d February 1762, Wynne having deceased.

Rev. William Blachford, A. M. elected 12th Nov. 1766, Cobbe having resigned.

Rev. William Cradock, A. M. elected 12th June 1773, upon the death of Blachford.

Rev. Thomas Cradock, A. M. elected 18th July 1776, William Cradock having surrendered.

Rev. Thomas Russel Cradock, A. M. elected 7th December 1815, Thomas Cradock, sen. having resigned.

Notwithstanding all the precautions which the Founder has taken to perpetuate this Establishment, the Reader may perceive that in one very important respect, he has not been sufficieutly provident, viz. that of setting apart from the Librarian's stipend, some specific sum to defray the expense of necessary *permanent repairs;* this omission will, in all likelihood, cause the extinction of this very useful Establishment; it is, however, in the power of the Governors to remedy this defect, and to force the Librarian to appropriate some sufficient portion of his annual income to prevent the fabric from falling into that state of utter ruin to which it is rapidly approaching. This very respectable body of Rulers have been rather too inattentive to a very impressive charge of the Founder, given in his last Will; the clause is too full of reason and good sense to be quite neglected or made subservient to the arrangements of a private family: lest it should be so disregarded upon any future election. I have distinguished it in the above extract by a peculiar type, and do here again repeat it, "That they will at all times elect the most able and eminent person they can hear of or find, either in Great Britain or Ireland or any Foreign part, being first qualified as the act requires, to supply the same, that thereby the said Library may answer the end and design for which it was erected, that is, the public benefit and advantage of this Kingdom."

Since the Office of Librarian became separated from the dignity of Precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, not one of the persons who have been elected, answers to the description here given; nor has any one (if perhaps we except William Blachford,) exhibited any regard whatever for the concerns of literature; their reprehensive oscitancy has occasioned a public injury to the Natives of this City, inasmuch as their Library has been left out of the list of those Public Establishments, to which a copy of every new book has been secured by an act of the Legislature. To this vastly populous Kingdom, the small proportion of two copies only have been reserved, although five have been allotted to the comparatively small district of Scotland. I do not understand that the Librarian ever made the smallest attempt to have this Establishment included among the favored number, to which distinction none is more justly entitled because no other is of so public a nature.

[c] For an account of this Hospital, see Annals St. Patrick's Cath. A. D. 1505.

[d] The Reader will find this inquisition in that chapter which treats of the Oeconomy possessions; it appears from thence, that almost all the Canons had their peculiar manses or chambers within the Close.

[e] MS. in the Archbishop's private registry.

[f] Some of the dwellings of the Prebendaries within the Close appear to have been a sort of a joint property. Adam Loftus, proctor in 1594, has the following item in his account of expenditures:

"Paid for the new building of Mr. Godfrey Loftus his "chamber, two parts whereof are to be charged upon the "revenues of the Churche and the thirde part to the said Mr. "Loftus, 7*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*" The same Loftus is further returned in arrear 6*s.* "rent of his house."

[g] See Annals St. Patrick, 1623.

LIIIs. IVd. per ann.; the houses of the Petit Canons and Vicars Choral were likewise rated at the same value. In Dean Aleyn's time it appears to have been a more valuable tenement; for in 1468 he was decreed the sum of 80*l.* 12*s.* against the executors of his predecessor Norris, for dilapidations. Dean Bassenet, in the first year of Edward VI. obtained a grant for 21 years, of "a capital messuage in the "precincts of St. Patrick's," for 6*s.* 8*d.*[2] per annum; it appears not unlikely that this was the Dean's house, which he had resigned in the preceding year along with that dignity[k]. The Dean's house was rebuilt by Sterne in 1713, who obtained the Archbishop's certificate of having expended thereon 900*l.* two thirds of which sum was paid to him by his successor Dean Swift. On the 30th of April 1781, the house wherein Swift resided was consumed by an accidental fire, but 1300*l.* had been secured by insurance, and Dean Cradock received the thanks of the Chapter for that act of prudence; it was rebuilt immediately afterwards.[l]

To the west of the Dean's portion, in the south Cloister, stood the College of the Vicar's Choral; some vestige of its ruins may still be traced. It consisted in 1546, of an hall, kitchen and sixteen bedchambers, with other necessary edifices, then valued at LIIIs. IVd. per annum. Soon after the suppression of the Cathedral, this house and precinct was converted by Edward VI. into a grammar school, the ancient proprietors however recovered possession when the Church was restored. In 1615 we find the Vicars resident in their College, and after that period we meet with frequent mention of the Vicar's Hall, in which place they were customarily visited both by the Archbishop and the Dean.[m]

This College had a larger proportion of the land within the Precincts than any other part of the Community; but a considerable portion of it was conveyed by the Charter of the 16th Chas. I. to the Viscount Ranelagh, in fee farm, and only a small chief rent reserved to the Vicars. The south east part of the Church-yard is still called the Vicar's Bawn, perhaps it was at some distant period appropriated to that body.[n]

[2] Rot. Pipæ.

h "Case of the exclusive liberty claimed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral." pag. 11.

i The corner house of Mitre-alley was called the Residentiary-house, perhaps it was at some distant period the Dean's Manse. In 1718 it was resigned by Dean Swift to the Oeconomy, and in lieu thereof he obtained a grant of certain fields near St. Kevin's Church, upon which he built the garden, so well known by the name of Naboth's Vineyard—Min. of Chap. It probably derived the name from its being occupied by the officiating Canons, who after the rebellion, when their peculiar Manses had became ruinous, might have resided there during their turn of duty.

A cancelled lease is to be found among the Dean's papers which confirms this opinion, it was executed about the end of the 17th century; this house was thereby demised to the Verger, and a clause inserted which bound him to keep the apartments on the second floor in repair, aired and furnished, for the accommodation of the officiating Canon.

k After this time the Dean's house fell probably into decay; in 1676 a waste plot of ground was demised by the Dean to Denny Muschamp, containing 80 feet in length from the Church-yard to Kevan-street, and 21 feet in breadth from the Archbishop's kitchen on the east to that portion of the Dean's ground which was leased to Alderman Peter Wybrants and Alderman Robert Arundel; he was to hold the same for 40 years, at 3*l.* per annum; the lease mentions that the Dean's house formerly stood thereon.—Min. of Chapter.

l Dean Cradock obtained the Archbishop's certificate of having expended thereon 2761*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* allowing therefore, for the sum of 1300*l.* secured by insurance, he was permitted to charge his Successor with the due proportion of 1461*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* The same document informs us that the Deanery was then worth 927*l.* per annum—Registry of the Diocess.

m On the 20th May 1663, the Chapter ordered Mr. Mills to oversee the re-building of the Vicar's Hall, and in January 1665, they admonished the Vicars to propose a time for finishing their Hall. In 1684, we find the Dean visiting them there; but, since 1686 I apprehend they have always attended his visitation in the Chapter-house. In 1717, the Chapter made an order, that the money forfeited by the Vicars for neglect of duty, should be laid out in wainscoting their Hall. At some period subsequent, this fabric fell into decay, so that the Vicars are not now provided with any place of meeting within the Precincts, nor have they any safe depository for their Records.

n In Feb. 1660, the Vicars leased to John Wiborow, a messuage in their College, adjoining the garden or plot called the Vicar's College, (with free liberty, egress and regress, to walk at all reasonable hours in said garden) for 21 years, at 5*l.* per annum. There is a memorandum also, whereby it is stated as agreed between the parties, "that all ways and passages "accustomed, leading to the house of office, commonly called "Ballygorran and to the well belonging to the College, &c." are excepted and reserved to the Vicar's Choral—Min. of Chap.

In Feb. 1675, the Vicars demised three messuages and tenements within the Vicar's College, and also the place where the Vicar's Hall formerly stood; the said space where the Hall stood, is described as being south of said tenements (60 feet distant from the Close) and north of the Vicar's garden, its length 33 and breadth 32 feet; the term of the demise 60 years, at 6*l.* per annum, besides which rent, the tenant, on every Patrick's-day, was to provide "four dishes of good substantial "meat" or to pay 20*s.* and on every Christmas-day "a bottle of

On the east side of the Vicar's Hall was the Archdeacon of Dublin's Manse; the inquisition of 1546, describes it as a "messuage, garden, a tower called "Castelragge and other edifices, value per annum XLs." In 1656, "his "mansion-house in the Close" (saith Wilkinson) was leased for 15*l.* per annum. In August 1728, it was demised for 30*l.* per annum.

The Chancellor's Manse was situated south of the Cathedral at some distance, its ruins are still visible. The inquisition of 1546, describes it as a castle or messuage, with garden and orchard, worth yearly XLs. "lying without the precincts, and "in the parish of St. Kevin;" it was leased in the 1st Edward VI. to John Allen, for 21 years. Wilkinson's account mentions his mansion near the Close, which was then leased for 6*l.* per annum; this lot is now usually leased for 21*l.* 12*s.* per annum, rent.

The Prebendary of Clonmethan has a small piece of ground on the west side of St. Patrick's-street, which the inquisition of 1546 describes as a messuage, garden and appurtenances "without the precincts and in the parish of St. Nicholas," of the yearly value of XXXs.

On the south side of the Church, in the angle between the south transept and west isle, was the School-house and School-house-yard; in the beginning of the 18th century however, the Diocesan School was removed to the Church of St. Michael of Pole in Ship-street.

On the 17th September 1722, the Chapter ordered that the Right Honorable Marmaduke Coghill should have power to erect here a convenient building for holding His Majesty's Court of Prerogative and Faculties, the Consistorial Court of Dublin and the Court of the Dean of St. Patrick's, on part of the ground lying in the School-house-yard, and liberty was likewise granted, to open a door from thence through the south wall of the Cathedral; the proposed building was erected soon after; it has long ceased to be used as a Court-house, and being now in ruins, very much deforms the external appearance of the Cathedral. Before the erection of this edifice the Archbishop's Consistorial Court was held in the north east angle of the Cathedral. [o]

The ground in the north Close is appropriated to the Chanter, the Treasurer, the Archdeacon of Glendaloch and the Minor Canons; some portions, and those chiefly at the west end, belong to the Oeconomy.

The Chanter's Manse, garden and orchard were valued in 1546, at XLs. per annum[p]. Rob. Bath had a lease thereof for 21 years at that rent, granted 1st Edw. VI.[3]

[3] Rot. Pipæ.

"good Canary or 2*s.* 6*d.* to the Archdeacon of Dublin's Vicar." Min. of Chapt.—This grant was probably made in consequence of a license from the Chapter, granted in Jan. 1672: the Vicars had stated their want of a common hall and desired leave to lease their old hall that they might build another—In March 1673, they were fined 5*l.* for not having repaired their hall, which fine was remitted, they having promised that it should be repaired before Michaelmas next ensuing—Minutes of Chapter.

In a white vellum book belonging to the Vicars, I found the following account of rent issuing from the Precincts of their College, about the commencement of the last century:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. Crow, - -	4	0	0
Mrs. Cooper, - -	1	10	6
Mr. Spring, - -	1	0	0
Mr. Wibrow, - -	4	0	0
Randall Jewell, - -	1	0	0
Mr. Settle, - -	4	0	0
Vicar's Hall set for -	4	0	0
Vicar's Garner for -	1	10	0

It appears from Wilkinson's account (A. D. 1660,) that the Poor-house was situated on that part of the Vicar's land which is now held in fee-farm by the representative of Viscount Ranelagh.

[o] See the preceding chapter.

[p] The Chanter, in Aug. 1660, demised to Gilbert Nicholson, his orchard and garden for 60 years, at 8*l.* Eng. per annum; the Tenant was bound to build houses of brick and stone, of three stories high to the street, of like form with Peltonys, and to do suit and service to the Dean and pay his proportion of taxes imposed on the inhabitants of the Close—Minutes of Chapter.

In 1701, Samuel Synge, Precentor, made oath that the Manse-house of his predecessors was so ruined by the late troubles that it would not yield above 5*l.* per annum; that he had improved the buildings and added thereto so as to fit them for a residence for himself and his successors, and had set the same to Tenants for a yearly rent of 74*l.* 16*s.*; he was thereupon granted a certificate of allowance, for the sum of 567*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*—Dioc. Reg.

The Chanter's manse and gardens are mentioned by Wilkinson, as having been demised in 1656, for 6*l.* per annum; the same person makes mention of two houses belonging to him in Bride-street, which, in 1636, were demised for 3*l.* per annum.

The ruins of the Treasurer's Manse are still visible near the north west angle of the Cathedral. The inquisition of 1546 informs us, that there were then appropriated to him, one messuage, three gardens, one orchard, and one tower, worth per annum XL*s.*[q] Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, Judge of the Court of Faculties and one of the Commissioners for receiving the surrender of this Cathedral, had a lease of this tenement, 1st Edward VI.[4] for 21 years, at 40*s.* per annum.[r]

The Archdeacon of Glendaloch's Manse, stiled a manse, garden and orchard, was valued in 1546, at XXXIII*s.* IV*d.* annum; it was leased, 1st Edward VI. for that sum to Mr. William Norton, for the term of 21 years.[5] In Wilkinson's time it was held by one Rowls for 30*s.* per annum, rent; it is now demised usually for 20*l.* per annum.

The Hall of the Minor Canons was situated in the north close; described by inquisition of 1546, as a castle with divers bedchambers and other edifices, with one garden and appurtenances, the whole valued at LIII*s.* IV*d.* yearly.[s]

The Minor Canons and Choristers were visited by the Dean in their hall, until 7th January 1683; since that period, it appears they have undergone his visitation in the Chapter-house.

[4] Rot. Pipæ.

[5] Rot. Pipæ.

The Chanter receives 4*l.* annually from the oeconomy fund, being for part of his tenement within the Close, appropriated in some preceding period to the use of the community. This item occurs among the ordinary charges in the most ancient Proctor's accounts, as does likewise the annual sum of 2*l.* 5*s.* to the Chanter's Vicar; part of the Chanter's tenements in in Bride-street were leased in 1816, for 12*l.* per annum, and another portion in the same year for 18*l.* per annum, rent.

[q] In 1656, the Trustees of Trinity College leased the Treasurer's manse to Dr. John Foy, for 10*l.* per annum; this we learn from Wilkinson's account, who also mentions another house which he calls the three goats' heads in Bride-street, demised likewise in 1656; and also a small close, to which the executors of Gilbert Domville then laid claim, as theirs by ancient lease: this latter is probably what is called, the Treasurer's orchard, which lies without the Dean's liberty, on the opposite side of Bride-street. These tenements are leased now in several distinct portions. The tenements in the lane leading to the library were demised in 1807, for 6*l.*; those in Bride-street, east side, for 8*l.* per annum, in 1803.

In 1753, the Treasurer's manse being in ruins, he was allowed to lease it for 40 years. Min. of Chapter.

[r] Soon after the restoration, the Precentor, Treasurer and Archdeacon were impowered by act of parliament (17 and 18 Cha. II. chapt. 14,) to grant leases of their yards and gardens within the Close for any term not exceeding sixty years, provided the Chief Governor for the time being should approve of the tenants and the rents reserved; and provided also, that such leases should be made before the expiration of five years after passing of the act. The prelude to this statute lays before us a striking picture of the state of that district, which although then on the verge of this city is now almost the centre of population. The words are as follow: "Whereas several pieces of "ground now in a manner lying wast, commonly known and "reputed the yards and gardens belonging unto the houses of "the Precentor, otherwise called the Chauntor, and the Trea-"surer of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and "abutting on the street, commonly called St. Bride's-street, "within the suburbs of the said city of Dnblin; which said "street, although already built and paved on the east side, is "become very noysome and offensive to his Majesty's Subjects "that are frequently passengers through the same, by reason "the other side thereof adjoining to the yards and gardens of "the said Precentor and Treasurer is not built or paved, or "have convenient passage for water or common shoare, which "is now a very great and apparent annoyance; and whereas "there is a like parcel of ground known and reputed the yard "and garden belonging to the Archdeacon of Dublin, lying "and being on the Poddle, a place unprofitable to the church, "and offensive to the neighbouring inhabitants, and unto pas-"sengers that way; for the future prevention thereof, and for "the improving the revenues of the Precentorship, Treasurer-"ship and Archdeaconship, and also for beautifying that part "of the suburbs of the city of Dublin, and amending the "streets and highways, and encouraging of such as may take "leases of any part of the said yards and gardens; be it "enacted, &c."

[s] In Dec. 1660, the Minor Canons' Hall, "wherein he then dwelt," was demised with one other house, to Francis Spring for twenty-six years, at 16*l.* per annum; two other houses in the Canons' Close were demised in 1664, to Thomas Chavenor, Swordbearer, for 21 years, at 6*l.* per annum.—Min. Can. regist.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Dean's powers within the Precincts, commonly called "the Liberty of the Close;" and of the Privileges of the Dean and Chapter.

The ground, conferred upon the Canons of this Church, by the founder Archbishop Comin, forms, with the church-yard itself, a distinct liberty, which has been recognised as such by several acts of parliament, letters patent, and other public records. [a]

The original grant was in frankalmoigne,[b] it was therefore freed from all secular service, and, lying within the liberties of St. Sepulchre's, possessed by the grant of the founder several independent rights; being as it were a Manor within the Manor of their Patron.

Besides the rights which are expressly granted to them by their founder, they have from the remotest times enjoyed privileges of which the origin, from the destruction of records, cannot be clearly traced. Hence, we find this district stiled a SANCTUARY, upon a roll 34 Edw. I. The Sheriff of the county being required to attach Walter Keneley, and, having communicated the writ to the Bailiff of St. Sepulchre's, he received for answer, that the aforesaid Walter was resident in the sanctuary of St. Patrick's, nor had within the liberty of St. Sepulchre's any thing

[a] The Close of St. Patrick's Cathedral has been acknowledged as a distinct liberty by several statutes. I shall specify the following:

1 Geo. II. chapt. 27, sect. 24, relating to Work-house.
3 ——————— 17, sect. 1, to the same.
5 ——————— 14, sect. 1, to the same.
19 ——————— 21, sect. 6, to the same.
11 ——————— 11, notices this liberty throughout several sections, and gives the Seneschal like powers with those conferred by the same act upon such officers in the other liberties; viz. in sect. 8, where it regulates the buying and selling grain by weight; in sect. 10, where it enacts that every load of hay and straw shall have a specific weight. But, though this sect. mentions the liberty of St. Patrick's close the preamble of the statute, which relates to the sale of hay and straw mentions only the three great liberties: sect. 13 empowers the Seneschals to settle the assize of bread within their districts in like manner as the Lord Mayor doth within the city, and two or more justices in places where there are no such magistrates; sects. 15, 21, 22 gives to the Seneschal of this and the other manors like powers with those granted to the city and county magistrates for regulating the baking trade.

11 Geo. II. chapt. 13, sect. 3, enacts, that "Whereas the liberties of St. Patrick's close were omitted out of the last recited act," (viz. 10th Geo. I. chapt. 3, which regulates the watch,) "be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said act shall extend to the said liberties of St. Patrick's close in such and the same manner as the said act extends to the liberties of St. Sepulchre's, Thomas-court and Donore."

19 Geo. II. chapt. 21, Work-house.
23 ——————— 11, sect. 10, relating to beggars.
25 ——————— 15, sect. 8, 11, relating to weights, &c.

11 and 12 Geo. III. chapt. 11, sect. 2, makes the Seneschal of St. Patrick's liberties a Governor of the Foundling-hospital, and sect. 50 of the same act makes that district liable to the Foundling-hospital tax.

13 and 14 Geo. III. chap. 34; this statute regulates the making and amending public roads, and sect. 2 sets apart from the Barony of Upper-cross, that portion north of the circular-road, "including the precincts of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick," and enacts, that it shall be to all intents and purposes thenceforward a distinct Barony, to be called the Barony of St. Sepulchre's and to be rated by the treasurer at 1572 acres in apportioning the cess upon the county at large. The Act 26 Geo. III. chapt. 14, regulates some matters relatives to presentments which concern that Barony.

By 26 Geo. III. chapt. 24. All liberties within the circular road were made subject to the Police act, and the Commissioners made Justices of the Peace for them: by chapter 61, they were made subject to paving act, except Thomas-court, and (as to lighting only) St. Sepulchres, by 27 Geo. III. chapt. 46, market juries for the liberties were regulated, but the acts of those two sessions do not mention St. Patrick's liberty by name.

Some acts mention the liberties adjoining to the metropolis without expressly noticing any one by uame, viz.

4 Geo. I. chapt. 11, sect. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, respecting nuisances.
——————————— 1, 6, relative to paving.
6 ——— chapt. 15, paving, &c.
8 ——————— 16, sect. 4, regulating lights.

Several acts mention the other liberties but do not notice St. Patrick's, viz.

4 Geo. I. chapt. 11, sect. 12, relative to hay and straw.
——————— 9, sect. 6, regulates lights.
6 ——————— 15, sect. 4, concerning nuisances.
——————— 18, sect. 1, 3, 5, for erecting lights.
10 ——————— 3, sect. 16, 17, concerning watch & beggars.
1 Geo. II. chapt. 16, sect. 1, 3, 9, 10, regulating bread.
3 ——————— 13, sect. 1, 3, 6, 7, paving, &c.
15 ——————— 11, sect. 1, 7, 8, 9, empowers the Seneschals of the liberties to raise money for erecting lights, but does not specify St. Patrick's; this act presents a remarkable instance of omission, for the Archbishop and the Earl of Meath are thereby empowered to light their liberties, but there is no mention made of that of St. Patrick's.
17 ——————— 5, sect. 4, relating to butchers.
19 ——————— 17, sect. 3, 7. regulating baking trade, it does not mention this liberty, although chap. 11, of 11 Geo. II. upon the same subject does.

[b] "Divinis cultibus inservire"—No grant in frankalmoigne was ever made directly from the Crown to this Church, except that of the Church of Cromlin, which was given by King John in 1216, "in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam."

to distrain[c]. Although the Archbishop is impowered by several letters patent, to take justice against his own men even in places out of his jurisdiction; yet, in Alan's register we find an instance of a person, accused of homicide, having escaped to St. Patrick's Church, whereby he was saved from the arrest of the Archbishop's officers.[d]

The Church being restored in 1555 to its pristine state by the charter of Philip and Mary, it became thereby repossessed of all its rights and liberties, and likewise of its leets and views of frankpledge, which shews that they were a manor by prescription, though the evidence thereof be now lost; for Leta and Visus Franciplegii implies that they had a Court of Record and could inquire into all offences under high treason, although they could not punish many, but only certify them to the Judge of Assize. Moreover, the patent granted by Charles the First, 11th of his reign, to Launcelot Archbishop of Dublin, contains a remarkable exception in favor of the liberties of the Dean and Chapter; thereby were reserved to them, all the lands which belonged to the prebendaries, the close commonly called the Close of St. Patrick's Cathedral, with all houses, members or appurtenances which had been at any time adjudged parcel of the same; together with all manner of privileges, liberties, jurisdictions, immunities, advowsons or patronages, belonging to the Dean and Chapter or their predecessors, by virtue of any charters, acts of parliament or other evidences.[e]

Accordingly, we find that the Dean and Chapter have always had their Seneschal who held Courts-leet within their manor; this, I have been informed, is the only kind of jurisdiction in the power of a subject to confer, the rights of a Court-baron remaining still with the Chief Lord.

At several times they have been engaged in contests in defence of those liberties; but, inasmuch as none of the books, containing the chapter minutes previous to the restoration, are now extant, the history of the exercise of those privileges or of the contests in defence of them is necessarily limited to a period subsequent to that event.

On the 17th Feb. 1661, the Dean and Chapter summoned the inhabitants of the Precincts, in order to consider the best mode of removing bad inmates from the houses; likewise of cleansing the nuisances, making good the passages and settling the watch within the same; and on the 6th of the following November a committee was appointed to search diligently into the inhabitants of the houses and to make a return of them.[1]

On 7th July 1662, the Chapter ordered that the inhabitants of the Close should pave within six yards of their respective doors; that the Parish of St. Nicholas should do the like before their Church; and the Community of St. Patrick's the rest of the Close.[2]

In 1663 the Dean and Chapter appointed a committee to assess the inhabitants of the Close according to each man's degree toward paying the expense of paving the same.[3]

[1] Minutes of Chapter. [2] Minutes of Chapter. [3] Minutes of Chapter.

[c] This Record proves the precinct to have been, not only a sanctuary, but an independent liberty: the persons only of fugitives were preserved in the former case; but here there is a manifest allusion to their goods and a clear declaration that St. Patrick's liberty formed no part of that of St. Sepulchre's even in respect of its civil rights.

[d] Thomas Chaste slew Jeoffry Abowcon, and fled to St. Patrick's, and before the Bailiffs of the Archbishop he abjured the territory of the Archbishop, his land accordingly and his effects were declared forfeited to the Archbishop—Al. regist. fol. 96.

[e] In the Reign of James I. it was intended that the privileges of this Chapter should be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the King by his letters patent signified such to be his gracious intention, but this scheme, from some cause not now to be discovered, did not take effect.

In the same year the Dean and Chapter ordered that no person should sell beer or ale within the Close without special license obtained from them.[4]

In 1667 the Dean and Chapter appointed F. Cuppaidge Clerk of their Manor-courts.[5]

In 1679, there appears to have been an ineffectual attempt made on the liberties of the Chapter by the Archbishop; on the 1st of October they ordered that their usual rights and privileges should be vindicated and upheld, and the Inhabitants of the Close, under pain of contempt, were required not to betray said liberties by obeying any warrant not issuing from their Seneschal.[6]

On the 28th April 1681, Mr. Lyndon, Seneschal to the Dean and Chapter, reported that he had viewed and perused the grants and privileges of the Church; and therein found lawful authority for their keeping a Court, Leet and Baron; that the inhabitants were lawfully exempted from appearing at the court of the Archbishop or at any other court; and that if summoned to appear or committed by his Grace's Seneschal, such person ought to take out an Habeas Corpus. Fortified by this opinion, they ordered that the inhabitants of the Close should not appear at the Court of the Archbishop, thereby betraying the privileges of the Dean and Chapter, but that upon all necessary occasions they should uphold the same.[7]

In 1685, on the 11th of Dec. the Dean and Chapter ordered that the rights and privileges of the Cathedral should be defended, and particularly that the prison lately placed in the Close, within Mr. Barlow's late house, should be removed, being not only a nuisance and great disturbance to the inhabitants, but an intrusion on their liberties.[8]

In the year 1711, the Dean and Chapter (observing that some stalls in St. Patrick's market opened on the Close) appointed William Thwaite to act as Clerk of the market, within their liberties[9]; this appears to have been the first time they appointed such an officer: the stallage he demanded was refused to be paid, and after some contest the case was, in 1713, referred to Mr. Francis Bernard, at that time Solicitor General; but the opinion of this lawyer was unfavorable to the claims of the Chapter; he decided that they had no right to appoint such an officer, not having had at any time the grant of a market from the Crown.[f]

In 1750 the Register of the Chapter, as Deputy Seneschal, held an inquest upon the body of a man found dead within the liberties of the Close; whereupon the Seneschal of the Archbishop signified his intention to proceed against him in the Court of King's Bench. The Chapter, however, moved his Grace the Archbishop to forbear proceedings until it should appear how far the rights of the Dean and Chapter did extend in this respect[10]; no further particulars relating to this matter appear upon record.

On the 1st Oct. 1755, a Bailiff of the Archbishop distrained Dr. Corbet for not mending the pavement before the Deanery-house; this act was the beginning of a new contest, prolonged through several successive years.[g]

On the 10th of Nov. 1757, a message was received from the Archbishop,[h] that he intended to move the following clause to be inserted in an act of parliament: "Whereas pretended privileged places, especially when claimed within inferior

4 Min. of Chapt. 5 Min. of Chapt. 6 Min. of Chapt. 7 Min. of Chapt. 8 Min. of Chapt. 9 Min. of Chapt. 10 Min. of Chapt.

f It appears that the Dean and Chapter were not convinced by his reasons, for Cristopher Robinson's tract, printed in 1757, mentions, that at that time one Thompson executed the office of Dean and Chapters Clerk of the Market, and that in 1745 the officer of the Chapter opposed the Seneschal of St. Sepulchre's in executing the act against the frauds of butchers in that district.—Robinson's "Case of exclusive liberty, &c."

g Min. of Chapt.—Dr. Corbet replevyed the distress, and at length succeeded in the suit: from Robinson's pamphlet we learn, that the verdict of the jury was not according to the charge given from the bench.—Christ. Robinson's "Case of exclusive liberty, &c." pag. 19.

h Christopher Robinson, L. L. D. afterwards a Justice of the King's Bench, was at that time Seneschal to the Archbishop,

" and limited jurisdictions, are of public inconvenience; and whereas the inhabi-
" tants of that part of the liberty of St. Sepulchre's, commonly called the Dean's
" liberty, or liberty of St. Patrick's close, have of late claimed an exemption
" from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, his Seneschal and other
" officers of the said liberty of St. Sepulchre's, which pretence hath disturbed, and,
" if not taken away, may further disturb and interrupt the peace, trade and good
" government of that liberty. We pray it may be declared and enacted, that all
" and every the inhabitants of that part of the liberty of St. Sepulchre's called
" the Dean's liberty or liberty of Patrick's close, are and shall be subject to the
" jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Seneschal or other officers of
" the said liberty of St. Sepulchre's, in the same manner, as of right they ought
" to be in case they inhabited any other part of the said liberty of St. Sepulchre's
" and not otherwise." Upon receiving this communication the Dean and Chapter ordered their Seneschal to draw out such a state of their case as he should think adviseable, in order that their rights might be defended[11]. On the 21st of the same month a complaint was made to the Chapter of the infringement of their liberties, by the arrest of John Flanigan[h] and others, by virtue of a warrant from the Seneschal of the Archbishop; the Dean and Archdeacon were ordered to wait on his Grace to entreat his consent to refer all matters in dispute to two lawyers; but upon the next chapter-day those Dignitaries reported his Grace's refusal of a compromise, upon grounds of the inutility of former references.[12]

In 1759, the Chapter ordered a post with scales and weights, to be erected in Goodman's-lane and another in Mylor's-alley, and also that brass standard measures should be purchased and remain at the above mentioned places for the use of the liberty[13].[i]

The privileges of a spiritual nature,[k] which have from time to time been conferred upon this Cathedral, are best to be learned from a perusal of the Charters themselves. By Archbishop Comin, the Canons were granted liberties similar to those enjoyed by the Secular Canons of Exeter, both in their Collegiate Church and in their several Prebends; they could not be compelled to answer to any personal plea concerning ecclesiastical matters except in the Chapter of St. Patrick; they were to be exempt from the visitation and procuration of the Archdeacon; neither could

[11] Min. of Chapt. [12] Min. of Chapt. [13] Min. of Chapt.

and published in Nov. 1757, a tract entitled " The case of the exclusive liberty claimed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, stated for public consideration." Robinson was hostile to the claims of the Dean and Chapter, and this pamphlet was written to shew what advantages the public would derive from the extinction of their liberties; a measure which we find from the Archbishop's message, it was his intention to propose to Parliament. The learned doctor admits it to be probable, that while Sanctuaries and the immunities of ecclesiastical bodies subsisted, neither the process of the Archbishop nor of any other temporal court was executed within that district; to this, the saving contained in the Archbishop's Charter of 11 Charles I. and that of restitution in 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary alludes; but when Sanctuaries were abolished, and the district came into the possession of other inhabitants, it should, he argues, fall under the local government to which it was originally subject. He says, that before 1730, they were probably intitled to the franchise of holding a Court-leet, but denies they had any jurisdiction in civil actions or criminal pleas, neither had they coroners, nor conservation of the peace, nor power over markets; certain acts since 1730 had vested powers in the Dean and Chapter, in relation to bread, the watch, and other particulars, but others had omitted to distinguish their liberty: so that as to cleansing streets they wanted power, and probably as to mending pavements were in the same predicament; in other articles of police they likewise were defficient in authority to make regulations. He concludes with observing, that such a jurisdiction was inadequate to preserve the peace or good government of that part of the city, and the exemptions claimed amounted to, " The franchise of a market without " inspection, a freedom from paying small debts, and a privi-" lege from cleansing, repairing, or enlightning their streets."

[h] Flanigan commenced a suit in the Court of Coumon Pleas, against the marshal of St. Sepulchre's, for executing an action for a small debt within the liberty of St. Patrick's Close; he was probably maintained in this action by the Chapter, as their Register was his agent; the event was undecided when Robinson wrote his pamphlet.—See Robinson's tract. page 20.

[i] The precincts were in former times enclosed with gates. By order of Chapter, dated 27th July 1693, three were erected in the several passages to the close, viz. Bride-street, Patrick-street and Kevin-street; the salary of 9*l.* per annum to a Gate-keeper, forms an item among the ordinary charges on the Proctor's accounts at so late a period as the year 1723.

[k] By privileges of a spiritual, as contradistinguished from those of a temporal nature, I mean, not only those which apply solely to Ecclesiastics but likewise those which appertain to the ordinary of the place, such as granting license for marriage, administration of wills, &c.---The reader will find several documents illustrative of some of those in the Appendix.

they be suspended from their benefices without the judgment of the Chapter. Pope Innocent, in 1216, enjoined the observation of all canonical rules according to the usage of the Church of Sarum[14]. Archbishop Henry granted them all the pleas and perquisites of their parishioners in their Prebendal churches and in those of the Oeconomy[l]. The same Archbishop granted them the pleas at large of all persons, clergy and laity, in their families, and of those that inhabited the sanctuaries of their Prebendal churches; and to the Dean and Chapter all pleas of the Churches and Chapels of the Oeconomy[15]. Archbishop Luke, after confirming all former grants, directed, that according to the usage of Sarum, they should have pleas and perquisites of their parishioners in their Prebendal Churches and in those of the Oeconomy, and that the Dean and Chapter should exercise that privilege in the Prebends of the absent Canons[16]; Dean Chaddesworth wrote accordingly to the Dean and Chapter for an account of their statutes: the answer to his queries is to be found in the appendix.

Accordingly we find that the Dean has occasionally granted licenses[m] of marriage to the inhabitants of his liberty; this right he still continues to exercise, together with that of granting to the relatives of the deceased, approbation of wills and letters of administration of their effects within the same district.

The privileges granted by the Archbishop to the Dean and Chapter were fully confirmed by the Act 14 Edw. IV.; this act makes particular mention of the statute "Dignitas Decani et omnium Canonicorum;" agreeably to which, and conformably with the statutes of Sarum, it was enacted, that neither the Dean nor any of the Canons could be compelled in any judicial matter or cause, to answer the citation or judgment of the Archbishop, except only in the Chapter, where it must necessarily be confirmed by the judgment of the major or sounder part, unless in cases of appeal or such matters as lay without their cognizance. The person offending against this statute was made liable for each and every such offence, to payment of the sum of 20*l.*, one moiety to go the King and the other to the person suing for the same.[n]

The reader will find in the appendix to this volume, Pope Leo X. confirmation of the final adjustment of all disputes between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter of this Cathedral.[o]

In 1544, Henry VIII. granted to the Dean and Chapter the privilege of not residing on any benefice in any other Diocess, provided they should reside within the precincts of St. Patrick's Cathedral.[17]

[14] Dign. Dec. p. 56. [15] Orig. among Ch. Ch. records. [16] Dign. Dec. p. 40. Confirmed by Pope Greg. IX. Dign.Dec. p. 14.
[17] Dign. Dec. pag. 213.

[l] Dign. Dec. pag. 8. The privileges meant to be conferred by this Charter were merely spiritual, as appears by the words "quantum ad nos pertinet in spiritualibus."

[m] 23d Oct. 1684, the Dean licensed his Vicar to marry Thomas Osborne and Eliz. Barlow, both inhabitants of the Close; and on 13th Dec. same year, granted administration of the goods of William Goss to Eleanor Warren. Chapt. Min.

There are many other like instances on the chapter books and register of this Cathedral.

[n] See Orig. in Appendix.

[o] Several other grants and confirmations of privileges are noticed in parts of this volume; I shall here mention the following:

In 1289 the Dean and Chapter petitioned Pope Nicholas IV. stating, that they had lost certain privileges through non-usage, from ignorance. The supreme Pontiff granted thereupon a confirmation of all such, if not forfeited lawfully by prescription.—Dign. Dec. fol. 16.

In 1304 the Archbishop confirmed all such liberties as before that time they had enjoyed, and freed their Churches from paying proxies to the Archdeacon or Dean, in like manner as by his predecessors they had been before exempted.—Dign. Dec. pag. 59, and Cr. Mihi, fol. 108.

In 1312 the Archbishop confirmed all former privileges and particularly the possession of archidiaconal jurisdiction in their prebends.—Dign. Dec. pag. 42.

The account given in this volume of the contest which occurred in the year 1300, between this Cathedral and that of the Holy Trinity, and the composition made between the Chapter of this Cathedral and the Archbishop in 1514, which latter was confirmed by the bull of Leo X.) will further explain the nature of the privileges that were in ancient times enjoyed by this Cathedral.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Election of the Dean.[a]

When the Deanery was first founded, Archbishop Henry de Loundres ordained that this chief Dignitary should be at all times elected by the Canons themselves from their own body, and the same Prelate reserved to himself and to his successors the right of being present as a Canon of the Cathedral. Archbishop Alan, who attended the election of Dean Fyche, has recorded in his register the whole form of proceeding, and his report[b] has served ever since as a model to direct proceedings. Upon these occasions it was indispensibly necessary to obtain, in the first instance the Archbishop's *congè d'elire*, without which the election was null and void; next, after a public citation of all members, the Chapter proceeded to elect; and, the chosen member having signified his consent, they deputed certain of their body to notify to the Archbishop the object of their choice, who appointed a day to meet them in the Chapter-house to receive the report of their proceedings and to hear such objections as might be urged, before he should declare the election confirmed. After the sentence of the Archbishop, followed his mandate for the installation of the Dean, who by that ceremony was placed in full possession of his Dignity.[c]

The Archbishop, and not the King, being the immediate Patron of the Deanery, the temporalities were never seized into the King's hand upon the decease of the Dean, unless that at the same time, the Archbishoprick was likewise vacant.[d]

From the earliest times until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Chapter appears to have enjoyed this privilege without any sort of interruption from the Crown; they even received a strong confirmation thereof by the Charter of Philip and Mary, which restored, in express and unequivocal terms this peculiar privilege to the Chapter, together with their other rights: even during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, although some letters under her privy signet mention the Deanery as being at her disposal, there occurs not one instance of its being conferred by patent. It is not to be wondered at that her Ministers in England should be ignorant of the existence of a privilege which this Cathedral almost exclusively enjoys,[e] but we find that the great

[a] If the various proofs of the Chapter's right to elect its Dean, were recited in this Chapter, it would occasion much needless repetition; and, inasmuch as the cases vary according to existing circumstances, I have preferred giving the arguments to be drawn from each precedent, in that part of the history where the event itself is recorded; to these the Reader is therefore referred, viz. the lives of Prene, Loftus, Fuller, Parry, King, Maturin, Corbet, and Verschoyle.

[b] See the "Decretum Electionis" of Dean Fyche in the Appendix. See likewise, in the last section of this history, under the account of the late contest, some observations on the mode of election.

[c] Alan informs us, that nearly the same form was used in electing the Priors of Holmpatrick, of the Hospital of St. John without Newgate, All Saints, St. Woolstans and the Holy Trinity, and likewise the Prioresses of the Nunneries of Grace-Dieu and Tristledermot.

[d] Alan has the words "Temporalia Decanatus St. Patricij "vel Prioratus Stæ Trinitatis, vacante dignitate occasione "mortis, in manus Regis capi non debent, quoniam Patronus "ejus non est, nisi similiter vacaret cum Archiepiscopatu."

[e] That Deaneries are not of necessity or "de mero jure" donative by the King, is a matter which has been determined by the highest judicial authorities.

On the 16th Feb. 1640, the following question was transmitted by the House of Commons of Ireland to the House of Lords, to the intent that the Judges should return an answer thereto:

"Whether Deans or other Dignitaries of Cathedral Churches, "be properly *et de mero jure* donative by the King, and not "elective or collative; if so, why, and by what law? And "whether the confirmation of a Dean *de facto* of the Bishop's "grant be good and valid in law, or no? If not, by what "law?"— Com. Journ. vol. i. pag. 175.

This is the fourteenth, in a set of queries to be found in the Journals of the Lords and Commons of Ireland; the answer of the Judges, although not entered on the journals, is published from the original in the paper office London, by Mr. Nalson (Collections, vol. ii. pag. 572) and is as follows: "To "the fourteenth query they say. That some Deaneries and Dig-"nities are properly *et de mero jure* donative by the King, some "elective and some collative, according to the first foundation "and usage of those Churches; and they humbly desire that "they may not be required to give any further answer to this "question, for that it may concern many men's estates which "may come judicially before them."

On Monday the 26th July 1641, the House of Commons resolved itself into a grand committee to consider of those

officers in this kingdom were better informed; and although they effected the election of the persons provided by her Majesty, yet they were not presented by that mode which is followed in all cases where the Crown has undoubted right of presentation: letters patent conferring dignities of very inferior value, are not unfrequently to be found on the rolls, bearing date of the very same years that the Deanery was disposed of upon the Queen's recommendation, [f] but not by patent.

It is admitted that in three several ways, the Crown may obtain a right to present; the first occurs when the Deanery becomes vacant by the promotion of the former incumbent to a Bishoprick; the second when the Archbishoprick is also vacant; and the third when the Chapter, through neglect or faction, suffer the usual time for election to elapse.

All patents, whereby this dignity has heretofore been conferred, have recited as the cause of presentation, one or the other of the above mentioned causes, [g] two instances only excepted. The first, in 1660, whereby Fuller was promoted, whose patent, dated thirty-two days after the restoration of King Charles, was made out in England, and, as in that country there is no elective Deanery, it is not surprising that the King's officers there, should be ignorant that such a privilege did belong to the Chapter of this Cathedral. In Fuller's patent accordingly, we meet, for the first time, the words [h] "pleno jure ad nostram donationem spectantem." The Crown had, however, undoubted right of presentation for that turn, both on account of lapse and by reason of the See being vacant. It is probable, that amidst the universal joy which prevailed upon occasion of the King's restoration, no person wished to oppose his nomination, or perhaps, the few members of the Chapter then living (at that time only three in number) were ignorant of their rights or considered not the just import of those words which have since nearly forfeited the most valuable privilege which is enjoyed by this ancient Cathedral. The second instance was that of Benjamin Parry, who, in the year 1674, just five days after the death of his predecessor, presented to the Chapter a Patent, which was accepted of and admitted by a

queries and the declarations thereupon. It was voted upon the question relative to the fourteenth *nullo contradicente*, "that "Deans or other ecclesiastical Dignitaries of this realm are "not, *de mero jure*, donative; but some are donative and some "elective, and some are collative, according to their respective "foundations; and the confirmation of a Bishop's grant by a "Dean *de facto*, having actually *stallum in choro et vocem in* "*capitulo*, together with the Chapter, is good in law."—Com. Journ. vol. i. pag. 271.

It appears from hence that the resolution which was agreed to by the House of Commons on the 28th of May 1641, concerning the Judges' answer to their queries had no reference to this part inasmuch as their opinions seem to have coincided in this particular instance. The house, on the day above mentioned, resolved upon the Judges' answer to the whole list of queries, "That it was not fit it should be called an answer, but "absolutely be refused, and that a conference be desired with "the Lords concerning the same."—Com. Journ. of Ireland, vol. i. pag. 219.

[f] Thus Edward Buckley was presented to the Treasurership of St. Patrick's by patent, dated 8th August 1567; this patent is enrolled: Weston was made Dean in that same year, yet there is no patent to him.

On 14th Feb. 1571, I. Ororie was nominated Preb. of Timothan, and on 12th June 1576, Oliver Foster Preb. of Yago, both by patents which appear enrolled, those benefices being vested in the Crown by lapse; yet no patent appears for Gerrard who was appointed Dean during the interval, viz. in 1573.

In 1597 Luke Chaloner was presented by patent to Malahidert, the very year of Rider's nomination, for whom there was no patent.

[g] They have always the words, "hac vice ad nostram dispositionem, propter, &c." or some of like import, and every such patent is a record which proves that the right of presentation is not vested in the Crown absolutely, but only for that turn and by reason of the cause there specified—thus:

Leverous's Patent for the Deanery has the words "ad nostram donationem hac vice, ratione vacationis, &c."

Richard Meredyth's Patent has the words, "ratione promotionis Thomæ Jones jam vacantem, et pro hac vice, jure prerogativæ nostræ coronæ, ad nostram donationem spectantem."

The mandate to instal Seele, dated 30th March, 18 Chas. II. has the words, "jam vacantem et ad nostram donationem spectantem et pertinentem, &c."

John Worth's Patent has the words, "jam vacantem per promotionem Ben. Parry nuper Decani ejusdem vel aliter."

The Patent for Jephson, 5th Jan. 2 Gul. and Mar. has the words, "jam vacantem per promotionem ultimi ibidem Decani," vel aliter ad nostram donationem spectantem."

The Patent for Lindsay, dated 6th Feb. 5 Guliel. III. "jam vacantem et in nostra dispositione jure Coronæ, ratione vacationis Archiepiscopatus Dub. vel aliter spectantem, &c."

That for Edw. Smyth, 3d March, 8 Gul. III. "jam vacantem, per promotionem Tho. Lindsay nuper Decani ibidem, &c."

Jerome Ryves's 22d Feb. 11 Gul. III. "jam vacantem, per promotionem Edw. Smyth ad unitum Episcopatum, &c."

Jonathan Swift's, 6th May, 12 Annæ, "jam vacantem, per promotionem Jo. Stearne ad Episcopatum de Dromore, &c."

[h] In this Patent are the words following: "Dedimus et concessimus dilecto nobis in Christo Willielmo Fuller, Decanatum Sti Patricii per mortem naturalem Ben. Culme, &c. jam vacantem et ad nostram presentationem, sive donationem, pleno jure spectantem."

small number of that body, called together for the purpose by his brother, at that time Chanter and President, who, without doubt, connived at this attempt to betray the rights of the Cathedral.

This privilege, thus well nigh lost, was, however, retrieved by the magnanimous perseverance of Doctor William King; who, in the year 1688, even during the arbitrary government of Richard, Earl of Tyrconnell, stood forth the strenuous assertor of the Chapter's rights. In the year 1749 and, again, in the year 1797,[i] the Chapter were successful in maintaining their right of election against the suit of the Crown in a trial upon a *quare impedit;* they have thereby firmly re-established themselves in the possession of this privilege, which was, undoubtedly, conferred upon them at the original foundation of this dignity, and which was, moreover, confirmed to them by the restitution charter of King Philip and Queen Mary.

i Upon one of these occasions it was objected, that this Deanery was of royal foundation, and that, therefore, the King should nominate the Dean; but this does not, in any wise, appear to be the fact, unless it be considered as having been made so by the restitution charter of Philip and Mary; yet, that grant seems manifestly to wave all such right; for it not only confirms in specific words the right of election, but even recites the foundation charter, whereby that right was originally conferred: the fact is, that this establishment has received from the Crown very few, and those, very insignificant donations.

It is true, that the preambles to some statutes mention the Cathedral to have been a Royal Foundation; thus the act 14 Edw. IV. has the words "Pour ceo que le Cathedrale Esglis de Saint Patrik Divelin est del fondation de Roy Johan, &c." likewise the act for cleansing the Poddle, passed in 1493, mentions, that this church or college is said to be of the foundation of our Lord the King; and that, which grants the first fruits and twentieth parts to the King, has the words, "And considering that the said Cathedral Church of St. Patrick is of our most dread Sovereign Lord's most noble progenitor's foundation." But no more is meant thereby than that the king consented to the foundation; and this consent is alluded to by Archbishop Comin, who, in the preamble to his charter, uses the words, "Decrevimus, Authore Deo, et assensu Ste Romane Sedis, et Principis nostri, Johannis Comitis Morton, Ecclesiam Sti. Patricii de Dublin. instituere Prebendariam." Words of like import with those above quoted occur, likewise, in the restitution charter, which is far from making this elective dignity a donative.

But there does not appear to be any fair principle whereon the Crown can ground a right to present to this Benefice, except when the See is vacant; for, if we consider its original establishment, we find that it was founded by an Archbishop, and endowed by him; firstly, with certain lands which were a portion of his temporalities, and secondly, with certain rectories to which he had a right to present. It being the case that Deaneries are not "de mero jure" donative, the Crown can have no more right to nominate to those Benefices after, than it had before such union; nor does it appear, how it could acquire any superior right to this benefice, more than to any other to which the Archbishop doth collate. If the Deanery be a donative, it is a donative of the founders not of the Crown. When the See becomes vacant, the Crown may, it is true, present not only to this, but to every other benefice, the advowson whereof belongs to the Archbishop.

I shall cite two passages from Godolphin's Repert. Canon. which are in some respects illustrative of the subject matter of this chapter.

Pag. 264, sect. 25—He says, "The patronage of the Deanery of an Archbishoprick doth of common right belong the Archbishop, and he shall present to the avoidance, but by composition it may be elective by the Chapter, and yet the patronage remain in the Archbishop."

Pag. 263, sect. 22—"If, during a vacancy, a Deanery become void, the King shall present to that Deanery, albeit there be a composition between the Archbishop and Chapter, that the Chapter shall chuse him; for *de jure* the patronage thereof belongs to the Archbishop; yet the composition cannot bind the King, who comes in paramount, as supreme patron."

CHAPT. V.

Of the Dean's [a] Endowments.

When Archbishop Henry de Loundres established this dignity, [b] he assigned for its support the church of Clondakan, at that time the Prebend of William Fitzguy, the first Dean, together with its appurtenances: the lands of Clonwanwyr and Kilbery, with all their liberties and free customs: the churches of Clonwanwyr and Kilbery with their chapels, when they should become vacant, and the church of Clonardmacgory with its appendant chapels, when it should become vacant. [1]

The same Prelate, being afterwards, as he expresses, moved by the consideration that the principal dignitary was subject to the greatest expense; with consent of the Chapter, annexed to the Deanery the church of Tavelach or Taulagh, upon the resignation of Lawrence de Taulagh, at that time Rector [2]; and, lastly, he granted a portion of moor-land, [c] near the grange of the Dean's-rath, [d] for which the Dean

[1] Dign. Dec. pp. 5 and 192.

[2] Dign. Dec. pag. 192.

[a] Alan, in his register, (fol. 80) has given us the oath which was taken by the Dean and the two Archdeacons, when confirmed in their respective Dignities.

Juramentum Decani et duorum Archidiaconorum tempore confirm. et collat. ad cautelam.

Ego A. B. fidelis ero et obediens domino meo, Domino A. B. Dubliniensi Metropolitano moderno et successoribus suis canonice intrantibus; sententias et decreta illius servabo, et, pro posse faciam servari, mandata sua sancta et honesta adimplebo, vocatus ad ejus presentiam veniam, nisi fuero legitime impeditus; ipsius examen, pretextu Statuti Ecclesie Dublin. incipientis *Dignitas Decani, &c.* non declinabo, nec opem, nec operam ad illius Statuti defensionem adversus eundem Dominum ejusque successores, aliter quam per compositionem realem inter Archiepiscopum et Capitulum, desuper factam, a sedeque apostolica ex certa scientia confirmatam, expresse cautum existit, impendam; jura Ecclesie, pro posse, petam et defendam; utilia illius procurabo et nociva vitabo—Sic me Deus adjuvat, &c.

[b] Pope Gregory the ninth confirmed to the Dean the several churches, which had been appropriated to him: his bull to that effect is as follows:

GREGORIUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Archiep. et dilectis filiis, Capitulo Dublin. Salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur, quod justum est et honestum, tam vigor equitatis quam ordo exigit rationis, ut id per sollicitudinem officij nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum; ex vestra sane insinuatione didicimus, quod cum Decanatum et quasdam alias Dignitates de novo in Dublin. Ecclesia creassetis, Tu, Frater Archiepiscope, de Taulau, de Clonwanwir, et de Kylberij, Ecclesias cum pertinentiis suis, et quasdam terras et alias possessiones eidem Decanatui liberaliter concessisti, et vos filij, Capitulum, tali concessioni prestitistis assensum. Nos igitur, quod super hoc utiliter ac canonice factum est, ratum et firmum habentes, illud Auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario, contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Dat. Lateran. xv, Kalend. Jan. Pontificatus nostri anno primo. Dign. Dec. p. 197.

[c] Archbishop Brown granted to the Dean seven acres, adjoining his estate here. See Annals St. Pat. A.D. 1540.

[d] On the 9 Nov. 38 Hen. VIII. Dean Basenet demised to his brother, Ffynian Basenet, the Manor of Dean's-rath, &c. and the tythes of the same, for sixty-one years; this lease was assigned by Richard Basenet, of Eaton, in Co. Denbigh, to Walter Weldon, of Dublin, Gent. 2 Jac. I. (1605) for the consideration of 110*l.* sterling. Weldon was, perhaps, only the nominal purchaser, for Dean Ryder was proprietor in August 1605. Upon the back of the conveyance above mentioned, Dean Swift hath written as follows: "This Basnett was related to the Scoundrel of the same name, who surrendred the Deanry to that beast, H. 8."

Before the date of the assignment, above alluded to, there had been a suit between Sir Robert Weston, Dean, and William Basenet, relative to those lands. We learn from the Dean's records that William Basenet had diseized Sir Robert of Dean's-rath, &c. whereof the latter complained by bill; the decree was given in favor of Basenet. Ffinian Basenet is here styled F. Basenet, "of the Nangre."

In 1646, Lieut. Col. Fernly had a lease for twenty-one years of Dean's-rath, including tithes, both great and small, for 10*l.* per annum. On the 16th March 1663, the manor of Deanrath, the castle, town and lands of the same, tythes both great and small; also the towns of Ballybane, Angerstown, Priestowne and Gouter alias Crowtersland, with the duties of custom-ridges, hook days, &c. out of Eskar and Clondalkin, were leased for twenty-one years to Philip Fernely at 36*l.* per annum.

In 1694, the premises, above mentioned, were leased to George Benson for 54*l.* per annum; upon the back of this deed Swift hath written as follows: "By Dean Lindsay (now Lord Primate) for 54*l.* per annum, never raised since! shamefull! it is worth at least on a full rent 250*l.* per annum." In 1709 the same premises were demised to —— Benson, Archdeacon of Kildare, son to George Benson, Vintner, for the same rent; this last deed mentions the extent of land to be 357 acres.

On the 25th March 1720, Dean Swift demised these premises to Alice Benson, widow of the Archdeacon; upon this occasion he raised the rent to 70*l.* per annum, and inserted a clause, reserving, during the last eleven years, thirty seven acres of Priestown, to be at the Dean's disposal. In 1740 he increased the rent to 80*l.* per annum; upon the next following demise it was advanced to 90*l.* a year, tithes not included. The rent has not been increased since that time.

[e] The old Church of Clondalkin was of large dimensions; it appears from its ruins to have extended to thirty-eight yards in length and to eighteen in breadth; the present church is small and mean; contrary to the practice of all Christendom it is built transversely, from north to south instead of from east to west.

In the Crede mihi (fol. 94) there is a very ancient deed, the substance whereof is as follows:

D. Macgilleholmoc et Dervorguil, uxor ejus, plene reddunt ecclesiæ Sti. Machoti de Clondolkan totam terram cum pertinentiis, quam Liffled tenuit juxta Mc. Dalewem, quam anteces-

was to pay, yearly, at the festival of Easter, one pound of frankincense to the Archbishop's chapel at Clondalchan. [3]

To the parent church of Clondalkin[e] were subservient the chapels[f] of Rathcool and Esker[g]. Within the parent church, which was, itself, under the invocation of St. Machotus, were anciently three altars, dedicated respectively to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Bridget and St. Thomas; at the west end of church-yard is a round tower of conspicuous beauty. This church was originally made prebendal by Archbishop, John Comin, and it is named the fifth in the bull confirming his charter.

The churches of Kilberry,[h] Clonwanwyr,[i] and Clonardmacgori[k] are situated in the county of Kildare: the name of the former only is known, at the present

[3] Dign. Dec. pag. 193.

sores eorum, diu ante conquisitionem Hiberniæ per Anglos, dederant in perpetuam eleemosynam Ecclesiæ predictæ. The same deed occurs in Dign. Dec. pag. 196.

Archbishop Alan saith (Rep. Vir) that, in lieu of the tithes of hay from the Archbishop's demesne lands in Clondalkin and Rathcoole, the Dean had a certain portion of land, set apart to him, as a full satisfaction for the same. The Vicar of Clondalkin hath the tithe of crofts, and the small tithes of the whole parish; but no portion of the great tithes, except those of the Manor of Drumnagh. Regist. Dioc.—In 1540 the parishes of New Grange and Kilmacudrick were united to Clondalkin by Archbishop Brown. Dign. Dec. pag. 209.—The tithes however, have been appropriated to the Vicar.

[f] The Regist. Crede Mihi, gives the chapel of Ballycolman to the Dean, but it has always been considered as an appendage to Newcastle: this mistake I can no way account for but by supposing that Kilcolman was meant thereby, which last is appendant to Clonard-a-gory.

Drumnagh, although not mentioned by Alan among the chapels of Clondalkin, has always been considered, as an appendage thereto.

[g] The church of Esker was dedicated to St. Finian and was given, as Alan informs us (Rep. Vir.) by John, when Earl of Morton; the same John, he adds, when king of England, granted to the Dean two acres of his manor of Esker; but, as King John died before the erection of the Deanery, he perhaps alludes to a grant of king Henry III. whereby that monarch, in 1229, conveyed to the Dean, William Fitz Guido, and his successors (under the title of Canons of Esker) two acres of his Lordship of Eskyr, called Lyscayllah, situate near the church and more convenient for building on than two acres given in exchange for the same; this deed is dated, Woodstock 20th Nov. 14 Hen. III. Dign. Dec. pag. 197, et Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 639.

[h] The Dean's Lordship of Kilberry is situated in the County of Kildare, near the town of Athy; here the Dean had formerly a Seneschal of his manor court. I shall endeavour to compensate for the very slender account, given in the Inquisition hereunto annexed, by the following memoranda relative to this parish.

When the Cathedral was suppressed, Thomas Eustace, Lord of Kilcullen, afterwards Viscount Baltinglass, obtained a lease of this demesne and of the parish, for twenty-one years; for all which, he covenanted to pay 40*l.* per annum, besides proxies, and to provide a Curate to perform divine service at Kilberry. The demesne land of the Dean then comprised two hundred acres; the tithes were payable from the town lands of Kilberry, Beherte, Ballino, Ballitirrel, Srowlan, Kilcolman, Ballyruske, Fealyghe alias Russelstown and Tullaghbegory. Rot. Pipæ. In 1635, the Dean's lands and tithes were demised by Benjamin Culme to Sir Thomas Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for 50*l.* per annum, viz. the Lordship and Manor of Kilberry, Castleriddye, Cloney and Clonwanwire, and likewise the Prebend or Rectory of Kilberry, Byrt, Clony, Shrowlane, Kilcoleman, Oldcourt, Tullaghgorie, Preswellstown, Shanrahin, Tyrrelstown, Clonwanwyr, and Russelstown. In 1695, the rent reserved was 100*l.* English sterling. In 1710, 120*l.*; after this Dean Swift encreased the rent as follows: in 1717 to 150*l.* in 1731 to 170*l.* and in 1741 to 200*l.* per annum, upon each occasion, with a proportionable loss of fine. Since the death of this public spirited man, the rent has been encreased but 10*l.* per annum, notwithstanding the great increase that has taken place in the value of money. Original Leases. St. Pat. Reg.

At the time of the restoration, or a little before, the Vicarage of Kilberry, was endowed with one third of the great and small tithes of the whole parish, the Vicar had likewise a small glebe of one acre: in Dean Worth's lease to the Earl of Montrath, he reserved to the Vicar "two acres of glebe, as formerly possessed by him, one third of the great and small tithe, the book money and oblations."

Mr. Kingsbury, the present Vicar, has drawn up an account of this parish, which is published by Mr. Shaw Mason in the first volume of his Statistical Survey. This memorial informs us that there are now, but four hundred inhabitants (including all ages and sexes) resident within this tract, which was formerly subdivided into three parishes, to one of which there were several chapels appendant. We read in the return made to Parliament in 1807, that the yearly value of the Vicarage is but 70*l.* per annum, and not sufficient to maintain a Minister: this account exhibits a striking contrast to those reports transmitted to us from ancient, and, as we are apt to conclude, barbarous times. About the year 1250, Kilberry was valued at sixty-one marks and an half, and Clonard-a-gory at twenty marks clear yearly value; a great sum in those days. See Cre. mihi and Alan's regist.

Mr. Kingsbury says that the rectorial tithes of this parish belong to the Bishop of Killala; strange it is, that a Vicar should be ignorant of the real proprietor of the tithes of his own parish! the same Gentleman tells us that there are considerable ruins of a Monastery at Kilberry, but no records, that I have ever seen, make mention of such an establishment.

In the register, called Dign. Decani (fol. 198) there is an agreement between the Dean and one Gilbert le Rede, to whom the former remitted the annual rent of XLVIS. VI*d.* out of a tenement in Kilberry, upon condition that he should arm and maintain, at his own cost, a man at arms, to be ready at all times for defence of the manor or for the service of the Dean. The arms and acoutrements, with which he was to be provided, are particularly described; he was to have a coat of mail (lorica) with a short soldier's cloak, (cum uno askedono bono) an iron helmet, (capella ferrea) a gorgiere, or armour for the neck, (gorgiero bono cum bonis quissoriis) together with iron gloves, launces and all other things suitable. His horse was to be of the value of ten marks at least, with a war-saddle and good trappings; which service, if the said Gilbert was, upon any pretence to neglect, he was to be liable to the rent, for which the Dean might then distrain; and if he lost his horse, so that in any year he could not perform this service, he was to be allowed the rent, so incurred, in the purchase of another, provided it were of the value of ten marks, and provided he supplied himself with one before the termination of the year. This deed was executed in 1325: it is worthy of remark, that King John rated the service of one Knight at XL*s.* yearly, which sum the tenants in capite were obliged to pay; this was called scutage money or eseuage.

day, as the denomination of a distinct parish; the two latter are considered as appurtenances only, and are now distinguishable by the names of Cloney and Tullaghgory, lying north and north west of the town of Athy, near the River Barrow; a Vicar is here endowed with one third part of the tithes of the whole Rectory, and the presentation thereto is with the Dean: within these parishes lies the Manor of Kilberry, the chief territory of the Dean: Archbishop Alan calls the church of Clondalkin the Prebend, and that of Kilberry the Dignity of the Dean. [4]

To the church of Tallagh,[l] anciently Tavelagh or Taulaght-Maelruny, which was dedicated to St. Maelruin,[m] there were subservient the chapels of Killohan and St. Bridget: the former, situated without the cross-lands of the Archbishop in the townland of Oldbawn, has been waste since 1532; St. Bride's chapel is nearer the Dodder and is likewise in ruins: there is another chapel, named Kilbride, at no very considerable distance from that now under consideration, but this last is subservient to the church of Kilmesantan [5]. Beside the tithes of Tallagh, the Dean possessed formerly the right of presentation to the Vicarage, both of which were confirmed to him by a bull of Pope Gregory the IX. in the first year of his pontificate; Archbishop Alan mentions, that, in his time, it was in dispute[6]: the Dean, however, was in possession of it at the dissolution of the Cathedral; but, by the neglect of later times, it has been lost.

The spiritual and temporal possessions of the Dean cannot be better described than by the following extract from an inquisition, held upon the dissolution of the Cathedral, 27th Jan. 38 Henry VIII. [n]

EXTENT OF THE DEAN'S POSSESSIONS, ACCORDING TO INQUISITION 38 HENRY VIII.

Deanrath.	The Dean hath here, by right of his deanery, one castle, or mess. and lxxxxii acres arable land, xiiii of pasture, wood and meadow; each acre worth, per annum, xii*d.* demised to Ffinian Bassenett.	
	Total amount	CVI*s.* VIII*d.*
Ballybane and Angerstown	Here is one messuage, cii acres arab. and xiiii acres meadow and pasture land, each acre worth xii*d.* total v*l.* xvi*s.* likewise, three cottages, which pay one with another, iii*s.* per annum, rent: the tenant of the messuage, above mentioned, renders one hokeday ii*d.* [o] one hen ii*d.* one weding-day i*d.* two plough-dayes xvi*d.* two carte dayes, to draw the lord's hay, xvi*d.* total iii*s.* i*d.* each cottage tenant renders the service of one hokeday ii*d.* one hen ii*d.* one wedyng day i*d.* total xv*d.* In the hamlet of Milton there is a messuage called Clogher's parke, worth v*s.* annually; the tenant moreover renders one hokeday ii*d.* one hen ii*d.* one wedyng day i*d.* total v*d.* and heriots when they occur. This village, with its customs, is demised to Christopher Bassenett for vi*l.* vi*s.* yearly.	
	Total [p] amount	VI*l.* VIII*s.* IX*d.*

[4] Al. reg. fol. 177. [5] Rep. Vir. Alani.. [6] Rep. Vir.

[i] Clonwanwyr was anciently a distinct parish, denominated by the English, Much Cloyne, and was conferred upon the Dean, both in temporals as well as spirituals; it was, however, seized upon by O'More, a neighbouring chieftain of Irish race, who was possessed of it in Alan's time, (Rep. Vir.) It is not now, however, known as a distinct parish from Kilberry. This church is not noticed in the list in the Crede Mihi; Kilberry and Clonard only occur, the one is valued at sixty and the other at twenty marks annually.

[k] Clonard-a-gory, or, as Alan writes in Rep. Vir. Clonarde-i-Agory, is the same as Tullagh-bi-gory above mentioned, it was also a church independent of Kilberry, but now swallowed up in that parish, Alan (Rep. Vir.) mentions that it had its subservient chapels; he calls it, Little Cloyne, near the river Barrow, "in loco munitissimo."

The chapel of Russelstown is mentioned by Alan, (Rep. Vir.) as appendant to Kilberry, yet, in another part of the same work, he seems to insinuate that it was subservient to Clonard-a-gory.

[l] The Dean possessed a glebe here in former times, as appears from a deed, whereby John Alleyn demised, on the 21st May 1479, to Simon Gower, Clerk, his glebe of the church of St. Maelruan, at Taulaght, for fifty-nine years; Gower was to pay the Dean eight silver pence yearly, and to build a house thereon of four coples (coplarum) and to keep the same "styff and staunch" and make new ditches to the glebe. Dig. Dec. pag. 201.

[m] St. Maelruin died 7th July 787. Annals of IV. Masters. Several of the early Bishops of Tallagh are mentioned by the Irish Annalists: a particular account of them will be given in a subsequent volume of this work.

[n] It is somewhat remarkable, that this great inquest was held on the 27th of Jan. the day in which King Henry VIII. terminated his life. The Dean's possessions were ascertained by nineteen Jurors, whose names are annexed to the original document.

Preiston. Here are xxviii acres arable land, iii of meadow, and one of pasture, yearly value xl*s.* demised for that sum to Christopher Bassenett.

Total amount XL*s.*

Clondalkan demesne. Here is one messuage, one acre, three stangs of land and one garden, in tenure of William Person, who pays xiii*s.* iiii*d.* yearly: another messuage, with a garden and one stang of land in tenure of Thomas Boll, rent, per annum, viii*s.* another messuage, three stangs of land and one garden; the tenant, John Reele, pays yearly viii*s.* also, another messuage and garden in tenure of Patrick Brickeley, who pays viii*s.* per annum: a messuage and garden in tenure of Richard Locke, rent, per annum, viii*s.* another messuage and garden in tenure of Richard Plunkett, who pays yearly iiii*s.* and Ffinian Bassenet, who holds, in free tenure, (tenet liberè) one cottage with one acre and one stang of land, with appurtenances, paying a quit rent of xii*d.* yearly: the tenants of the messuages and cottages above mentioned, render, one with another, eleven hooke dayes, each worth ii*d.* eleven medow dayes, each i*d.* eleven wedyng dayes i*d.* each; and eleven hens, each worth ii*d.* total v*s.* vi*d.* and heriots when they occur.

Sum total of rent and customs LV*s.* X*d.*

Kilbride. Here is one cottage and one old chapel, worth yearly - - - - XII*d.*

Clondalkan tythes. The tithes of the town of Clondalkan, within the parish of the same, are worth xxi*l.* per annum, and are demised for that sum to Richard Stanyhurst: the tithes of the town of Kilbryde, within the same parish, are worth, per annum, vi*l.* of Ballydonan, in the same parish, vi*l.* of Nangar and Preyston, in the same, iii*l.* demised to Christopher Bassenett for xl*s.* The tithes of Blundelston, in the same parish, per annum, v*l.* x*s.* demised to William Browne for iiii*l.* of Ballybane, in the same parish, per annum, l*s.* demised to Christopher Bassenett for xl*s.* the tithes of Deanrathe, in the same parish, are worth, per annum, iii*l.* and demised to Ffinian Bassenett for that sum; the tithes of Rollagh and Balmaknaggan, are worth, per annum, viii*l* and demised for that sum to John Sarseweld; the tithes of the town of Drumnaghe, within the same parish, are worth, per annum, liii*s.* iv*d.* the tithes of a field, called Pacefield, in the parish of Tassagard, belonging to the rectory of Clondalkan, are worth, per annum, x*l.* the tithes of the town of Ballychever, in the aforesaid parish of Tassagard, and of certain lands in Tassagard, are worth, per annum, x*l.* and demised for that sum to John Challyner of Dublin, Merch: the tithes of a field, called Conkyll, in the same parish of Tassagard, appertaining to the rectory of Clondalkan, are worth, per annum, xx*s.* and demised for that sum to William Moghell. The alterages of Clondalkan church (the alterages of Dromnagh excepted) are worth, per annum, over and above vi*l.* and one messuage near the cemetary of said church, which are assigned to the Curate for his salary, xxvi*s.* viii*d.*

The alterages of Dromnaghe are worth, per annum, xiii*s.* iv*d.*

Total [q] amount LXXXVI*l.* XIII*s.* IV*d.*

Eskar demesne. The demesne lands of this rectory consist of one messuage, fifteen and a half acres arable and half an acre of meadow land, worth, per annum, xxviii*s.* also, a park containing one stang of ground worth, per annum, vi*d.* a cottage and garden worth, per annum, xii*d.* In the town

The document, from whence this account has been taken, is a fair vellum Book, neatly engrossed; its accuracy is certified by William Sheridan and Henry Echlin: the former person was Prebendary of Howth and chosen Proctor of the Occonomy 25th March 1664: the latter was a Notary Public and Register of the Chapter. By an act of Chapter, dated 14th Sept. 1664, the Proctor was ordered to pay to Henry Echline, the sum of 5*l.* "for his pains, taken in entering and engrossing the inquisition, taken in the eight and thirtieth year of King Henry the eight's reign, into a fair parchment book."

There is a parchment roll in the Auditor General's office, which contains a detailed account of the possessions of this church, when leased to tenants, during the period of its suppression; it differs somewhat from the record above mentioned, but chiefly in minute particulars, and appears not to be upon the whole so accurate.

[o] This duty is stated, whenever it occurs upon the roll in Auditor General's office, to be "one little pig in autumn." The value annexed is, however, the same.

[p] Total value, according to Echlin's copy, is 6*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* according to the roll 6*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* but neither will agree with the aggregate amount of the items which make the sum of 6*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

[q] Echlin's copy does not set forth here any total sum; but the items amount to 80*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which sum is set down in the roll. this, however, includes the 6*l.* assigned to the Curate.

land of Ballydowde, of demesne, appertaining to the same rectory, one park, containing one acre worth, per annum, iv*s.* the tenant of above mentioned messuage renders three hoke days worth vi*d.* and three fowl worth vi*d.* total xii*d.*

Total amount xxxiiii*s.* vi*d.*

Eskar free-tenants. Here Walter Farrell hath in free-hold (tenet liberè) one messuage at iv*s.* per annum, and renders, likewise, five hoke days worth x*d.* and five hens worth x*d.* total xx*d.* the same Walter holds, in like manner, one messuage, an acre and half, rendering ii*s.* per annum rent; one hen worth ii*d.* one hoke day worth ii*d.* total iv*d.* in like manner one messuage and appurtenance, annual rent iii*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.* John Gybbons holds, in like manner one messuage, rendering, per annum, viii*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.* Richard Mason holds, in the same manner, one messuage and garden, annual rent xiii*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.* John Taylor holds, in like manner one messuage, rendering, per annum, vi*d.* John Gybbons one messuage for iii*d.* per annum, now waste; the Wardens of the Gild of St. Anne, in St. Audeon's Church, hold, in like manner, one messuage, rent ii*s.* iii*d.* per annum; three hoke days, value vi*d.* and four hens value viii*d.* total xiv*d.* Thomas Lutterell (Miles) holds, in like manner, two messuages for xii*d.* per annum; two hoke days worth iv*d.* and two hens worth iv*d.* total viii*d.* the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, hold, in like manner, one void space, rendering vi*d.* per annum, now waste; the Wardens (gardiani) of the parish-church of Eskar, hold in like manner, one messuage at i*d. ob.* per annum, one hoke day worth ii*d.* and one hen worth ii*d.* total iv*d.* Patrick Leche holds, in like manner, one messuage, rendering, per annum, xviii*d.* one hoke day worth ii*d.* and one hen worth ii*d.* total iv*d.* the Wardens of the parish church of Eskar hold, in like manner, one other messuage for rent of ii*d.* per annum; one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.* also, another messuage for viii*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.* Patt. Leche holds, in like manner, one messuage, rendering, per annum, iv*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* and one hen ii*d.* total iv*d.*[r] same Leche holds, in like manner, one garden, called St. Funan's garden, rent iv*d.* the Wardens of the church of Eskar hold, in like manner, half an acre, called "Saynte Marye half acre" rendering ii*d.* per annum.

Total amount xxii*s.* xi*d. ob.*

Eskar[s] tithes. The Jurors extend the tithes of corn and hay of the townland of Eskar, in the same parish, to vi*l.* per annum, for which sum they are leased to John Allen; the tithes of corn and hay of the townland of Ballyowyn, in the same parish, to viii*l.* per annum, for which sum they are demised to Patrick Holder; the tithes of corn and hay of Ballydowde, in the the same parish, to vii*l.* vi*s.* per annum, leased for so much to John Ryan; the tithes of corn and hay of Ffeyneston and Coldreynye,[t] in the same parish, to viii*l.* per annum, being demised to Thomas Allen for that sum; tithes of corn and hay of Cusshocke and Ballgaddy, in the same parish, to lxxiii*s.* iv*d.* being demised for that sum to Patrick Holder; the alterages of the same parish are worth, per annum, v*l.* and are assigned to the curate for his portion; the Dean is held to repair the Chancel at his private expence.

Total amount (exclusive of v*l.* the curate's portion) xxxii*l.* xix*s.* iv*d.*

Racowle demesne. The demesne lands are thirteen acres of arrable meadow and pasture land, worth, per annum, - - - - - - - - - xiv*s.*

[r] The inquisition, held 1 Edward VI. inserts here another holding, described as follows: "The Wardens of Eskar hold, in like manner, one messuage, and pay yearly iiii*d.* one hoke day ii*d.* one hen ii*d.* total iiii*d.*" and so does, likewise, the roll before mentioned; it was omitted through neglect in the copy by Echlin, as appears by the sum total.

[s] From a terrier of the Vicarage, dated 1753, we learn, that Ballydowd, Beggarsbush, Coldcut and Kishouge paid then both great and small tithes to the Vicar, as did twenty-one acres of Eskar, called Bishopfield, Arshallagh, Kippinshone; the rest of the parish (which, according to this account, comprises the Hamlets of Ballyowen, Rowlough, Finstown, Spentenysmoor and Cooltrina) paid great tithes to the Dean and small to the Vicar.

[t] The tithes of corn and hay in Cooldrina and Spentenemore, (members of Bakestowne) parish of Lucan and Esker, were leased in 1676, by the Dean, for twenty-one years, at 4*l.* per annum, to Richard Rich, Esq. in consideration of his surrendering all his pretended right to the same. Min. of Chapt.

Racowl tithes. The tithes of corn and hay of this rectory are payable out of the following town lands, viz. Rathcowle, Rathcredan, Ballmakelly, Grenoke, Wayspanston, Johnston, and Wyndmill Land, worth xviii*l.* per annum, (beside alterages of the parish church, of the value of iv*l.* per annum, assigned to the curate for his portion, and beside the repair of the chauncell, which is supported by the Dean) it is however leased to Oliver Stephyns for xvii*l.*

Total amount xviii*l.*

Tallaugh demesne. The demesne appertaining to this rectory, consists of one messuage and garden, in tenure of Richard Fitz-william, which renders, per annum, - - - - - - - - vs.

Tallaugh tithes. The tithes of the demesne lands here, extend over the towns of Tallaugh and Newton, and are worth, per annum, v*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* demised for that sum to the Archbishop of Dublin; the tithes of corn and hay in the towns of Oldbawne and Ballyloghan, in the same parish, are worth, per annum, lii*s.* and are demised for that sum to James Bath: the tithes of corn and hay of Burghullon, Kilnardyn, Kiltipper and Ballmalyffe, are worth, per annum, iii*l.* the tithes of corn and hay of the town of Corbally, per annum, vi*l.* the tithes of corn and hay of the towns of Jobestown, Killowan, Whytestown and Cokestown, per annum, viii*l.* and demised for the same to Oliver Stephyns; tithes of corn and hay in the towns of Prowderstown and Donyngesfeld are worth, per annum, xl*s.* the tithes of corn and hay in towns of Belgard, Newland, Ballycaran and Newhall, per annum, viii*l.* and demised for that sum to Patrick Henry; tithes of corn and hay in the town of Kilmanagh, in the same parish, per annum, vi*l.* demised to Nicholas Stanyhurst for v*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* tithes of corn and hay in the town of Tymothan, in the same parish, worth, per annum, v*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* and demised for that sum to the Archbishop of Dublin; tithes of corn and hay of the towns of Ballycullyan, Ballycraghe and Kyllynynyn, in the same parish, worth, per annum, xl*s.* and demised for that sum to Patrick Barnewell. The Vicar of the parish church possesses all the alterages of said parish by right of his vicarage, the advowson of which vicarage belongs to the Dean.

Total amount xlviii*l.* x*s.* iv*d.*

Kilbery demesne. Here are, of demesne lands, nine score acres arable and sixty of meadow and pasture, (besides twenty acres which O'More, of Irish nation, unjustly detains,) worth, per annum, vi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.*

Kilbery tithes. The tithes of corn and hay, in the towns of Kilberry and Rosselstown, are worth, per annum, fifty marks, and are demised to Thomas Eustace, Lord of Kylcullyn, with the demesne land of the same for xl*l.* per annum.

Total amount xl*l.*

Total value of the deanery - - ccxlvi*l.* ix*s.* ix*d. ob.*
From hence deduct repairs of chancels - vi*l.*
The [u] net value of the same is - ccxl*l.* ix*s.* ix*d. ob.*

[u] The sum total appears, by the several items, to amount to 246*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.* the variation is scarce deserving of notice.

[x] The following account of the Dean's possessions was drawn up about the year 1660, by one Wilkinson: as it varies from the inquisition in many places it is perhaps worthy of insertion.

The Dean's portion consists of his demesne lands, tithes and customs.

Demesne lands.

His demesne lands were Deansrath-court, one cas. and one hundred acres of arable land, five and a half acres of meadow, set in 1646, for twenty-one years, rent, per annum 10*l.*

Ballybane, Priest-town, Angerstown, Crowthersland, two hundred acres, set in 1637 for twenty-one years, rent per annum 25*l.*

In town of Clondalkin were anciently several tenements and several acres of land, all at present concealed by the freeholders, except two and a half acres of plow land and one stang of meadow, and two tenements with the endowed Vicar there, and two other tenements one acre and a stang of land, which P. Fernely, during these troubles, hath seised and detains.

In the village of Kilbride there is one old chapel and one acre of land, which is also concealed by the proprietor of said town.

The Dean also enjoyed, as in right of his deanery, eighteen acres of land in the town of Eskar and one in Ballydowd, which were given to the Vicar, upon first endowment by Dean Meredith.

The Dean enjoyed in Rathcooll thirteen acres, pasture and meadow, given to the Vicar on his endowment.

In town of Taulaght he enjoyed one messuage and one garden which was also estated on the Vicar.

In the Rectory of Kilbery the Dean enjoyed a rich portion called the mannor and lands of Kilbery, Castleriddy, Cloony, and Conwaniur, which, together with other things hereafter mentioned, were set for forty-nine years, in 1637, to Sir Robert Meredith, Knt. for 50*l.* 1*s.*

Tithes.

The Dean's tithes were growing out of the towns following, viz. Clondalkin parish, containing the town lands of Clondalkin,

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Precentor.

By the charter of Archbishop Henry, there were assigned, for the support of this dignitary, the church of Luske, at that time the Prebend of Philip de Bray, whom he nominated to this dignity; the church of Ardrie, with its chapels and appurtenances; the church of St. Andrew, as soon as it should become vacant; and, the church of Donaghemelack, which was prebendal at the time of John Comin, and was annexed to the corps of this dignity in very early times, although not by the foundation charter of Archbishop Henry: Archbishop Alan asserts, that it was given instead of one moiety of Luske, at the same time that Tawney was given to the Archdeacon for the other portion of that church[1]; this last parish is at present known by the name of Burgage.

The church of Kilmactalway was united to the Precentorship by Archbishop Minot, in 1366; the revenues of that dignitary having been much reduced by the invasion of the Irish: it continued so united till 1467, when Kilmactalway was erected into a distinct Prebend, and half the parish of Luske conferred upon the Precentor in lieu thereof.

The church of Luske,[b] by the original charter, united to the Precentorship, was either then or at a subsequent period, divided into two Prebends; after a lapse of some centuries (in 1467) a moiety of it was restored to the Precentor by Archbishop

[1] Repert. Virid.

Kilbride, Baldonan, Nangar, Priestowne, Blundelstown, Bellamount, also Ballymergin, Ballybane, Dean's-rath, Rollaugh, Ballmaknoggan.

The tithes of the Pacefield, near Tassagard, Nealstowne, Ballgaddy, Collinstowne and Colcutt.

Drumnagh tithes also were the ancient fee of the Dean, but established by endowment upon the Vicar, together with alterages and small tithes of the whole parish and glebe, formerly mentioned.

The tithes of Esker, containing these town lands, Esker, Ballyowen, Finnstowne, Coldrinah, Kishoke, and part of Irishtowne (called Garretstown and Nunchoes†) only the Vicar enjoys on his endowment the great tithes of Ballydowd and the Bishop's field in Esker; the tithe of hay and all the small tithes of the rest of the parish.

The tithes of Rathcoole, containing Rathcoole, Ballymakelly, Grenoke, Wayspanstown and Johnstown, the Vicar thereof enjoyed as his part the great tithes of Rathcredan and Windmill lands, together with his glebe and the small tithes of the whole parish.

The tithes of Tallagh, containing Tallaught, Newtown, Oldbawn, Ballilaghan, Burgallon, Killenardin, Kiltipper, Ballmaliffe, Corbally, Jobestowne, Kiltalowen, Whitestown, Cookstown, Prowderstown, Comingsfield, Belgard, Newland, Carranstown, Newhall, Kilnemanagh, Timothan, Ballicullen, Ballicragh and Killeninin.

Kilbery,* containing the towns of Kilbery, Birt, Clony, Shrewland, Kilcolman, Oldcourt, Tallaghgory, Presnelstowne, Shanraghin, Tirrelstown, Clonwannir and Russelstown; only hereout, at time of date of last lease a Vicar was endowed with one-third the tithes throughout the whole Rectory, and one acre of glebe land (rest demised with land of Kilbery for rent there named, reserving one-third the timber trees.)

The Dean also enjoyed a Mansion in the Close, now set to Mr. John King for forty years, from May 1656, at 6*l*.

Customs.

The Dean's customs were a reservation of some petty rents, hens, &c. out of certain tenements in Eskar, and two tenements in Clondalkin, at present all waste. MS. Penes Arpum.

† This word is scarce legible in orig. MS.

* Francis Moore, incumbent in 1718, in his list of the townlands of Kilbery, omits Kilcolman, Presnelstown, Tirrelstown and Clonwanwir, and adds one not here noticed, viz. Ardmore. Orig. penes. Arpum.

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[a] The chu:ch of Kilfernoc was given to the Precentor, Eudo de St. Edmund, during life, but it never was part of the corps of that dignity; Eudo died in 1284. Repert. Virid.

[b] The church of Luske was appropriated in early times to the Archdeacon of Dublin, either in the whole or in part: W. de Northfeld who was Archdeacon at the time of Archbishop Henry, claimed, together with W. de London, the church of Balruddery, as an appendage to that rectory. Al. regist. fol. 9. ante taxat.—W. de Northfeld and W. de London are both stiled Canons of St. Patrick's and Prebendaries of Luske; but there is no evidence that the latter was Precentor. John de Wrokeshall who died in 1318, had been presented to the Vicarage of Luske by a person, whose name I read Richard de Havering; this appears from an inquisition held in that year: Havering was Precentor in 1306, in which year he was elected Archbishop: this seems proof sufficient, that the parish of Luske continued annexed to that dignity, nevertheless the reader will find, the Dignity of Precentor valued distinct from the two Prebends of Luske, in several of the taxations published in the appendix, and in some rated at a much lower value than either; moreover, the charter of Michael Tregury (in 1467) manifestly confers on the Precentor and Treasurer what they did not before possess. Neither is it easy to determine the time when the other moiety of Luske ceased to be of the corps of the Archdeaconry: Alan thinks a change was made by Archbishop Luke and that he granted Tawney in lieu thereof, if so, it must have been at the time of W. de Northfeld, for he occurs as incumbent of both parishes. Vide Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 26.—Archbishop

Michael: to this church, that of Balrothery was in early times subservient, as were the chapels of Baldongan, and Lambecher at Bremore; the two former continued long after their disunion to pay pensions to the mother church. At the time of Alan, Luske had two subservient chapels; Rushe, situated in the land of the Earl of Ormond, and Kilnure or Spencers or Knightstown, [2] now known by the corrupted name of Whitestown. The church of Luske was dedicated to St. Maculin, and within it there was anciently a chapel dedicated to St. Maurus; the tithes of this parish, or at least a portion of them, belonged, in early times, to St. Mary's-abbey, near Dublin; the Prior and Monks, however, assigned their right to Archbishop John Comin.

The parish of Ardry [c] is situated in the county of Kildare, south of the town of Athy and on either side of the river Barrow: Milo de Staunton, the ancient Patron of the church, conferred it upon the monastery of St. Thomas, near Dublin; but this disposal did not meet with the approbation of Archbishop Henry, who, with the consent of all parties, gave the church of Strobo, within the Diocess of Laughlin, whereof he was Patron, to the Monastery, and settled Ardrie on the Precentor; it was at that time endowed with half a carucate of land. [3]

The church of St. Andrew, [d] originally annexed to this dignity, was, at the time of Archbishop Alan, assigned to the Chanter's Vicar. [4]

[2] Repert. Virid.

Alan is not, however, clear upon this point, in one part of his other work (Repert. Virid. voce Tawney) he says, that one moiety of Luske was the ancient Prebend of the Archdeacon, and changed by Archbishop Luke for Tawney; and, in another part of the same, (voce Luske) he says the whole parish was conferred by Archbishop Henry on the Precentor, but afterwards became divided into two portions, whereof one was given to the Archdeacon; that, at a still later period, another change was made, and the parishes of Tawney and Dunethimelack were granted to the two Dignitaries above mentioned, for the two portions of Luske.

The names of several persons, Prebendaries of Luske, are to be found in ancient writings, of these I have noted the following, viz.

1284–Walter Scamnel, who, in that year, was made Bishop of Sarum; he was succeeded in his Prebend by

—— Roger Fitzroger, who, in the same year, presented his clerk to the Vicarage.

1294–James of Spain, occurs in the taxation of this year, from which document it appears he had half the Prebend of Luske.

—— R. de Apyngdon was at that time Prebendary of the other moiety; he was likewise guardian of the temporalities of the See of Dublin.

1381–John de Bryen was Prebendary of one portion in this year, as appears from an order on the Rolls, 5 Richard II. commanding that the issues and profits of his prebend, which he had forfeited by long absence, should be sold.

1452–31 Henry VI. John Wright was Prebendary of one portion of Luske, stiled, "ex parte decani." Rot. Tur. Berm.

1457–Richard Eustace was nominated by papal provision Prebendary of one portion, viz. "ex parte precentoris," he obtained, however, a pardon for this offence, which was confirmed by act of parliament, 36 Hen. VI. Thomas Bloomfield, who was nominated by Archbishop Michael, had sued Eustace upon the stat. of provisors. It appears from the act of parliament above quoted, that one William Tregury had likewise obtained a papal provision for the same Benefice. Stat. Roll. 36 Henry VI.

It appears that there were two Vicars endowed at Luske in very early times; in 1284 an inquisition was held to determine the right of patronage; the Jury decided, that, during the vacancy of the See, the Dean and Chapter did present, but at other times the Archbishop: the Vicarage was then valued at thirty-four marks: in 1294, James of Spain, one of the Prebendaries presented: in 1318, an inquisition was held concerning the right of presentation, the jury was framed of fifteen Clergy-men and seventeen Lay-men; they decided, that the Rector was the true patron; the same jurors reported the value at that time to be 10*l.* yearly. Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 26, etc. The two Vicarages were consolidated some time before the year 1639, by consent of the Archbishop, "*propter exilitatem, etc.*" they have continued so united ever since; the Precentor and Treasurer presenting thereto alternately.

The Chanter's moiety of the tithes of Luske were leased (in 1663) for 65*l.* per annum, a fine was likewise paid, but the amount is not expressed: in 1661 the Treasurer's glebe, at Luske, was demised for 10*l.* per annum: in 1674, the Treasurer's moiety of the tithes were leased for 91*l.* per annum. Leases S. Pat. regist.

[c] Francis Moore, incumbent in 1718, transmitted to the Archbishop an account of this parish, which, although not quite correct, is worthy of insertion. "Ardree is a farm of about five hundred acres, not distant from Athy half a mile, four hundred of these acres are in the parish of Tankardstown, I am Curate of the remaining one hundred; the tithes of these one hundred belong to the Chanter of St. Patrick's and about forty acres of glebe; I have one third the tithe, worth yearly about 10*s.* but no part of the glebe." Orig. penes Arpum.—This appropriation of one third the tithe to the service of the cure obtained in ancient times, as appears from a lease of the Precentor's tithes, dated 1672; the Chanter's land was surveyed in 1763, and was found to contain ninety-nine acres and fifteen perches Irish plantation measure: in 1798 these lands were demised for 13*l.* per annum, rent.

[d] Hugh, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, compromised a dispute between the Prior of All Saints and Henry de Worcester, Rector of St. Andrew's in St. Patrick's church, about the tithes of the King's new mills, situated under the Castle of Dublin; according to his award they were to be divided equally between the parties.

On the 2d July, 3 Edward VI. John Ryan, of Dublin, Merchant, obtained a lease for twenty-one years of the Rectory of St. Andrew the Apostle, and also the chapel of St. Andrew and the cemetery of said chapel, a certain parcel of land adjoin-

The church of Donaghemelack or Burgage[c] was a Prebend of the College founded by John Comin, the precise time it was annexed to this dignity has not been discovered: to this church were subservient, the chapels of Comenstown and Tolachfergus[5]; this parish was comprised within the ancient barony of Coylagh, it is situated on the river Liffey, on the borders of the counties of Wicklow and Dublin.[f]

Alan calls this church the Prebend of the Precentor, and the church of Ardry, with its appendages, his dignity.[6]

I have hereunto annexed from that very important document, the Inquisition of 38 Henry VIII. an account of the possessions which this dignitary holds in common with the treasurer, and likewise those which are exclusively his own.[g]

[5] Repert. Virid.

[6] Al. reg. fol. 177.

ing the same on the west and a garden on the north of said chapel, also the tithes of three orchards in the parish of St. Andrew, and fifteen gardens and a dove-house in the suburbs of the city of Dublin, for the yearly rent of 24*s.* 4*d.* Rot. Pipæ.

Although St. Andrew's parish had been united to St. Werburgh's by Archbishop George Brown, it was, in 1660, disunited therefrom by act of Parliament and made a distinct parish: the patronage of the Vicarage was vested in the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chief Baron, the Chief Justices and Master of the Rolls, or any four of them, the Archbishop to be always one; in 1707, St. Mark's was taken therefrom and made a distinct parish by act of Parliament, the same persons were to continue patrons of the new vicarage. It is difficult to assign any reason why the Precentor should have been deprived of the patronage of the Vicarage, or why the right of nomination was placed in a body of men, none of whom (the Archbishop excepted) could have had the most distant claim to the advowson.

The church of St. Andrew and its cemetery stood on the south side of Dame-street: a Flesh-market was afterwards erected upon the site, denominated the Castle-market; this last has likewise given place to a handsome row of buildings: the church occupies, at present, a more easterly position, is of a circular form, its interior very splendidly decorated, but its exterior, together with its unfinished steeple, exhibits a strange heterogeneous collection of architectural blunders; the humour of every one of its tasteless projectors appears to have been gratified by the introduction of somewhat of his favorite style: so much of its steeple as is finished is Gothic, executed in hewn limestone; the church is of brick; the entrance or porch of granite; the situation of every part is likewise misplaced, the church opens upon the street, so that divine service is perpetually interrupted by the noise of carriages; had the steeple been placed, so that its lower part should serve as a vestibule, this most considerable defect in its construction, would have been remedied.

By the same statute which established the Vicarage, a yearly pension of 10*l.* per annum, to be paid by the Vicar, was reserved to the Precentor in lieu of his rectorial tithes. The Precentor possessed, likewise, a profit rent from certain houses which had been erected upon the site of the ancient cemetery of the parish church, and when those houses were demolished about the year 1786, by the Commissioners for making wide and convenient streets, the Precentor was awarded a certain sum of money in lieu of this appropriated rent; finally, in pursuance of a decree of the court of Chancery, the sum so granted was vested in government security, to the intent that the Precentor and his successors should obtain the interest payable therefrom, and this sum continues to be periodically received by him. The decree erroneously sets forth, that those houses were conferred upon the Precentor in lieu of the pension above mentioned; but I am informed that he receives that sum likewise.

The Precentor still possesses part of the ancient glebe of this parish; it is situated on the north side of Dame-street, and was leased, in 1644, to Sir George Wentworth, for forty years, at 4*l.* per annum. Wilkinson's Report, penes Arpum.—Wentworth erected a dwelling-house and expended theron 600*l.* In 1670, Sir Alex. Bench, Knight, obtained a renewal for forty years; in this latter lease the premises are described: they extended along Dame-street seventy feet, and measured from north to south ninety-eight feet. In 1676 Sir John Coghill obtained a renewal; the houses, erected by that family or their tenants, encompassed a small space of ground which obtained the name of Coghill's-court: in 1816, the rent reserved was 30*l.* per annum. Leases St. Pat. regist. and Min. of Chapt.

[c] On 23d Oct. 1662, Dr. Mossom demised for twenty-one years, the towns and lands of Burgage, with the Burgage Moyle, Kilmalun, Knockurin, and Dolamy, in the parish of Burgage; also the great and small tithes of Burgage aforesaid, of Three Castles, the Moyle, Little Burgage, Comenstown, Tolfaris, called "Tolachfergus, seu Kilfelgar" in the Cr. Mihi, and Russelstowne, for 16*l.* per annum rent of the land and 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the tithes; it was conditioned, that, as soon as a minister should be appointed, he should have one-third of the tithe and that a rateable proportion should be deducted from the rent. It appears, moreover, that a portion of the land, thus demised, had not been recovered by the church; this lease was resigned in the next following year, and a new one, whereby the lands only were leased, was issued on the 1st July. The boundaries of the Precentor's estate, called Great Burgage, are accurately set forth in this last demise; "having the river Liffey to the east, Kilmalun to the west, land of Three Castles on the north, and the Burgage Moyle on the south;" those lands, according to a survey, made, in 1740, comprise fonr hundred and fourteen acres: in 1797, the lands of Burgage were demised to Jos. Paul Meredith, Esq. for 70*l.* per annum. Leases St. Pat. regist.

The tithes of Burgage were demised, in 1665, to Philip Packenham; and this lease was granted in pursuance of a license from the Lord Deputy and Council, issued in consequence of a petition from the Chanter, who stated, that several members of the Rectory were detained from him by the surrounding inhabitants, viz. Kilmalun, Russelstown and Monfine, and could not be recovered at common law by reason of the loss of the Chanter's records, but Pakenham had engaged to recover the same; a commission was issued by the same authority, to value the tithes, which were reported to be then worth 25*l.* per annum; there is no mention of Dolamy in this latter deed. Leases St. Pat. reg.—In 1808, the Chanter's tithes of Burgage and Luske were demised for 100*l.* per annum. Min. of Chapt.

[f] Besides the several possessions here mentioned, and his manse and gardens within the Close, the Precentor hath a portion of ground lying on the east side of Bride-street, without the Dean's liberty: in Nov. 1662, Dr. Mossom, then Chanter, demised this lot of ground to Deborah, widow of Dean Culme, for forty years, at 6*l.* per annum; this lease describes it as two houses, situated on the east side of Bride-street, "over against the south end of the Chanter's garden-wall, lying on the west side of the same street, containing from north to south, at the west end, sixty-six feet, eight inches, and from east to west, eighty-five feet:" it appears that Dean Culme had erected the two houses above described, at his own charge; but, being seized on by the Usurper, his family had not, during ten years preceding, received any profit from them. Min. of Chapt.

Extent of the Rectory of Luske,[h] divided into two portions; the one moiety, of James Umfrey, late Precentor; the other, of Nicholas Fitzwilliams, late Treasurer.

Demesne Lands.

Precentor's portion. There are at Luske, of demesne lands, belonging to the Rectory, one messuage, called the Parsonage, with garden and haggard, not valued, because assigned to the Vicar for his manse: likewise, near the high cross, a messuage and garden, with xl acres arable, meadow and pasture, in Ballalye, within the same parish, (being the Precentor's part) which they extend to xl*s.* per annum.

Amount XL*s.*

Treasurer's portion. Likewise, of demesne lands, (being the Treasurer's part) near the high cross, a messuage and garden with xl acres arable, meadow and pasture, in Ballalye, which they extend to xl*s.* per annum.

Amount XL*s.*

Tithes.

Luske. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are payable out of the following town-lands, viz. Luske, Knockdrom, Bishopsland, Rogerston, Ballaly, New Haggard and Balloghe, worth, per annum, xx*l.* divided as above, and leased, the Precentor's part to Robert Bathe, the Treasurer's to Richard Wade, for x*l.* per annum, each.

Amount XX*l.*

Curduffe, &c. The tithes of corn and hay from the town-lands of Curduffe, parcel of Newtown, and Little Turvey, are worth, per annum, xii*l.* and are divided as the preceding.

Amount XII*l.*

Collinston, &c. The tithes of corn and hay of this portion issue from the Hamlets of Collinston, Rathmoney, Ballmaguire and Rathlucaston, and are worth, per annum, vi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* the Precentor's part demised to Humph. Umfrey for lxvi*s.* viii*d.* the Treasurer's to Pat. Walshe for lxvi*s.* viii*d.* two capons, value vi*d.* and two geese, value viii*d.* total xiv*d.*

Total amount VI*l.* XIV*s.* VI*d.*

"The longe tithe." The tithes, called the longe tithes, are payable out of the town-lands of Donganston, Colcote, parcel of Newton, Irishtown, parcel of Davyeston, Sclaffardeston, a certain parcel of land called "Riglas in Luske," the tithes of certain crofts in Gracedewe, worth, per annum, viii*l.* divided as the preceding and leased, the Precentor's part to John Murtaghe, the Treasurer's to Robert Walshe, for iv*l.* each.

Amount VIII*l.*

Russhe and Whiteston. The tithes of corn and hay from the town-lands of Russhe and Whitestown, are worth, per annum, vii*l.* ix*s.* iv*d.* and two dozen of dry ling, divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part leased to John Garrett for lxvi*s.* viii*d.* and one dozen dry ling, value viii*s.* total lxxiv*s.* viii*d.* the Treasurer's to John Garrett for the same sum yearly.

Total amount VII*l.* IX*s.* IV*d.*

Tyrrelston, &c. The tithes of Tyrrelston are payable out of the Hamlets of Tyrrelston, Ratherthen, Hayeston, Effelston, Rathauny and Little Tyrrelston, worth, per annum, vii*l.* divided as the former; the Precentor's part leased to Patrick Murran for lxx*s.* that of the Treasurer to Donald M'Rory for lxx*s.*

Total[i] amount VII*l.* X*s.*

Ballykee. The tithes of Ballykee are worth, per annum, lxvi*s.* viii*d.* divided as the former, and demised to Richard Geffrey for that sum.

Amount LXVI*s.* VIII*d.*

Kilmeighe. The tithes whereof issue from Ballydromman, Ballestron, Hoggeston, Jordanston, lands called the xl acres and Obreyston, and are worth, per annum, viii*l.* divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to John Baall, the Treasurer's to Simon Cawill for iv*l.* each.

Total amount VIII*l.*

[h] This Inquisition was held at Luske on 17th Jan. 38 Hen. VIII. the jury was comprised of thirty-one persons, all of that parish.

[i] The total amount should be but 7*l.* it is nevertheless set down at 7*l.* 10*s.* this error and those hereafter noted, have likewise crept into the grand total.

Ardlawe. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are payable from the town-lands of Ardlawe and Milveston, worth, per annum, xlivs. divided as the last; the Precentor's part let to William Dovet, the Treasurer's, with his moiety of tithes of Balcony, &c. as hereafter described.

Total amount XLIVs.

Balcony and Heithston. The tithes whereof issue from the town-lands of the same names, worth, per annum,[k] **** divided at the preceding; the Treasurer's part demised, with his portion of Ardlawe, (valued at xxiis.) to James Farnwell, for liiis. ivd. the Precentor's portion of these tithes to William Laghnen and Walter May, for xxxis. ivd.

Total amount, with half the tithe of Ardlawe, LXIIs. VIIId.

Parnelston, &c. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are payable out of the hamlets of Parnelston, Knighteston, Johnston and Thomon, and are worth, per annum, vil. divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part (except half the tithes of Thomon) are demised to Pat. Moakyn for lxs. that of the Treasurer to Thomas Hunter, for lxs.

Total amount VIl.

Wymmilton. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, issue from the town lands of Wymmilton and Murdre, yearly value cvis. viiid. divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to James Dillon for liiis. ivd. the Treasurer's to William Donnell for the like sum.

Total amount CVIs. VIIId.

Hakettyston, &c. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are payable out of the hamlets of Haketistowne, Pyerston, Lamlotterie, Ballycabyll and Askayne,[l] and are worth, per annum, cvis. viiid. divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to John Parker, for liiis. ivd. the Treasurer's to Janet Ball, for the like sum.

Total amount CVIs. VIIId.

Walsshtowne The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are worth, per annum lxxiis. divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to Patrick Coke, for xxxvis. and the Treasurer's (with half Thoman above mentioned) to Patrick Aghe, for xxxvis.

Total amount LXXIIs.

Kynnure,&c. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are payable from the town-lands of Kynnure, Loghcynny, Thomaston and Ballybetaughe, and are worth, per annum, xl. divided as the preceding, and demised to Simon Cawell, for that sum.

Total amount xl.

Three Rowans. The tithes of corn and hay whereof, are worth, per annum, liiis. ivd. and are divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to William M'Loo, for xxvis. viiid. the Treasurer's to John Kerdiffe, for the like sum.

Total amount LIIIs. IVd.

Newett. The tithes of Newett are worth, per annum, xlviiis. and are divided as the preceding; the Precentor's part demised to Thomas Boylle, for xxivs. the Treasurer's to Donaghe O'Kean, for the like sum.

Total amount IIl. VIIIs.

Pension.

Ballrotherye pension. The aforesaid Precentor and Treasurer used likewise to receive annually, a certain pension of vil. out of the rectory of Balrotherye, from the hands of the farmers of the same, which was divided equally between them.

Total amount VIl.

The Jurors further say, that there are two Vicars at Luske who receive all the alterages, which they divide equally; the advowson of one belongeth to the Precentor and of the other to the Treasurer; each of the yearly value of xl. the Precentor and Treasurer are bound, moreover, to repair the chancel of the parish church of Luske.

Total value[m] of the Rectory of Luske CXXIIIl. XIIIs. xd.

[k] There is no sum set down in this place, the total amount likewise is wrong, as it should be 62s. 8d. exclusively of tithes of Ardlawe.

[l] Wilkinson, in his account (1660) says, that these tithes were then in dispute.

Extent of the Prebend of Burgage and Rectory of St. Andrew without the walls of Dublin, 27th January, 38 Henry VIII.[n]

Burgage.	There are, belonging to this Prebend, diverse messuages and lx acres of arable land, together with the tithes, which extend over Burgage and the townlands of Three Castels, Comenston, Tullaghfergus, Russelstown, Lytell Burgage, Kylmalumey[o] within said parish, value, per annum, besides expence of two chaplains, (one in Burgage and the other in Three Castels, who are paid by the farmer of the tithes)	xx*l.*
St. Andrew.	The tithes, alterages and oblations of this Rectory are worth, per annum, beside the Curate's stipend and repair of Chancel	ii*l.*

Extent of the Prebend of Ardrye, according to Inquisition, held 27th January, 38 Henry VIII.[p]

Ardrye.	Eight acres of great measure on the west side of the river Barrowe and eight acres of like measure on the east side of the same river, each of which contains four acres of the small measure. The demesne lands, together with the tithes of the same, and likewise those of a certain portion belonging to James Fitz-gerald, in Ardry, and those of another parcel of land in Athie, together with the alterages of the same, are worth (beside the Curate's Stipend and repair of Chancels which are discharged by the Farmer)	vi*l.*	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Chancellor.

Archbishop Henry de Loundres assigned for the support of this dignitary, the church of Ffynglas, at that time the Prebend of Master Thomas de Castello, who was nominated by him first Chancellor of this Cathedral; also, the church of St. Martin in the city of Dublin, and that of Killaghgear[a] with its appurtenances, the two latter to be thus appropriated when they should become vacant: in September 1231, the church of Derlasser, with its appendant chapel of Harpstown, (Villa Citharæ) was granted by Archbishop Luke, Thomas de Craville, at that time Chancellor, having previously resigned the church of Killaghgear.[1]

Archbishop Alan calls Villa Citharæ the dignity, and Ffinglas the prebend of the Chancellor.[2]

The church of Finglas, one of the thirteen Prebends of Comin's College, had for its patron St. Canice the Abbot: to it were subservient the three following chapels, viz. Donachnor or St. Margaret's chapel at Dunsoghly; St. Bridget's chapel at Ward, called in ancient times, the town of Reimund La Bank; and St. Nicholas's chapel at Artaine or Tirtaine: In the year 1621, a Vicar[b] was endowed at Finglas

[1] Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 625.

[2] Al. regist. fol. 177.

[m] The demesne lands and tithes of this parish were valued by Inquisition 1st Edward VI. at 136*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* per annum.

[n] The names of five Jurors are annexed to this Inquisition.

[o] Wilkinson calls this town-land Kilmalvey, the Inquisition 1st Edward VI. Kilmalumny.

[p] This Inquisition was held at Dublin, on the same day, there were but four Jurors sworn.

[a] Alias Killachegar, this church is placed by Alan in the Deanery of Bray. Repert. Virid.

[b] The endowment of the Vicarage by James Usher, made a considerable change in the profits of the Rectory; not having seen the original deed, I subjoin an account taken from the manuscript of Wilkinson, which was drawn up in 1660. According to his statement, the castle and demesne-lands, described in Inquisition 38 Hen. VIII. had been assigned to the Vicar.

"The tithes of this parish, "he writes," consist of the tithes of corn and hay of the town of Finglass, Kildonan, Balsiskin, great and little Johnstowne and Chamberstowne, of part of the

by the celebrated James Usher, at that time Chancellor, who resigned the glebe and an adequate portion of the tithes to serve as a maintenance for him and his successors.

The church of St. Martin stood near the city wall, not far distant from the pole-gate, its ruins were scarcely to be distinguished in the time of Alan; within the same parish the church of St. Werburgh [c] was erected, which has given its name to the parish; it was built by certain citizens of Bristol and by them dedicated to the patron saint [d] of their native city; it appears to have been founded in very early times, being mentioned among the parochial churches of Dublin in a deed of Archbishop Laurence O'Toole.

Derlasser was, as Alan informs us, the principal church in his territory of Fertir, but neither this, nor its appendant chapel of Harpstown, [e] have been for a long time enjoyed by the Chancellor; in the time of Alan the tithes were appropriated to the See of Dublin, and they continued to be held by the Archbishop's his successors, until the year 1728, when Archbishop King, having granted to the See in lieu of those tithes, a portion of land purchased by himself, conferred them upon the parochial Minister, who, though he is stiled Curate, enjoys the rectorial tithes of this extensive but thinly inhabited parish.

When the Cathedral was suppressed in the last year of King Henry VIII. reign, the possessions of this dignitary were valued in like manner with those of the other members of this establishment, of this inquest, the following is an abstract.

Extent and value of the Rectories of Ffinglas, St. Werburghe and Harpystown, according to Inquisition held at Dublin on the 27th of Jan. 38th Hen. VIII. [f]

Demesne.	There are at Ffinglas, of demesne lands appertaining to this Rectory, one fortress (Fortilagium) and one messuage called the parsonage, with a garden and haggard, of the yearly value of viii*s.* likewise, another messuage and eighteen acres of land, arable and pasture, yearly value xii*s.*	
	Total amount	xx*s.*
Kildownan.	The tithes hereof are payable out of the town-lands of Kyldownan, Balseskan, great and little Johnston, Chamberstown, and Ffinglas, worth, per annum, together with the aforesaid lands (beside alterages assigned to the Curate and reparations of the Chancel) xx*l.* and are demised for that sum to George Rery.	
	Amount	xx*l.*
Cabraghe.	The tithes hereof are payable out of the town-lands of Moche and Litell Cabraghe, and are worth, per annum, xxvi*s.* viii*d.* for which they are leased to Nicholas Stanyhurst.	
	Amount	xxvi*s.* viii*d.*
Braghane.	The tithes hereof are worth, per annum, lvi*s.* viii*d.* and demised for that sum to John Pluncket.	
	Amount	lvi*s.* viii*d.*

lands of much and little Cabragh, Braghans, and Kilshane, now the Vicar's portion, and Crucerath. The parish of Dowans alias St. Margaret's comprehends the town of Dunsoghly and Outermoy, whereto the village of St. Margaret's is an appendix. The tithes of Henrystown (now the Vicar's portion) and a chief rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* out of certain lands, annually payable out of fourteen acres of land belonging to John Plunket, near the church of St. Margaret; also, the tithes of Dunbroe, Dowans, Corbally, and both the Kingstons, (which latter pieces are now the Vicarial parts); also, Kilreiske, Tubberbir, Lareston, Skefubble: the parish of Ward comprehends the village of Ward, Sprickleston, Gallonston, Irishton, Kilinamonan, Pheipoestown, Knightesfield, and the Bishop's lands: the Rectory of Tertaine, which comprehends no more than the tithes of the same village." Orig. penes Arpum.—The Vicar's glebe is in four several portions, and contains fifteen acres, three roods, and ten perches. Terrier in Dioc. Regist.—It is stated in the report made to Parliament in 1807, that the Rector hath a glebe of twenty acres, near the town of Finglass, but I believe that this account is erroneous: from a terrier, registered in 1775, by the Vicar William Dobbin, we learn, that the Vicar then possessed peculiars from Harriestown, Kilshane, Kildonan and both Kingstons, and moreover; the small tithes of the whole parish.

[c] The cure of souls in this parish is served by the Chancellor; Edward Synge, who was appointed Chancellor in 1706, was compelled by the Archbishop to take out a license to serve the cure, which his successors since that time have continued to do.

[d] St. Werburgh's festival is kept on the 3d of February: this church had two chapels annexed, the one called our Ladie's chapel, the other named St. Martin's, from the old church which was demolished.

[e] There is a town-land named Clara, in the parish of Derlasser, or, as it is now called, Derrylossery, which seems to be a corruption of the Irish word Clairseach, which signifies a harp.

[f] The same Jurors valued likewise, the Prebends of Mallahiderd and Castleknock, they were in number twenty-one, for the most part, inhabitants of those parishes.

Kylshane. The tithes hereof, are worth, per annum, v*l.* and leased for that sum to Henry Russell.

Amount vl.

Crucerathe. The tithes hereof are worth, per annum, liii*s.* iv*d.* and demised for the same to Thomas Alen.

Amount LIII*s.* IV*d.*

Dowanor parish. The tithes hereof extend over the town-lands of Dunsoghly and Oghtermoy in said parish of Dowanor, called likewise Seynt Margaret's parish of Dowanor, they are worth, per annum, iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* and leased for that sum to John Plunkett.

Amount LXVI*s.* VIII*d.*

Chief rent in same. The Rectory of this parish church, or prebend, hath a certain chief rent of xiii*s.* iv*d.* yearly, issuing out of fourteen acres of land in tenure of John Plunkett, near the church of Dowanor.

Amount XIII*s.* IV*d.*

Henrieston. The tithes hereof, in the parish of Dowanor aforesaid, are worth, per annum, vi*l.* and demised for that sum to John Plunckett.

Amount VI*l.*

Dunbro, &c. The tithes hereof are payable out of the town-lands of Dunbro, Dowanor, Corbally, great and little Kyngeston, in the parish of Dowanor, and are worth, per annum, iv*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* for which sum they are demised to John Plunckett.

Amount IV*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.*

Kylreske. The tithes hereof, in the aforesaid parish, are worth, per annum, v*l.* iv*s.* viii*d.* and are leased for that sum to Peter Kyfte.

Tobberber. These tithes are payable out the town-lands of Tobberber, Lauresston and Skyphobyll, within the aforesaid parish, and are worth, per annum, (beside alterages, oblations and the small tithes of parish of Dowanor, which are assigned to the Curate for his stipend,) x*l.* and are leased for that sum to Eustace Brown.

Amount X*l.*

Warde parish. The tithes hereof are payable out of the town-lands of Warde, Spreckeleston, Gallonston, Irishton, Kylinamonon, Phepoyston, Knightesfeld and Bishop's-land, they are worth, together with the alterages, viii*l.* per annum, and are demised for that sum to Thomas Ussher and Richard Calton, who are bound to find a Chaplain and to repair the Chancel of the same.

Amount VIII*l.*

Tertayne parish. The tithes of this Hamlet, in parish of same name, are worth, with the alterages, beside the Curate's stipend and repair of the Chancel, viii*l.* for which sum it is demised to Thomas Howth.

Amount VIII*l.*

S. Werburgh The tithes and oblations of this Rectory or Chapel are of no value, beyond the alterages, which are assigned to the Curate and repair of the Chancel.

Harpyston. This Rectory is of no value, as it lies among the Irish, in the country of the O'Birnes, nor have any issues therefrom, for a long time, come to the hands of the Rector.

Total value of those Rectories LXXVIII*l.* X*s.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Treasurer.

Archbishop Henry de Loundres conferred upon this dignitary, by his foundation charter, the church of Clonkene, at that time the Prebend of Ralph de Bristol, the first Treasurer; St. Audoen's church, within the city of Dublin: and likewise, the church of St. Mary, near the castle of Dublin, with a carucate or plough-land at Tachekery, belonging to the same; the two last to be thus appropriated as soon as they should become vacant.

The church of the Blessed Virgin, at Ballimore, was, by Archbishop Luke, granted to the Treasurer in exchange for Clonkene, which latter, with its five appendant chapels, was conferred upon the Convent of the Holy Trinity by that Prelate[1]: in the year 1467 another change was made by Archbishop Michael Tregury, who granted to the Treasurer half the prebend of Luske, in exchange for the church of St. Audoen, which he erected into a distinct prebend.

By these changes the possessions of this dignitary became entirely altered from the original endowment; even the parish of St. Mary, which included little more of the city than that portion whereon the castle[a] is built, was, in course of time united to St. Werburgh's[b]; the plough-land called Tachekery[c] has been lost, its situation is hardly to be traced; the church[d] itself of St. Mary became profaned, and was converted, about the latter end of the sixteenth century, into a private dwelling, its site is described in a lease, dated 1697, whereby it was demised to Richard, Earl of Cork and Burlington, as "abutting on Dames-gate and the city wall on the east; to the street on the north; to the High-street, leading to the castle, as it was in 1660, on the west; and to the mearing-stone, set in the wall of the gallery, distant one hundred feet from the castle-wall, on the south[e]:" before the civil wars it had been leased to the first Earl of Cork, from whom it obtained the name of Cork-house; during the usurpation it was occupied by the Council of State and their subservient Officers, upon the restoration we find the Earls of Cork[g] again in possession; it was taken down in the year 1767, for the purpose of widening the approach to the castle on that side[h]. In 1531, the Treasurer used to pay 13*s.* 4*d.* to

[1] Rep. Vir.

[a] "Inhabitantes Castellum sunt inibi parochiani, cum aliis paucis." Alani repert. virid.

[b] It was united, as was likewise St. Andrew's, to St. Werburgh's parish, in the reign of Henry VIII. by Archbishop G. Browne; the parish of St. Andrew was, however, disunited therefrom in the reign of Charles II. as has been said in the preceding chapter.

[c] The Treasurer was possessed of this tract in 1530; it was near Clonkene, for Alan, in a note, (Reg. f. 69,) describing Dromin says, "abuttat super carucatam terræ pertin. ad ecclesiam de la Dam Dublin, vocatam Kiltekery." And in Rep. Vir. speaking of this church, he says, "dotata est cum una carucat terræ non longe a Carrickmayne et citra Senkill, quæ vocatur Tackery," he likewise adds, "et similiter cum una domo aurifabri juxta le pillory, ex parte quasi orientali."

[d] Archdall, in his Monasticon, calls this church a Nunnery, for this he has no authority, nor does he indeed quote any.

[e] In consideration of this lease, the Earl was to pay 150*l.* fine and 50*l.* per ann. rent. Leases St. Pat. regist.

[f] Particulars of a much more ancient lease of the church of St. Mary la Dame is to be found in a book of the Chapt. Min. of Christ church; Richard Thompson, Treasurer, on the 24th June 1589, demised to Sir G. Carewe, for sixty-one years, the house, messuages, church and church-yard of St. Mary, by the castle of Dublin, with all buildings, court-yards, back-sides, gardens, orchards or commodities thereto belonging, for the annual rent of vi marks ix shillings, irish.

[g] The lease, made by James Margetson Treasurer to Richard Earl of Cork, whereby this tenement was demised to the latter during the space of forty years, was confirmed by the authority of Parliament, 17 and 18 Charles II. chapt. cxcix: this statute mentions that it was made with the approbation of the Archbishop and in obedience to his Majesty's letters of recommendation to that effect, dated 20th July 1660, and confirmed moreover, by the Deans and Chapters of both Cathedrals, "having been made on good and valuable considerations." Ir. Stat. vol. III. pag. 120.

[h] In 1767, when the demolition of Cork-house was resolved upon, the respective claims were referred to a Committee of the House of Commons, (see Com. Journ. Append. vol. VIII. pag. 150 and 151); the ground whereon the buildings, called Cork-house, were erected, was decided to be the estate of the Treasurer of St. Patrick; to him they awarded the sum of 3,251*l.* 10*s.* it had been leased to Colonel Paul, by the Treasurer, for the yearly rent of 60*l.* per annum; to his representative therefore, the sum of 3,827*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* was awarded in three several

the Archbishop, proxies, for the carucate of land called Tachkerry, near Carrickmaine; but this dignitary does not appear to have possessed those lands since that period of time, nor is any notice taken of this plow-land in the inquisition of 38th Henry VIII.

Although the church of Ballimore is united to this dignity, the tithes of the Archbishop's demesne land there, were appropriated in early times to the Oeconomy: the Treasurer enjoys the tithes of the other portions of Ballimore and Ardenoght; by a lease, dated 22d Oct. 1703, he demised two thirds of the whole tithes of Boystown, and two thirds of the great tithes of Ballimore and Ballybought,[2] which last, in the time of Alan, were of the Archbishop's mensals[i]: the chapel of Lechohan was in ruins in Alan's time, and was then contended for by the Rectors of Ballimore, Ballybogh and Hollywood; it lies, as he informs us, near the Sigin,[3] (a small river which discharges itself into the Liffey,) and probably on the commons of Ballimore, now known by the denomination of the Broad-leas.

Archbishop Alan[4] calls Ballimore the dignity, and his moiety of Luske, the prebend of the Treasurer.[k]

The Inquisition held upon the dissolution of this Cathedral, so far as the Prebend of Luske is concerned, has been already given in the account of the Precentor's endowments; it remains now to give the verdict of the jury,[l] relative to the extent and value of the Treasurer's other benefice, the parish of Ballimore, which was as follows:

Ballimore demesne.	There is in the town-land of Ballimore, belonging the Rector, a fortress,[m] (fortilagium) with appurtances and twenty-four acres arable land, worth, per annum,	xx*s.*
tithes.	The tithes of the Rectory issue from the town-lands of Ballymore and Ardynoght, and are worth xxviii*l.* annually, besides the demesne above mentioned, and besides half the alterages which are assigned to the Curate, and repair of the Chancel, to which the farmer is bound.	
	Total amount[n]	xxviii*l.*

[2] Leases St. Pat. Reg. [3] Repert. Virid. [4] Al. Reg. fol. 177.

portions, and to the under tenant of the latter for another portion of the same, a further sum of 1,241*l.* 8*s.*

On the 10th June 1768, the Dean and Chapter approved of George Smyth and John Forster, who had been appointed by the Treasurer to receive the money, awarded for the purchase of Cork-house; that sum was therefore, conveyed to them, and the assignment was confirmed by Chapter, on the 27th of October following. Min. of Chapt.—This sum of money, or a portion thereof, was expended in purchase of houses in Skinner-row, and we find a confirmation, dated 16th Jan. 1772, of the Treasurer's lease, whereby he demised certain tenements or messuages, known by the name of Carbery-house, in Skinner-row, for forty years, at 60*l.* per annum. Min. of Chapt.

[i] The chapel of Ballyboght belonged originally to the regular Canons of the great church of Glendaloch, and the Prior thereof had the advowson. Repert. Virid.

[k] Besides the possessions here described, and besides his manse and its precincts within the Close, the Treasurer possesses a piece of ground on the east side of Bride-street, which is divided into two parts by a street called Wood-street; this tenement is described in a lease, dated 13th April 1732, as being on the east side of Bride-street, along which it extends on the north side of Wood-street thirty-four feet, and on the south side sixteen feet and a half, being seventy-nine feet in depth; bounded north and east by the Vicar's and south by Dean and Chapter's lands; demised for forty years, at 8*l.* per annum.

[l] The jurors were four in number, the same persons valued likewise, the parishes of Ardrye, Yagoestowne, Dunlavan, Donaghmore, Monmahenoc, Tipper, and Donoghmore in Imayle.

[m] The Treasurer's glebe at Ballimore-Eustace, consisting of thirty-four acres, two roods and fifteen perches, pasture and arable, and six acres, three roods and twenty-three perches of common, was leased 18th August 1810, for 8*l.* per annum. Min. of Chapt.

[n] The total amount should be xxix*l.*

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Archdeacon's.

The power annexed to the dignity and office of Archdeacon, which, in the early ages of christianity, was very ample, appears at present to be much upon the wane; in this country it is nearly extinguished. Although we meet among the church records frequent mention made of the Archdeacon's court, the official seal of which appears annexed to several ancient documents, yet, two centuries have elapsed since it has been found exercising that spiritual jurisdiction, which it possessed before the era of the reformation.

The Archdeacon was an ordinary throughout the diocess at large, in like manner as was the Dean within his own collegiate church: his office was to aid and assist[a] the Archbishop in the exercise of his judicial and spiritual[b] functions; hence he was emphatically stiled the "Oculus Episcopi:" he had moreover, his own peculiar court,[c] with an official, register and other officers; he held, likewise, his synods and visitations, distinct from the Archbishop, and upon those occasions received procurations or proxies,[d] which were monies paid to the ordinary at the time of visitation. Although the practice of visiting and holding synods hath long fallen into disuse, the custom of paying and receiving proxies continued till very lately, and some are paid to the present day. The notes, hereunto annexed, are supplied with some

[a] On a statute roll of 7 and 8 Edward IV. we find letters patent of that King, confirmed, as the usage then was, by authority of parliament, which describe the duty and office of the Archdeacons of Dublin and Glendaloch in the following manner: "Duo Archidiaconi, qui ut diaconi sunt Archiepiscopo, tam in divino servicio interius, quam ad jurisdictionem exterius assistendum et supportandum."

[b] The following extract from the ordinances of the Council of Oxford, convened in 1222 by Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, will explain what were then esteemed the peculiar duties of the Archdeacon.

De officio Archidiaconorum.

Archidiaconi et eorum ministri curam habeant et solicitudinem tam de his, quae ad sacramentorum pertinent reverentiam et Dei, de quibus praemissum est, quam de his, quae inferius subnexa sunt, ut fideliter et irrefragabiliter observentur transgressores, si qui fuerint in his, prout qualitas exposcit, exercenda. Item injungimus Archidiaconis et eorum officiariis, ut, in visitationibus ecclesiarum faciendis, diligenter conscribi faciant vasa, vestimenta, libros, et alia, quae ad officium pertinent divinum, habeant quoque nihilominus considerationem ad fabricam ecclesiae et maxime cancelli, si forte indigeant reparatione; si quos autem defectus invenerint, in his certum sub poena gravi praefigant terminum, iterumque suppleantur. Caute etiam per se et suos inquirant, si in parochia, in qua visitationis officium impenderint, in rebus aut personis aliquid fuerit corrigendum, et excessus, si quos ibidem invenerint, aut tunc aut in proximo capitulo corrigantur. Wilkin Concil. Vol. I. pag. 596. Ex MS. Hatton in bibl. Bodl. 24.

In process of time those visitations became burthensome to the Clergy, both on account of their frequency, and the great state, which those representatives of prelatic power affected during their progress, and which, it was expected, should be maintained at the cost of the minor Clergy; accordingly we find very many ordinances of the provincial councils limiting those abuses. The following extracts from the statutes of R. de la Wich Bishop of Chichester is one, among many, that might be adduced.

"Ista tamen ad memoriam reducantur; videlicet, quod Archidiaconi in archidiaconatu suo, illos, a quibus ad procurationem sunt admittendi, visitantes, septenarium numerum non excedant; officiales vero loco eorum admittendi, tribus equis, vel ad plus quatuor sint contenti. Ecclesia vero, cujus fructus valent per annum xx. marcas et amplius semel in anno procurabit Archidiaconum; quae vero x. marcas et amplius usque ad xx. marcas valet, Archidiacono semel in biennio, vel officiali semel in anno procurationem exhibeat. Ibi vero semel in biennio procurationem officialis accipiet, ubi redditus Ecclesiæ annui quinque marcas et amplius usque ad decem valere noscuntur: observato tamen, quod nunquam recipiant temporalia, nisi de officio suo ibi ministrant spiritualia; ad redemptionem procurationum nullo modo cogantur. Wilk. Concil. vol. I. pag. 690. If the reader seeks any further information upon this subject, he will find much in the work which I have just quoted.

[c] Several Archdeacons of Dublin have endeavoured to revive their ancient powers and privileges: in Pue's occurrences, Dec. 1746, we find mention made of Richard Pococke's having nominated Richard Jackson, L. L. D. to the office of official and commissary of his Archdiaconal court. Dr. Brown, in his view of the ecclesiastical law of Ireland, (pag. 223, 3d edit.) says, "that in his memory an Archdeacon of Dublin did set up a jurisdiction against the Archbishop, but soon relinquished it;" and he adds, that this was the only instance he ever heard of an Archdeacon claiming jurisdiction in Ireland: this may be true, if the learned Doctor be understood to speak of his own time; but we have many irrefragible proofs upon record, that the exercise of such powers was constant and universal throughout the kingdom in preceding ages.

[d] "Archidiaconi capiunt procurationes suas per suos archidiaconatus." This remark occurs in an account of the diocess in the register, called Crede mihi, and is written apparently in the thirteenth century: but this practice of paying proxies to the Archdeacon has gone into disuse; perhaps those dignitaries disregarded them on account of the smallness of the sums payable by each respectively: an instance, however, occurs so late as the year 1693; John King was then collated to the united parishes of Rathmichael, Kiltiernan, Connagh, Stagonil and Bray: a clause was inserted in the article of collation, which, besides the Archbishop's, reserved a further proxy of 10*s.* to the Archdeacon. Regist. Dioc. Dub.—The Cathedral of Christchurch continues to this day to pay 1*l. sterl.* proxies to the Archdeacon of Dublin; and the Archdeacon of Glendaloch formerly received from the same 13*s.* 4*d.* for the parish of Kilcullen, which lay within the precinct of his jurisdiction. See note k pag. 44.

extracts, illustrative of the nature and extent of archidiaconal power, as it obtained in other diocesses, and likewise with such particular instances of its exercise [e] within those of Dublin and Glendaloch, as the records of the church do furnish. [f]

It appears to have been one of the peculiar privileges, conferred upon this Cathedral, that its respective members should be freed from the jurisdictiou of the Archdeacon [g]; the Founder, Archbishop Comin, enacted, that the Canons should not be required to attend more than two general Chapters of the Archdeacon, during the year: nor was that dignitary allowed to suspend them, unless his judgment should be confirmed by the Chapter at large, or by a chosen number deputed from that body: the Charter of Archbishop Henry freed them from paying synodals or proxies, either to the Archdeacon or the Dean, and that part of the same charter, which granted to them the pleas of their respective churches, [h] enacted, that two thirds should go the use of the Archbishop and his successors, and the remaining third, which the Archdeacon was wont to receive, to the uses of the Oeconomy.

Those marks of preeminence excited the jealousy of the sister Cathedral; during the dispute, which took place in the year 1300, we find the Prior and Convent putting in their claim, that their churches, whether in the city or diocess at large, should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon, in like manner as those of the Dean and Chapter were; an indulgence, which it appears, was not granted; for we find that Archdeacon, Richard de Leogaire, laid their three prebendal churches under an interdict for opposing his visitorial power, from which they had pleaded special exemption by authority of the apostolic see; they, moreover, appealed to the Pope, John the 22d, who issued his bull, empowering the Archbishop of Armagh to adjust the matter: from some cause the business was not settled at that time; but, in the year 1339, Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, by consent of both parties, finally determined the dispute; he declared, that the Archdeacon was used in ancient times to visit those and other churches, appropriated to

[e] The particulars of a dispute, which took place between the Cathedrals in 1275, will serve, in some respect, to throw a light upon the history of this office. The King, during the vacancy of the See, directed his mandate for the installation of Will. de Salinis to the Dean and Chapter, a matter which was resented by the Prior and Convent; inasmuch, they said, as the Archdeacon was wont, during the vacancy of the See, to enjoy the jurisdiction of the spiritualities throughout the diocess, and that he received that jurisdiction from them, he ought to be presented to them for that end; the King, being moved to alter the form, referred the matter to Commissioners; but the Prior and Convent, failing to produce precedents, the Archdeacon was put in possession of his dignity. Prynne, vol. III. pag. 184.—The year following, the same Archdeacon cited the Prior and Convent to the secular court, for pretending to exercise the jurisdiction of the See, during the vacancy; his official also excommunicated some of the Clergy of the diocess for opposing him, and committed them to close confinement, until they should swear to obey him: the Prior and Convent prayed Pope John the 21st to take off the sentence of excommunication, and to punish the Archdeacon and his official, for presuming to exercise an authority which belonged to them; the Pope, we find, referred the matter to the Bishop of Waterford, the Abbot of St. Mary's, and the Prior of St. Peter's of Trym, but the decision of those Delegates does not appear on record. Archives Christ-church and New regist. pag. 227.

[f] One of the duties or privileges of the Archdeacon was, to instal the Abbots and Priors throughout the diocess, likewise the Dean, Dignitaries and Prebendaries of the Cathedral church, and to induct the several clerks into their respective benefices, upon receipt of the Archbishop's mandate. There is extant, among the records of Christ-church Cathedral, a certificate with the seal of William Power, Archdeacon of Dublin, annexed, dated 4th July 1537, and confirmed by Nicholas Bennet, register of his archdiaconal court, and apostolic notary, signifying, that, in obedience to a mandate from the Archbishop, he had installed in the Choir, and had assigned a place in the Chapter, and inducted into personal possession, Robert Paynswick, elected Prior of the Holy Trinity; he likewise declares the election to be thereby confirmed, and grants him administration of the Priory, both in spirituals and temporals.

[g] Some churches were erected into Prebends in later times, which were not freed from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon: this will appear manifest from the subsequent pages of this volume.

[h] When the Secular College of St. Patrick's was founded, there was a transfer made to them of archidiaconal jurisdiction, in like manner as to other colleges of a similar nature, which had been previously founded in England: it is presumed that this matter has been explained with sufficient minuteness in Append. Numb. III. to such authorities as there cited I shall add one more, which appears to be peculiarly illustrative of this subject. Among the statutes of Hugh Nonant, relating to the church of Litchfield, we read the following:

"Dignitas Decani est et omnium Canonicorum, ut Episcopo in nullo respondeant nisi in Capitulo, et judicio tantum Capituli pareant: habeant etiam curiam suam in omnibus prebendis et suis dignitatem archidiaconalem."

"Decanus jurisdictionem archidiaconalem habet in prebendis canonicorum et in ecclesiis ad communiam pertinentibus, ita quod eas visitare tenetur, et officium archidiaconi penitus exercere, et procurationes recipere, et causas parochianorum prebendarum per appellationem ad eum devolutas, judicio Capituli terminare. Dugdale Monast. Anglic. vol. III. pag. 243.

[i] See note d.

the Convent, and did possess a right to execute therein archidiaconal jurisdiction, and likewise that the Prior had, in times past, paid procurations; the "quantum procurationis" he likewise determined, and the same sum continues to be paid at this present day. [i]

In the united diocesses of Dublin and Glendaloch there are, and always have been, two Archdeacons; the extent of their respective jurisdictions were, probably, in ancient times, commensurate to that of the diocesses from whence they take their names; the Sees have, however, been so long united, and the exercise of Archdiaconal power so much neglected, that it would be difficult to mark out their respective limits with any degree of precision: some few notices relating to the subject may however, be gleaned from existing records; and chiefly from the bulls of Pope Alexander III. whereby, in 1179, the extent of those diocesses were defined, but the names of many parishes have now become obsolete; however, among those appropriated to Dublin, and nearest to Glendaloch, occur those of Clondalkin, Tallagh, Kilmesantan, half Tawney, Rathmichael and Kiltuc; among those assigned to Glendaloch that adjoin nearest to the newly erected Archdiocess of Dublin are Shankhill, Stagonil, Confy, Larebryan, Tachdo and Stacumny. [k]

Sect. I. Of the Archdeacon of Dublin.

Archbishop Alan informs us in his register, that, before the period when a stall in the Choir and voice upon the election of an Archbishop was conferred upon the Archdeacon in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, he enjoyed that privilege in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. [l]

This dignity existed in times beyond the date of our earliest written records; Torquil, Archdeacon of Dublin, was witness to a grant of Archbishop Laurence to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, about the time of the English Conquest; and Macrobius, who was afterwards Bishop of Glendaloch, was a subscribing witness to the foundation charter, granted to this Cathedral, by John Comin.

It is not easy to determine, what churches were, in primitive times, annexed to this dignity for its support: William de Northfeld, who was Archdeacon at the time of Henry de Loundres, held one portion of the church of Luske as his prebend, [m] at which time he consented that the present parish of Balruddery should be dismembered therefrom: in exchange for Luske, Archbishop Luke granted to him the church of Tawney or Tacheny, reserving from thence to the Legate a Latere, the hundredth part (centessima pars) which had been paid by way of proxy from very remote times.

To the mother church of Tawney, [n] which was the head of a rural deanery of great extent, several chapels were subservient: 1st, Donabroke, which, although it appears from an award of Archbishop Comin's to have been a member of Tawney,

[i] Repert. Virid.

[k] The parish of Kilcullen was in the diocess of Glendaloch, as appears from the Vicar of that parish, being usually inducted by the Archdeacon of Glendaloch. See Hist. of Holy Trin. Some vestige appears of its paying procurations also; on a parchment compotus roll, among the records of Christ-church there is the following entry.

"Item Archid. Glendelach: pro procuratione Ecclesiarum de Kylcolyn et alibi in archidiaconatu suo, pro solutione omnium procurationum usque pascham A.D. MCCCXLIV. xiiis. viiid." there is also another entry, as follows: "Apud Kylgon et Castrum Martyn pro proc. Archid. Glendel. iid." these two latter were chapels of Kilcullen.

The church of Adderke was situated on the confines, in such a manner as to furnish a doubt to which Archdeaconry it belonged: an inquisition was held in 1329 to determine this point, but the jurors discovering that it paid half a mark, proxies, to the Archdeacon of Dublin, brought in their verdict that it was in that diocess.

[l] "Uti Winton in Anglia." Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 122.

[m] "Olim," saith Alan (Repert. Virid.) "ipsius prebenda extiterat, altera pars de Lusk."

[n] "Tachney," saith Alan (Repert. Virid.) "is the dignity as likewise the prebend of the Archdeacon;" he likewise informs us, that the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity intruded

was, nevertheless, for a time, disunited therefrom, and conferred, by Archbishop Luke, upon his Chaplain, William de Romney; the same Prelate reduced it afterward to the condition of a chapelry, and made it subservient to Tawney[2]: 2d, Kilgoban, which has been united to Tawney, and, of consequence, to the Archdeaconry almost since the conquest; it has lately been made a perpetual cure: 3d, Rathfarnham[o]; the original Lord of this district and Patron of the church was Milo le Bret,[3] it was united, in early times, to the corps of the Archdeaconry, and, as such, possessed by Will. de Northfeld, who had a contest with the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity relative to tithes; this was finally settled by Archbishop Luke,[p] who decreed in favor of the Archdeacon, but, with a reservation of the tithes of two town-lands, or, in lieu of the same, the annual pension of twelve marks; Rathfarnham is called by Alan a chapelry, subservient to the mother church of Tawney.

In the year 1322, it was resolved that the Rectory of Enisboyne or Innisbohin, in the county of Wicklow, and about three miles from the town of that name, should become a Prebend[q] after the death of the Incumbent, John de Kingston: we find it afterwards united, occasionally, to the Archdeaconry, although it does not appear ever to have been considered as part of the corps of that dignity: William Bulkeley, Archdeacon in 1630, was Rector of this church; but, in 1615, the period of the regal visitation, when Launcelot Bulkeley was Archdeacon, Roger Danby was Rector of Enisboyne: in the year 1727, the Vicarage of St. Peter's[r] was perpetually united to the Archdeaconry by act of Council, in lieu of Enisboyne, and Dr. Charles Whittingham, Archdeacon of Dublin, was admitted to the same, on the 3d of March following: this latter parish was formed, in 1680, by an act of Council, which united into one, the parishes of St. Kevin, St. Peter de Monte and a portion of St. Stephen's, the union to be from thenceforth designated by the name and title of the Vicarage of St. Peter's.

When the Cathedral was dissolved, the possessions of the Archdeacon were confiscated in like manner with the other members of the church; during the time of its suppression, the parishes of Tawney and Rathfarnham were leased to Sir John Allen, Knight, and Donabroke to John Sharpe.[4]

[2] Repert. Virid. [3] Repert. Virid. [4] Rot. Pipæ.

into this prebend upon the death of Northfeld; they were, however, ejected by the King.

[o] Galfrid de Aspel, who was nominated Archdeacon by the King, 28th Sept. 6 Edward I. had a separate patent for this prebend, which was, nevertheless, annexed at that time to the corps of the Archdeaconry: the King's mandate for installation is directed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, and directs that he should be assigned a stall in the Choir and seat in the Chapter, "ratione præbendæ predictæ, prout moris est." Prynne Pap. Usurp. vol. III. pag. 219.

[p] The following is an abstract of the final agreement between the parties, taken from the Crede mihi, fol. 102. Al. regist. fol. 78. et Lib. Alb. S. Trin. fol. 20.

Conventio facta fuit inter Mag. Wil. de Northfeld, Archid. Dub. et Priorem et Conventum S. Trin. super Ecclesia de Rathfernan; qui se subjicerant Lucæ Arpo. ad litem dijudicandam: scil.

Quod præfata Ecclesia de Rathfernan, cum decimis totius tenementi de Dunavet et cæteris pert. suis, perpetuo jure cedat in possessionem et proprietatem Archidiaconatus Dub. salvis Priori et Conventui S. Trin. duodecim marcatis ex fructibus decimalibus tenementi de Dunavet, libere et absolute, sine cura animarum et omni onere, percipiendis, sicut eisdem per fide dignorum æstimationem sunt extensæ et assignatæ de decimis villarum subscriptarum, viz. de duabus villis, quæ vocantur Baliardor et de villa, Balimachmichy, et de terra de Balidowinthy, quæ jacet ex parte orientali aquæ currentis de molendino Monachorum S. Mariæ juxta Dublin. usque ad viam, quæ tendit de grangia de Tyrsprange usque ad villam de Tauenhy: de quibus villis percipient Prior et Conventus, nomine dict. xii marcarum, omnes decimas majores et minores in perpetuum: salvis Ecclesiæ de Rathfernan oblationibus debitis et consuetis, testamentis et mortuorum corporibus ibidem sepeliendis, et omni jure parochiali. Partes autem prænominatæ se obligarunt pœna *ccl.* et pro se et successoribus suis juramentum corporale præstiterunt.

[q] Alan hath the words, "Ecclesia de Inisbohyn, post extinctionem Rectoriæ creatur præbenda, *absque canonia*, per Alexandrum Archiepiscopum."

[r] The present church was consecrated in March 1685; the ground whereon it was built was granted by Francis, Lord Aungier: the church of St. Kevin is now a chapel of ease to St. Peter's: of this last parish the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's are Rectors.

By the Inquisition, held 27th Jan. 38 Henry VIII. the extent and value of the Archidiaconal possessions were reported to be as follows: [t]

Tanee demesne.	In the town-land of Tanee, there is of demesne, appertaining to said Rectory or Prebend, one messuage and ix acres of arable land, one stang of meadow, value, per annum, ix*s.*			
tithes.	The tithes issue from the town-lands of Tanee, Dondrommy, [u] Balawly, Balayn, Rebowe, the "Chantrell ferme" and Challorighe, value xix*l.* per annum; the demesne lands, alterages and oblations of Tance are assigned to the Curate for his stipend.			
	Amount	xix*l.*		
Rathfernan demesne.	In Rathfernan is one messuage and xi acres of arable land, the demesne of said Rectory, worth, vii*s.* iv. per annum.			
tithes.	The tithes of Rathfernan extend over the town-lands of Rathfernan, Newton, Prestownland, Bowdanston, [v] Scallardyston, Tyrynowry, Chamyugh, [w] Seynt John-leys and Ragarth, worth xxi*l.* per annum, and leased to William Wyrrall for xl*l.* the demesne lands, alterages and oblations of the Rectory of Rathfernan are assigned to the Curate for his stipend, paying to the Archdeacon of Dublin xxvi*s.* viii*d.* per annum.			
	Total value of the Rectory, with demesne-lands	xli*l.*	vi*s.*	viii*d.*
Donabroke demesne.	In the town-land of Donabroke, the demesne belonging to the Rector consists of a mansion, and iii stangs of arable land, worth iii*s.* iv*d.* per annum.			
tithes.	The tithes extend over the town-lands of Donabroke, Meryon, Smothescort, Balesclatter, the lands of Allhalloes, and Bagotrath, worth, together with the tithes of fish, alterages and oblations, xv*l.* per annum. (beside the Curate's stipend and repair of the Chancel)			
	Amount	xv*l.*	iii*s.*	iv*d.*
Kilgoban demesne.	The demesne lands appertaining to this Rectory, are ii acres of arable land, worth xvi*d.* per annum.			
tithes.	The tithes extend over the town-lands of Kilgoban and Jamystown, and are worth, iii*l.* per annum. with alterages and oblations, (over and above the Curate's stipend and repair of the Chancel)			
	Total amount	iii*l.*	i*s.*	iv*d.*
	Total amount of Archdeaconry [x]	lix*l.*	xi*s.*	iv*d.*

[t] There were five jurors only sworn, the same persons determined, likewise, the extent of the Prebend of Rathmichael.

[u] Dondromarty, Inq. 1 Edward VI.

[v] Baldoneston, in lease to Sir John Allen.

[w] Chameyghe, in lease above mentioned.

[x] This Dignity was valued by Inquisition 1 Edward IV. at lxx*l.* xi*s.* iv*d.* per annum "ultra reprisas."

Although the Archdeacon still possesses eight distinct portions of glebe, dispersed throughout the several parishes annexed to his dignity; nevertheless some portions have been lost through the negligence of his predecessors; to avoid confusion, I have thought fit to include the account of all in the compass of one note.

In Tawney or Tany, the Archdeacon possessed, at the dissolution of the Cathedral, nine acres, one stang of arable land; which, in 1660, was reported to be then concealed; some portion, however, has been since recovered, for in 1701, six acres of glebe land, near the church of Tannee, were demised for 21 years to Eliphal Dobson, for 2*l.* 6*s.* per ann. this glebe was surveyed about 1750, and found to contain 6 acres, 2 roods, 3 perches, beside the church-yard, which measured 1 rood, 8 perches, it is situated on the east and south east sides of the church of Taney, and is divided into two portions by the road from Dundrum to Dublin.

In Rathfarnam, the Archdeacon possessed in 1546, one messuage and eleven acres of arable land, and on 13th June 1584, he demised to Henry Bealing, seven cottages and fifteen acres of land for sixty-one years: the report made by Wilkinson in 1660, extends his demesne here, to four messuages and twenty acres; "then concealed."

In Donabrook, according to the Inquisition of 1546, he possessed a mansion and three stangs of arable land; in 1660, his glebe there was one park and three stangs, demised to Mr. William Scott; it is described in a lease, dated 1684, as adjoining to the church-yard of Donabrook on the north side, and containing half an acre: a survey made about 1750, makes the glebe to contain 2 roods, 24 perches, besides a garden of 24 perches between it and the church-yard, doubted whether part of the glebe or not: the church-yard itself measures 1 rood, 8 perches.

In Kilgobbin, according to Inquisition of 1546, the Archdeacon possessed two acres of glebe, which were, in 1660, reported to be then concealed.

This parish is now a perpetual Vicarage, of which the Archdeacon enjoys only the patronage: the present glebe of 13 acres, 2 roods, 2 perches, is part of the Vicar's endowment, it was surveyed in 1806.

Charles Cormock and his successors, Vicars of St. Kevin's parish, were decreed on the 15th March 1666, by the Commissioners for putting in force the act of settlement, one house and appurt. in the New street, Dublin, formerly the property of Mark Fitzsimons, of the yearly value of 20*l.* for which they were to pay a yearly quit rent of 1*l.* 10*s.* This lot is on the east side of the street, and, according to a survey made about 1750, extends in front thirty-four feet, in depth one hundred and eighty-two feet, reaching backward to the garden of the Chancellor of St. Patrick's.

The Archdeacon hath another portion in the same parish, bounded north by the Long-lane alias Liberty-lane and east by Kevin's-port, containing by a survey of the same date 2 acres, 1 rood, 2 perches, it was leased in 1749, for forty years, at 12*l.* per annum; on the same side of the street called Kevin's-port, but on the other side of the Long-lane, he possesses another glebe,

Sect. II. Of the Archdeacon of Glendaloch.

We meet with Archdeacons of Glendaloch in very early times,[z] but no one appears, by virtue of that dignity, to have possessed a seat in the Chapter, until about the year 1267, when Archbishop Fulco de Sandford erected the church of Killusky,[a] near the town of Wicklow, into a Prebend, and annexed it to that dignity; by right of which, Hugh de Chaddestone,[b] at that time Archdeacon, became entitled to a stall in the Choir and voice in the Chapter of this Cathedral: an annual pension of twenty marks was reserved to John de Nottingham, the Incumbent, to be paid to him during his life, by the Archdeacon.

In the year 1332, Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor, with consent of the Patrons, annexed to this dignity the church of Wicklow and its two appendant chapels: this country being in after times laid waste by the neighbouring nation of the Birnes, so that the Archdeacon could not obtain therefrom sufficient to support his dignity, nor exercise hospitality in the manner required of him; Archbishop Tregury, in 1467, assigned to him, in lieu thereof, the church of Newcastle of Lyons; this arrangement was confirmed by act of Parliament, 8 Edw. IV. To the church of Newcastle was subservient, the chapel of Colmanstown or Ballycolman, "which," saith Alan, "lies partly within the cross and partly within the cantred of Newcastle."[c]

The Inquisition,[d] held 27th January, 38th Henry VIII. reported the extent and value of this Rectory to be as follows, videlicet.

Demesne.	The Rector's demesne[e] in the town of Newcastell, consists of one castle, with appurtenances; xviii acres arable and pasture, which, together with the alterages of Newcastell, Agoo, Loghtown and Colganystown, are worth iii*l.* annually, over and above the stipend of the Curate, and cost of wax for the high altar, and three pence chief rent annually to the Provost of Newcastell, and repair of the Chancel.		
	Amount	III*l.*	
Quarter of Colmonston.	The tithes hereof, issue from the town-lands of Colmanystown, Pynsyffe and Kyltowne, value, per annum, (beside alterages assigned to the Curate there and repair of Chancel,)	x*l.*	x*s.*
Quarter of Agoo.	Those tithes issue from the town-land of that name, and are worth, per annum,	x*l.*	x*s.*
Quarter of Loghtown.	Those tithes issue from the town-land of that name, and are of the yearly value of	x*l.*	x*s.*
Quarter of Lyons.	Those tithes issue from the town-land of the same name, yearly value	XII*l.*	
	[f] Total value of this Rectory	XLVI*l.*	x*s.*

containing, according to the same survey, one rood, sixteen perches; this portion is separated by a small lane on the west side from the church-yard of St. Kevin; it was demised for forty years, at 8*l.* per annum, in 1748: in 1772 he granted a part of this last for forty years, at 1*l.* per annum, to the church-wardens of the parish to build thereon, a charity school; on the west side of the same church-yard he hath likewise a small glebe, which was lately demised to the Incorp. Society, it contains 16 perches.

In the year 1726, Archbishop King granted to Robert Dougat, Vicar of St. Peter's, and to his successors for ever, a piece of ground adjoining to the glebe of St. Kevin's, containing 3 roods, 6 perches for 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum; this grant was meant as an augmentation to that formerly possessed, and it is perhaps included in what has been above described.

The Archdeacon hath also a glebe in Aungier-street on the west side; according to a survey made about the year 1750, its front to the street measured thirty-eight feet; the southern boundary was the ground of the old play-house, along which it extended sixty-five feet: it was leased in 1765 to John Hall, for forty years. at 8*l.* per annum, in latter times the rent has beeu increased to 17*l.* 2*s.* per annum. Terriers and maps in Dioc. reg. and leases St. Pat. regist.

The Archdeacon's land, situated within the close of this Cathedral, has been already described in Chapt. III.

[z] In the annals of the IV Masters, under the date 1031, the death of Conaing O'Carvaill, Archdeacon of Glendalogh, is recorded.

[a] Killuskey with its two chapels, Kilfy and Glinfeyl. Al. regist. fol. 8, ante tax. pag.

[b] In 1242, before the period here mentioned, Hugh, Archdeacon of Glendalogh, had a residence within the precincts; he was likewise a member of the Chapter by right of his prebend of Castleknock. Vide Alani repert. virid. voce Donabroke.

[c] Repert. Virid. voce Novum Castrum.

[d] The jurors were seventeen in number.

[e] Of the demesne here described, ten acres were secreted in 1660, as Wilkinson's account informs us, this concealed part was never, I apprehend, recovered. The report which I have just

CHAPTER X.

Of the Prebendaries.

Sect. I. Of the Prebendary of Cullen.

The Prebend of Cullen[a] was first established by Archbishop Henry de Loundres, who appropriated thereto a portion of the demesne lands of the Archbishoprick: although constituted a Prebend, it was nevertheless annexed to the See, as an inseparable appendage, and by right hereof, the Archbishop is entitled to a stall in the Choir and a voice in the Chapter of this Cathedral, as a Canon: these privileges have not, however, been claimed since the era of the reformation; neither can we ascertain the precise portion of the See lands which were annexed hereunto; the name, indeed, has not become extinct, and from thence we discover that it was part of the Lordship of St. Sepulchre: in the early taxations it occurs however, as a distinct ecclesiastical benefice; in that which bears the date of 1306, extant in the Black Book of the Holy Trinity, its yearly value is rated at 40*l.*

This Prebend was not valued when the Cathedral was suppressed, neither does the Queen's letter, dated 1554, which ordered that it should be restored, make any mention of this Prebend; it is, nevertheless, named in the patent of the same year, where it is said to be annexed to the Archbishoprick. The Archbishop, we find, had his Choral-vicar, in like manner as the other Prebendaries, and Alan informs us, that the perpetual vicarage of St. Kevin's was annexed, by Archbishop John Walton, to that office, and that the Archbishop's Vicar appeared in the Choir, habited as a minor Canon, in token of his preeminence.[b]

Sect. II. Of the Prebendary of Swords.

The Prebend of Swords, one of the thirteen Canonries of Comin's College, was an ancient rural Deanery, it afterwards obtained the name of the Golden Prebend, from its great value, arising out of its considerable demesne, and tithes issuing from a large and fertile district. In 1431, this parish was divided by Archbishop Talbot into three portions; he assigned one part to the Prebendary, another to the perpetual Vicar, and he appropriated the third to the Community of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who were to maintain therewith, six minor Canons and six Choristers, the residue to be expended in furnishing lights, in repairs, and in defraying other necessary expenses.

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[a] Alan observes, in his notes upon his register, that Timothan was the Prebend annexed to the Archbishoprick by Henry de Loundres, which he asserts, was changed for Cullen before the time of Archbishop Feringes: but this is scarcely credible, inasmuch as the foundation charter of 1219 mentions that the Prebend annexed to the Archbishop was then formed, "from the demesne lands of the See," whereas Timothan was an acquisition of later date; they were both Prebends merely temporal, endowed with demesne lands only, to which no church or cure of souls was ever, at any time, annexed.

[b] "Utitur Almisio, sicut parvi canonici." Repert. Virid. voce S. Kevin.

mentioned, differs somewhat from the Inquisition, in its description of the extent of this parish; and, indeed, all the accounts upon record, drawn up by the several persons who were successively incumbents during the last century, vary in their manner of describing its extent. Wilkinson (1660) includes only a quarter of Loghton and part of Newcastle within its bounds: William Williamson's report (1725) represents it as extending over the town-lands of Colemanstown, Colginstown, Laughton, Toberbride and part of Castlewarning, there were at that time about seven acres of glebe. Orig. penes Arpum.—John Gast, in 1773, possessed all the tithes of Newcastle, of part of Loughton, of Harristown, Hazlehatch, Colganstown, Colemanstown, Athgoe, Tobberbridge and Banshee, the tithes of ten acres of meadow in the town of Newcastle excepted, "for which," saith he, "a composition is pretended;" at that time the glebe extended to 16 acres, 2 roods, 35 perches. Dioc. reg.

On the 26th Oct. 1738, the Archbishop certified that Mr. Thomas Smith had expended the sum of 440*l.* in building a glebe-house, whereby he or his heirs were entitled to receive the value of one year and a half from his successors; hence, it appears that 220*l.* per annum was the value of the Archdeaconry at that time; he had, however, actually expended in building and improvements 600*l.* Consist. Office.

[f] This Rectory was leased 1st Edward VI. to James Walsh, of Dungarvon, Esq. it was valued by an Inquisition, held that year, at 46*l.* 5*s.* per annum.

The church of Swords was, itself, dedicated to St. Colomb [c]; there were, besides, within the town, two chapels; one dedicated to St. Finian, which, with its adjoining cemetary, was situated on the south side near to the Vicar's manse, on the road to Furrows: St. Bridget's [d] chapel was on the north side of the town adjoining to the prebendaries' glebe [1] and not far from the gates of the old palace; near to it was an ancient cross, called "Pardon Crosse;" this last chapel was waste in the time of Alan; the ground whereon they stood, now forms part of the oeconomy lands of this parish. Traces are to be found upon record of a chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, [e] within the church of Swords; and likewise one, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, [f] whose founder, of the name of Brown, endowed it in 1397 [g] with a messuage, a garden and four acres of land in Roganstown, for celebration of his anniversary.

There were, besides, at the time of Alan, five exterior [h] chapels, subservient to this mother church.

1. The chapel of Kinsale, which belongs now to the Vicar, who is Rector of this portion of the parish; it was dedicated to St. Nicholas, [i] and the Vicar had a Curate here in Alan's time, [2] to whom he allowed the small tithes and alterages.

2. The chapel of Lispople; in Alan's time the ruins were to be seen, contiguous to the land of Clonmethane. [3]

3. The chapel of Killethe or Killeigh, erected into the state of a parish church before the time of Alan; but still it was considered as subservient to the mother church of Swords, and the cure was served by a Chaplain, nominated by the Dean and Chapter; Alan observes, that it was the most stately of all the chapels of Swords. [4]

4. The chapel of Kilteri or Killostre, adjoining Fieldstown, and by the intervening river divided from Rollestown; it was dedicated to St. Brigid. [5]

5. The chapel of Malahide, the ruins of which exhibit a venerable and picturesque appearance.

Besides the above, there were, in more remote times, four other chapelries subservient to Swords; they are now independent parishes.

1. Cloghran Swords [k]; the Vicar of Swords enjoyed, in Alan's time, the right of sepulture of all persons dying in this parish. [6]

[1] Rep. Vir. [2] Rep. Vir. [3] Rep. Vir. [4] Rep. Vir. [5] Rep. Vir. [6] Rep. Vir.

[c] The church of Swords is said to have been founded before the year 563, by Colum-kille, who gave to it a missal, written by his own hands; he placed here St. Finian his disciple, named Lobhuir or the Leper, he likewise bestowed his benediction (saith Colgan) upon a well here, called Glan. Trias Thaum. pag. 400.—The festival of St. Columb is celebrated on the 9th June, and that of St. Finian on the 16th March; (Trias Thaum, p. 450 et 509.) The annals of the IV Masters record the deaths of several Abbots, Bishops and Archdeacons of Swords, they will be noticed in the topographical history of this village; one of the witnesses to Archbishop Comin's charter to this Cathedral, signs himself, "R. Decanus de Swerdes."

[d] The land where St. Bridget's chapel stood was the grant of one Kepne, Canon, and afterwards Prior of Holmpatrick; there were two burgages here belonging to that convent.

[e] Hugo Blackton, Archdeacon of Dublin, was a benefactor to this chapel in 1486. Stearne's charters, T. C. D.—There is a likelihood of this being the same with St. Finian's, as an Inquisition, 11 Jac. I. mentions "The Mary Priest's chamber, alias St. Finian's, lying in the south vicary of Swords within the town." Ch. Rem. office.

[f] A third chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine, was also within the parochial church of Swords.

[g] Viz. 20 Rich. II. A chief rent of 3*s*. 4*d*. was reserved to the Archbishop. Al. regist. fol. 6.

[h] In Alan's register (fol. 7, ante tax. pag.) there is a certificate of Archbishop, John Comin, that he had admitted Walter Comyn to the parsonage of the churches of St. Columb and St. Finian of Swerdes, with the appendant chapels of Clogheran, Killechna, Kilastra, Donaghbata, Malachida, Kinsale, Ballygriffan, and Culoke: Alan remarks in a note upon this record, that the parson had the tithes of certain lands, not included in these chapelries, ("ultra capellas,") viz. Gissecuman, Obaff, Ardfeld, and half Liskokal; perhaps the last was Lispopel, the other places are not now discernable, having changed their names.

[i] Kinsale was granted to the Vicar by Archbishop Luke, together with the tithe of all crofts, the small tithes of the lands within the manor of Swords, the obventions and alterages, and thus raised to the value of twenty marcs per annum. See Cr. mihi, fol. 103 and Al. reg. fol. 70.—The Vicar was formerly nominated by the Prebendary, or at least the right of presentation thereto was claimed by him; for we learn from the Rolls, that, on 3d Feb. 1377, the vicarage of John Lonyn, who had been presented by Peter de Lacy, late Prebendary, had been seized by one John Rynoris, under colour of a presentation thereto by Archbishop, Robert de Wykeford.

[k] Clogheran is enumerated among the chapels of Swords in the letters patent of Henry VI. which authorise the establishment of the College of minor Canons. D. D. fol. 68.—See the note on Swords in chapter relating to Oeconomy possessions

2. Donaghbate was likewise, in ancient times, a chapelry annexed to Swords, to which church it paid an annual pension of 13*s.* 4*d.*[l] it was disunited therefrom by Archbishop Luke, and granted by him to the monastery of Grane.

3. Ballgriffin was once a chapel of Swords; this, Alan says, appears from a record in the white book of the Treasury.[m]

4. Culock was likewise a chapelry, annexed to Swords, in the time of Archbishop Comin.[n]

The portion, allotted to the Prebendary by Archbishop Talbot, is described in the original deed of partition to be as follows, viz. the mansion of Lassenhall, with its gardens and demesne-lands and tithes of the same; his rents from the glebe of Swords, and likewise the tithes of Ballymadroght, and of the Archbishop's demesne-lands in Swords, together with all the temporal and spiritual rights which, as Prebendary, he before that time enjoyed.

By Inquisition, taken at Swords on the 18th January, 38 Henry VIII. the extent and value of this Prebend[o] was ascertained; the jurors sworn were twenty-eight in number, all inhabitants of Swords and the neighbouring parishes; their report was to the following effect:

Demesne.	The demesne appropriated to this Rectory or Prebend, is a messuage, called the Court of Lasseinhall, an orchard, a garden and iiii^{xx}. acres land, arable, meadow, pasture and furze, (jampnorum) of the yearly value of	IV*l.*
Glasseinhale.	There are here, appropriated to the same Prebend, iii messuages with gardens, vi cottages with gardens, v waste cottages, ix^{xx}. acres of arable, meadow and pasture land, worth, per annum,	VI*l.*
Swerds.	There are here, annexed to said Prebend, viii cottages with viii acres of arable land and viii gardens; whereof v are waste.	
Tithes.	The tithes of this Rectory issue from the town-lands of Rykenhore, Balhare, William Kelly's farme, Guydos farme, Thomas Fitzsymon's farme, Walter Dowding's farme, Robert Brocton's farme, and other outlands of the Archbishop in Swerds, together with the alterages, (except oblations to the Vicar) and are of the yearly value of	XL *marc.*
Balmadroght.	The tithes of this hamlet belong to the Prebendary, and are of the yearly value of vii*l.* including the alterages, but not the oblations, which are the Vicar's.	VII*l.*
Little Bealyngstown.	The tithes whereof appertain to the Rector, and are worth yearly xxvi*s.* viii*d.* including the alterages, but not the oblations, which are the Vicar's.	XXVI*s.* VIII*d.*
Glassheinler, &c.	The tithes hereof, with alterages of the cottages here, and of those in the town of Swerdes (but not the oblations) appertain to the Prebendary, and are worth, per annum,	VI*l.*
	Total value of this Prebend	LII*l.*

in this volume; it is rated in the taxation of 1294, as a distinct church, and taxed as of the value of iv marcs yearly.

[l] Repert. Virid.

[m] Repert. Virid.

[n] Al. regist. fol. 7.

[o] The extent and value of this Prebend, at the period of the restoration, was as follows:

The demesne land and court of Lissenhall, containing, according to "strict survey," one hundred and fifty acres; leased in 1656, for twenty-one years, to Thomas Wilkinson, for 30*l.* per annum.

Little Lissenhall, containing two hundred acres, demised in the same year to Ch. Baron Bysse, for a like term, for 50*l.* per annum.

Eight cottages and eight acres in Swords, held by Christopher Huetson, for keeping in repair the chancel of the church of Swords.

The Prebendal tithes, issuing from the town-lands of Rickenhore, the demesne lands of the Archbishop in Swords, Balmadroght, Belingston, Balhary and the two Lissenhalls. Wilkinson's MS. report, penes Arpum.

There is a small parchment roll in the possession of the Archbishop, which gives a very minute account of the endowments of the Prebendary and likewise of the Vicar of Swords; it is signed by John Owen, who was collated to both Prebend and Vicarage in 1744; he describes the prebendal endowment to be as follows:

The lands of Great and Little Lissenhall, the great and small tithes of said lands, likewise of Balmadrought, Balhary, Rickenhore, Newtown Swords, Black-hall, Oldtown of Rathbeal, Broadmeadow; and also the great and small tithes of the following in the town and liberty of Swords, viz. Pat. Strong's holding, under Visc. Kingland; Robert King's, Esq. under the Archbishop; some parks on the north of Gallows-hill opposite to the wind-mill, in tenure of Thomas Wilson, Esq. Doctor

Sect. III. Of the Prebendary of Kilmactalway.

The church of Kilmactalway was annexed to the Precentorship of this Cathedral in 1366[p]: in 1467 it was made a distinct Prebend, and this arrangement was confirmed by act of Parliament, 7 and 8 Edw. IV. when Archbishop Minot granted it to the Precentor, he reserved therefrom two marks, for proxies at the visitation,[q] and half a mark to the Dean of Dublin; these sums were paid at the time of Archbishop Alan, by whom this is stiled a sacerdotal prebend, and placed second in rank in the Cathedral[r]; the parish church was dedicated to St. Magnanus.[s]

The extent and value of the Rectory of Kilmactalway was determined by the Inquisition held at Dublin on the 27th Jan. 38 Henry VIII. to be as follows:

Demesne.[t]	There are in the town-land of Clonmatalway, one old orchard with two parks or gardens, containing, by estimation, one acre, of the yearly value of	IIs.
Tithes.	The tithes thereof extend over the town-lands of Kylmatalwey, Kynges-Myltone, Galrotyeston, Grang, Angerystowne, Loghtown and Newcastell; they are worth yearly, (beside the alterages, and xxvis. viiid. assigned to the Curate, and repairs of the Chancel)	xxxiiil. vIs. vIIId.
	Total value of the Prebend	xxxiiil. vIIIs. vIIId.

Wynne's holding on the north of Seatown-lane, (except the park which John Brogan holds from him, the tithes whereof belong to the Vicar) a park of about seven acres on the south side of Scotchstones-lane, in tenure of Christopher Finglass, tenant to Thomas Gonne, Esq. under the Arrchbishop; several parks on the east side of the road leading from Swords to Newtown common, commonly called the pepple leasure and quartermass park, now in the tenure of Thomas Kirby; on the east side of said road a field, commonly called twenty pound park, and the bridge meadow, now in tenure of Mr. M'Causland and his under tenant Mr. Thunder.

A map of the demesne lands is annexed to this document, from whence it appears, that Little Lissenhall contains one hundred and ninety-four acres, eight perches, and Big Lissenhall one hundred and sixty-one acres, one rood, sixteen perches.

The extent of the other denominations, whereof the Prebendary has the tithes, is set forth in a manuscript of the handwriting of Dean Verschoyle, who was himself, at that time, Vicar of Swords. According to this account,

	A.	R.	P.
Ballymadrought contains -	332		
Balhary - - - -	240		
Rilkenhore - - - -	200		
Newtown Swords - - -	17	2	20
Blackhall - - - -	40		
Oldtown of Rathbeal - -	200		
Broadmeadow - - -	40		

In 1637, the Prebend of Swords was demised for forty-three years to Sir Edward Bolton: John Keating, his assignee, renounced the former and obtained a new lease for twenty-one years, in 1662; he was to pay 70*l.* Brit. sterl. per annum, and to keep in repair the chancel of the church of Swords; by this deed was demised, "the court, town and lands of Lissenhall, all the tithes thereof and also all glebe lands and tithes belonging to said Prebend:" the Archbishop, "the true and undoubted Patron and Ordinary" was one of the executing parties, and the lease was confirmed by the Chapter of St. Patrick's. In a lease of the Prebendal lands, dated 1721, there is a special reservation of the benefit of the Chancel, and of the tithes of twenty acres glebe land assigned to the Vicar; the demesne lands of Lissenhall were leased in 1800 for 112*l.* per annum. Leases St. Pat. regist.

[p] Alan (Repert. Virid. voce Kilmatalwe) says it returned to the state of a simple Rectory; he places it the second in order, and seems to say that Timothan was the first; there is no record now extant, which can precisely determine the exact order of precedence among the Prebendaries of this church, nor can there be any good reason assigned, why this, which was erected at so late a period as 1467, should be placed before Swords, which is one among the most ancient in the Cathedral.

[q] This sum of xxvis. viiid. was received at the period of suppression, as appears from the Inquisition, 1 Edward VI. Kilmactalway is the only church noticed in that record as paying that impost.

[r] Repert. Virid.

[s] Dign. Dec. pag. 202 et seq.

[t] The Prebendary was in possession of this demesne at the restoration of King Charles II. Wilkinson, in his report, says, that he had then a house and garden in Kilmatalway occupied by the Curate, and likewise an orchard and two parks; that he possessed the great and small tithes of Kilmatalway, King's Myltown, part of Galrostown, the old Grange, Angerstown, part of Loghtown and part of Newcastle of Lyons.

I have in my possession a terrier of this Prebend, drawn up in 1741, and signed by Francis Wilson: his account of the extent of the parish is conformable to Wilkinson's report; but of the demesne he says, that it had been lost by the negligence of his predecessors: we learn from this document, that the residue of Galrostown belonged to the Vicar's Choral, who allowed to the Prebendary 2*l.* annually, for serving the cures of Gallerstown, (Galroston) Adamstown and Ballykealy. In another terrier, dated 1780, the Prebendary informs us, that the part of Loghtown was known, but what precise portion of Gallerstown was included in the parish, was a matter which he could not ascertain: in 1780, the parish had diminished in its value, "by reason of the decrease of tillage;" it was then worth but 60*l.* per annum. Terrier in Dioc. regist.

Sect. IV. Of the Prebendary of Yago.

In the register of Archbishop Alan (fol. 195) there is a copy of a deed, whereby the church of Dovenamore was granted in frankalmoigne, by William Fitz-william Fitz-maurice, to Archbishop John Comin, for the purpose of augmenting the common fund of the Cathedral: doubtless it was this Prebend that was conveyed, for the other Donoughmore was not appropriated until 1266, whereas a church of that name was one of the thirteen, originally annexed to the college founded by Archbishop Comin.

In the year 1230, Dean William Fitzguy and the Chapter of St. Patrick's granted to Will. Earl of Pembroke and to his heirs for ever, their right of patronage to the church of Donoughmore or Jago, which belonged to their community; they retained, however, the benefice of the town [u] of Osbert de Kathmeth; to this Prebend the Earl and his heirs were ever after to present a sufficient parson to the Archbishop, who was to be installed as a Canon [v]; this seems to have been in consequence of a compact between that Earl and Archbishop Henry de Loundres, to whom the former confirmed the grant of the church of Moncolumkill, which had been made by his father, on condition, however, that he and his heirs should present to a Prebend of the value of fifteen marcs. [w]

After the family of the Earl Marischall had become extinct in the male line, Agnes de Vessy [x] became patroness; it became next the property of the Earls of Kildare, who have ever since enjoyed the patronage of this Prebend, which appears, at all times, to have obtained the next rank after that of Swords or Kilmactalway; it is, by Alan, stiled a Sacerdotal Prebend. [y]

The church of Yagoe is dedicated, as the name sufficiently indicates, to St. Jago or James; it is situated in the county of Kildare, and appears from the Repert. Viride [z] of Alan to have had two subservient chapels; Inchebrislane alias Kiltown, which, from an extensive grange there, belonging to the Abbey of Baltinglass, obtained the name of Grangia Monachorum, by which it is still known; the other chapel was that of Brethnochstown, designated in the bull of Pope Alexander III. Technabretnas, it was dedicated to St. Silvester. [a]

The Inquisition, taken after the dissolution of this Cathedral, 27th January, 38 Hen. VIII. [b] determined the possessions of this Prebend to be as follows:

Yagotteston	There is appendant to this Rectory one manse. The tithes extend over the town-lands of Yagoteston, Lyttel Boolyes, Rochstowne and Logh-brettoge; besides the alterages, which are assigned to the Curate, and repair of the chancel, which is performed by the farmer of the tithe; they are of the yearly value of	xl.

Sect. V. Of the Prebendary of St. Audoen's.

The church of St. Audoen [c] or St. Owen was, in its original state, parochial, and was conferred, by Archbishop John Comin, on the Convent of Grace-dieu; his successor Henry de Loundres, gave to the Nuns of that Convent the church of

[u] Probably Brenockstown which is still part of the Oeconomy possessions.

[v] Al. reg. fol, 195.

[w] See Mone-Columkille in chapt. of Oeconomy possessions.

[x] So saith Alan, but I apprehend he means, Agnes de Valentia.

[y] Repert. Virid.

[z] In Alan's Repert. Viride, the churches are usually first mentioned and described, next follow the appendant chapels; the same order is preserved in that very ancient account of the diocess extant in the Crede mihi; there, likewise, the two chapels here mentioned are placed next after Yago.

[a] Hence, we find this tract sometimes designated by the name of Vesterstown; Brennockstown is now appropriated to the oeconomy fund of this Cathedral. See the next chapter.

[b] There were only four jurors sworn, the same who determined respecting Ballymore, &c.

[c] Stanihurst says of St. Audoen's, "The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the Aldermen and the Worships of the Citie are demurrant within that paroch." Hollingshed Chron. vol. VI. pag. 25, 4to. edit.

Ballmadun in exchange; and granted St. Audoen's to the Treasurer of this Cathedral[7]: when Michael Tregury assigned to that dignitary one moiety of Luske, he made this Rectory a distinct Prebend, which, Alan informs us, was of the sacerdotal order; it appears from the ancient taxations to be next in rank to Yago.

A Guild for the maintenance of divine worship was established within this church, in the reign of King Henry VI. it was placed under the patronage of St. Anne,[d] and still is known by the name of St. Anne's Guild; it is governed by a Master and two Wardens; the chief founder of this corporation was Archbishop Talbot, who obtained a licence to purchase lands to the yearly value of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in mortmain, for support of six Priests, in the chantry of St. Anne, erected in St. Owen's church, who, by the same deed, were required to pray for the King and the Founders of the Guild.

When the Cathedral was suppressed, the value of this Prebend was determined by Inquisition, 27th Jan. 38 Hen. VIII. the jurors, who were four in number, reported that the oblations and tithes, called "the previe tithes," which were payable at the festival of Easter, were worth IV*l.* annually, over and above the Curate's stipend, repair of the Chancel and all other burthens; in the year following they were leased to Nicholas Myagh, for the yearly rent of 20*s.*

Sect. VI. Of the Prebendary of Clonmethan.[e]

The church of Glimmethan was one of the thirteen which were originally granted by the Founder to this Cathedral; it is called by Alan a Sacerdotal Prebend, and is placed by him next after St. Audoens.

The mother church of Clonmethan was dedicated to St. Mary,[8] to which was subservient the chapel of Fieldstown, whose patroness was St. Catherine, the Virgin and Martyr.

Nicholas Dovedale, Prebendary of Clonmethan, in a petition preferred by him to Parliament, 14th Edw. IV. stated, that divers persons, aliens, strangers and denizens, did frequent in considerable numbers, by way of pilgrimage, the chapel of St. Catherine, the Virgin and Martyr of Feldstown, which was appropriated and annexed to the Prebend of Clonmethan, being for the health and safety of their souls and accomplishment of their petitions and prayers; those persons, he com-

[7] Repert. Virid.

[8] Al. regist. fol. 152.

The disputes between the Rectors of this parish and the Convent of the Holy Trinity, relative to the tithe of fish, taken in the adjoining part of the river Liffey, and likewise their claim to the tithe of a mill in Bridge-street and of the parks and gardens adjoining, may be found in the history of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, under the years 1324 and 1337.

The Prebendary of St. Audoen's receives annually 4*l.* from the oeconomy fund, which is supposed to be, in consideration of the ground whereon the manse of his predecessors formerly stood in the north close, and which hath been appropriated to the common use, at some distant period of time. The Prebendary had also a manse-house in St. Audeon's-arch; bnt the Guild of St. Anne became possessed of it early in the last century and leased it for an infirmary.

On the 15th March 1666, the Commissioners for putting in force the acts of settlement, assigned to the Minister of St. Audoen's and his suceessors, a house in Corn-market, measuring in front thirty-three feet, together with its appendages, formerly the property of William Malone, and of the yearly value of 30*l.* out of which there was reserved to the Crown, the yearly quit rent of 2*l.* 5*s.* In 1742 this lot of ground, whereon there were then built three brick-houses, was demised to David Digges, otherwise La Touche, the elder, for forty years, at 16*l.* per annum. Leases, St. Pat. regist.—This lot is at the corner of St. Audoen's-arch, and it is very unaccountable why it should not have been noticed in the report made to Parliament in 1807, where we meet, under the head of glebes, an observation, which indirectly insinuates that there was not one appropriated to the minister of this parish; it briefly notices "a small lott of ground not yet ascertained."

[d] A more ample history of this very ancient guild will be given in a subsequent volume, and likewise an account of its extensive possesssions, which are now concealed and appropriated to lay purposes.

[e] The Prebend, Vicarages and Cures of Clonmethan, Balmadon, Palmerstown near Grenoge, Westpalstown and Ballyboghil, were united for ever by act of Council, on the 10th of May 1675. Dioc. regist.

The Prebendary of Clonmethan alone, retains the land within the precinct of the Cathedral, whereon stood formerly the manse of his predecessors; this tenement is situated on the west side of St. Patrick's-street, and is described, in a lease dated March 1705, as extending in front along the street fifty-three feet, in depth one hundred and fifty six feet, the rent reserved was 13*l.* per annum. Lease, St. Pat. regist.

plained, had been, at divers times, vexed and molested on divers pretences, by reason of which they were obliged to lay aside said devotions and pilgrimages; this was a case, that peculiarly interested the feeling of such an assembly at that time; the Parliament accordingly ordained, that the persons and properties of all such pilgrims should, during their pilgrimage, be under the protection of the King, nor should the person of any such be arrested on any writ or authority whatever; for debt, treason, felony or trespass, until said pilgrimage should be accomplished; provided, that during their going thither, dwelling there and returning, they did behave peaceably to the King's liege subjects; they ordained likewise, that any officer who should vex or arrest the persons, or molest the houses of such pilgrims, contrary to this statute, should forfeit, for every such offence, the sum of twenty pounds. [f]

The Inquisition [g] which was held at Swords, 18th Jan. 38 Henry VIII. extended likewise to this Prebend, the jurors reported the extent and value thereof to be as follows:

Demesne. [h]	There are here, annexed to this Prebend, one manse and viii acres of land, of the yearly value of viii*s.*			
Clonmethan tithes.	The tithes are derived from the hamlets of Clonmethan, Oldtowne, Kyllene, Cabraghe, Morton, Jordanston, Cotterelston, Newynnyngs, Wyaneston and the fyfty acres near Morton, which are worth, per annum, (exclusive of the alterages and demesne, assigned for the Curate at Clonmethan, and repair of the Chancel)			
	Amount	xvii*l.*	v*s.*	
Feldeston.	The tithes of this chapel are payable out of the town-land of Feldston, and are of the yearly value of iv*l.* iv*d.* beside alterages and iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* annually arising out of the chapel, which are assigned to the Curate there for his stipend.			
	Amount	iv*l.*		iv*d.*
	Total amount of this Prebend	xxi*l.*	v*s.*	iv*d.*

Sect. VII. Of the Prebendary of Wicklow.

At a period, not far removed from that of the English Conquest, the church of Wykinglo was under the patronage of the Barons of Naas: David Fitz-William the last Baron had three daughters, who were married to —— de la Roche, —— de London and —— de Bret, [i] amongst whom a partition was made of the manor of Naas; the same persons enjoyed likewise, alternate presentation [k] to the Rectory and Vicarage of Wicklow.

[f] Stat. Roll. 14 Edward VI.

[g] This Rectory was leased 1st Edward VI. to John Talbot of Malahide, Knight, and by him to Patrick Barnewall of Gracedieu, for twenty-one years, at 21*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* per annum. Besides the town-lands mentioned in the inquisition, there occurs one other in this lease called Wynganstown, which, in the inquisition 1st Edward VI. is stiled Worganstown. Vide Rot. pipæ et Inquisitio 1 Edwardi VI.—Wilkinson's report notices all the town-lands mentioned in the inquisition, and moreover this one which he ealls Worganstown, and moreover adds to the list "the demesne lands of the Archbishop:" he likewise extends the glebe to twenty acres; demised for twenty-one years to Rob. Scarboroughe, for 3*l.* per annum. MS. penes Arpum.

[h] In June 1716, Archbishop King, by virtue of a power vested in him by act of Parliament, (2d Anne) granted to the Prebendary of Clonmethan and to his successors for ever as a glebe for that parish, the following lands, viz. the five acre park with garden and cabbin adjoining thereto, the two acre park, and four acres and half adjoining to the five acre park, and the rest of Begg's land, being eight acres and half; all lying near to the church of Clonmethan; for which the incumbent was to pay, yearly, to the Archbishop 1*l.* 10*s.* per annum.

A terrier with a map annexed is lodged in the Diocesan register office, it bears the date of 1754; according to this document, the Rector's glebe at Clonmethan comprised thirty-four acres and fourteen perches, his glebe in Balmadon nineteen acres, two roods and five perches: the ecclesiastical report made to Parliament 1807, takes notice only of the glebe last mentioned; there was at that time no glebe-house, but the Board of First-Fruits had granted 600*l.* to build one, which is now nearly completed.

It appears that Dr. Harrison built a glebe-house at Clonmethan in 1720, and obtained a certificate from the Archbishop of having expended thereon 300*l.* Dioc. regist.

[i] Different christian names are assigned to those persons in ancient writings.

[k] In the year 1349 the Rector of Wicklow, Henry Bagot, contested with Will. de London, Knight, the right of nominating

This church was the head of an ancient rural deanery, it is called by Alan Wygchurch, more anciently it was named, as the same writer informs us, Tilachtipper, [l] the name of Wykinglo occurs however, in the very ancient list [m] in the Crede mihi; by the Irish natives it is called Kilmantan.

In the year 1332, Archbishop Alexander de Bicknore, obtained the consent of its patrons, that this church, with its two appendant chapels, should be appropriated to the Archdeaconry of Glendaloch; but, in 1467, when the church of Newcastle was annexed to that dignity, this of Wicklow was made a distinct Prebend; it is placed by Archbishop Alan the next after Clonmethan, and is one of those ten, which he distinguishes by the title of Sacerdotal Prebends.

The parish of Wicklow extends over a large district, within which, many ancient chapelries, [n] nay, even distinct parochial churches are comprehended; to the church of Wicklow itself, there were two chapels directly appendant, viz. those of Kilmantan and St. Thomas, if not within the town, they were at least not far distant therefrom: Killuskey, which lies to the north of Wicklow, was an independent church, and, as has been before mentioned, was erected into the form of a Prebend by Archbishop Fulco de Sandford, who conferred it upon the Archdeacon of Glendaloch: it appears probable that, when Wicklow was appropriated to that dignitary, Killusky became then first united to that parish; to Killusky, likewise, there were appendant two chapels, Kilfy and Glinfeyl [o]. The church or chapel of St. Bechan, anciently denominated Rathnewe, [p] and by transposition of the syllables New-rath or Newragh, is enumerated by Alan among the chapels appendant to Wicklow; that writer identifies it with Dromkey, which, later documents have erroneously made a distinct parish; Rathnewe lies to the north-west of Wicklow and immediately adjoins the town upon that side; a little more north may be recognised two town-lands, Killoughter and Kilmartin, they were chapelries in ancient times, and are mentioned by Alan in his repertorium viride, under the names of Killothyr and Kilmart.

On the south side of Wicklow, near to the sea, is Kilpoole, which was in former times, a distinct parish and appropriated to the Knights Templar; the cure of Kilpoole [q] has, however, been united to Wicklow since the beginning of the last century.

The chapelry of Kilcolman or Kilcommon is more distant from the town of Wicklow than any of those above mentioned; it lies within land, to the south west of Glanely, it is not mentioned in the Crede mihi, but Archbishop Alan places it among the chapels of Wicklow.

Ballidonell is likewise enumerated by Alan among the chapels [r] of Wicklow, but part was dismembered therefrom and annexed, in 1724, to Castlemacadam, [s] and part in 1749 to Innisbohin, both by act of Council.

the Vicar; but, upon a writ of enquiry concerning the usage, it was determined, that the Rector had never, at any time, presented to the Vicarage. Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 20.

[l] I have never met elsewhere, the name of Tilachtipper applied to Wicklow. The name of Wykinglo or Wycklow is evidently of Saxon origin.

[m] This list was written before the year 1250, the names both of Wykinglo and Kilmantan occur therein.

[n] Alan mentions five, viz. Kilcolman, Glanelie, Ballidonell, Rathnowe and Killusky; under these the rest are probably included. Vide Repert. Virid.—With Alan's account the list in the regal visitation of 1615 corresponds.

[o] There is a town-land called Kilfee, south of Killusky, which is, doubtless, the same as Kilfy here mentioned; a chapel of ease has been lately erected there. To the south of Kilfee is Glanely, where another place of worship, commonly called a chapter of ease, was erected not many years ago; Glanely is probably the same with Glinfeyl, as the words would sound almost alike when pronounced in the original language.

[p] Rathno occurs in the ancient list in the Crede mihi; Alan hath annexed thereto the following note in his own hand-writing: "Alias S. Bechani, Rect. de Dromka," possibly he meant to insinuate, that Dromka was omitted in the text, but I have not met Dromkey among the list of chapels appendant on Wicklow in any ancient document, neither does Alan himself enumerate it among them, in his Repert. Viride. Castlemacadam, which is at a considerable distance from Wicklow, is called Dromka in some ancient writings; from hence perhaps the confusion hath arisen.

[q] The Incumbent of Wicklow parish has one-third of the tithes for serving the cure.

[r] A little north of Glanely there is a town-land called Ballymacsimon, which is, doubtless, the site of an extinct chapel or church, called in the Crede mihi and Alan's Repert. Virid. "Ecclesia de Villa Simonis;" where this name occurs in the document first mentioned, Alan hath written as follows: "ubi O'Byrne capitaneus." it is not far from Ballymanus.

The Inquisition of 38 Henry VIII.[t] determines the value of this Prebend to be, "communibus annis," xlvi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* no account is given there of its extent, it is merely described, as lying in the country of the Birnes among the Irish; even so late as the era of the restoration this district was unknown to the English; Wilkinson's report of that date has the following remark: "This Prebend lies in the Birne's country and is of large extent, but the particular names of the town-lands are to us unknown."

Sect. VIII. Of the Prebendary of Timothan.[u]

The Lordship or Manor of Stamuthan or Timothan was granted, by King John, to Henry de Loundres, in recompence for the losses the church of Dublin had suffered, and the expenses, that Prelate had incurred in fortifying the castle of Dublin: King Henry III. by letters patent, dated Winchester, 14th April and 14th of his reign, confirmed this grant of his predecessor to Luke, at that time, Archbishop elect: on the eve of the ascension, in the year 1247, it was established as a Prebend; the lateness of its erection into that state furnishes an answer to the question, proposed by Alan, whether Cullen or Timothan was the Prebend, that was annexed to the Archbishoprick, whereby he became entitled to a vote in the Chapter, as a

[s] The town-lands of Redcross, Oghill, Blindwood and Ballidonnell-hill, members of the parish of Ballidonnell, were united to Castlemacadam by act of Council: in 1749 another part was united to Ennisboheen by consent of the patrons. Dioc. reg.

[t] As this fruitful source of information, relative to the extent of parishes, hath failed us in the present instance, I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency by the following abstract from a terrier, dated 1781, and lodged in the Dioc. reg. office by the Rev. John Walls, Rector and Vicar. Although his division into chapelries is incorrect, yet the report of a parochial minister, as to the extent of his parish, can scarcely be erroneous.—He is in error when he divides the whole parish into chapelries; they are properly appendages not parts, as in a civil division: hence it is, that he extinguishes Wicklow parish altogether, which contained Dunbar and the chief portion of what he calls Dromkey; but this matter will be more fully discussed hereafter.

"The vicarage of Wicklow contains several chapelries, according to the ecclesiastical account, and according to the civil account, constablewicks, viz. Rathnew, Killisky, Glanely, Kilcomman, alias Kilcolman."

"The rectory and vic. of Dromkey are mostly in or near the town of Wicklow; there are about thirty-eight acres of glebe in the rectory of Dromkey, which contains the following town-lands, viz. the Abbey Lands, Bolarney and the Maudlins, (which are impropriations belonging to the Marquis of Rockingham,) Knockrobbin, Bourkeen, Abraham Marken land, the Glebe land, two Ballynerrons, Ballyguilebeg, Potach, Hawkstown, Ballygonnel, Newtownbeg and Newtownmore, Tubberviller, Blackditch, Ballyharra. In the parish of Killpoole are the town-lands of Great and Little Kilpoole, Blainroe, which lands pay one-third of tithes to the Vicar; the Marquis of Rockingham or his tenants are in possession of the other two thirds; but the town-land of Dunbur, in the said parish of Kilpoole, pays entire tithes to the Vicar. The chapelry of Rathnew contains the following town-lands, viz. Merrymeeting, Nuragh, Rossana, Milltown, Rathnew, Ballybeg, Croneroe, Ballylusk, Ballycullen, Ahold, Munduff, Mount Ussher, Ballynapark, Crownakery, Coolawinny, Clonmanning, Blackbull, Killoghter, Tinekilly; Ballard, in the parish of Rathnew, pays entire tithe to the incumbent of Derrylossory. Chapelry of Killisky contains in it the following town-lands, viz. Inchinappa, Ballynahinch, Ballymacro, Tiglin, Kilfy, Clora, Ballycorry, Newtown, Bolinas, Ballymoneen, Killisky, Coartfoyle, Rathmore, upper and lower Ballyduff, Corignamuck, Carabanne, Tomcorke, Courtsellagh, Tiglin, Kiltimon, Knockadree, Ballyvolin, Kilmartin, Barncoyle, Grange, little Grange, Ballybla, Tiglin near Grange. The chapelry of Glanealy contains in it the following town-lands, viz. Ballyteskin, Ballynacloe, Coolbeg, Ballynagrane, Kilmacannamore, Kilmacannabegg, Kilcandra, Ballynabarns, Ballynergan, Coolnakilly, Ballymacsimon, Ballynochenmore, Ballynochenbeg, Ballymore, Glanealy, Ballymanus, Ballyfree, Ballydonlan, Ballynacooly, Ballykillavane. Chapelry of Kilcommon contains the following town-lands, viz. Drumdangan, Bahana, Ballanakill, Barnbawn, Garryduff, Stump of the Castle, Glassanaraget, Sleroe, Ballice, Mount Lusk, Tyclash, Ballydoyle, Tymollin."

"The great and corn tithes of the fore.mentioned chapelries of Rathnew, Killisky, Glanealy, Kilcolman and parish of Wicklow, are the property of the Prebend of Wicklow, all the other tithes are the property of the Vicar of Wicklow."

From the same document we learn that there was a glebe in the rectory of Dromka, of thirty-eight acres, another in the parish of Glanealy containing three acres and thirty-seven perches, and, moreover, two plots of ground in the parish and borough of Wicklow, on which were three dwelling-houses; according to a survey by Mr. A. Neville, deposited in the Dioc. reg. office, the several glebes contain fifty acres, one rood and thirteen perches; this survey was perhaps subsequent to the account above written, in point of date.

In 1630, Balthazzar Fox Vicar, certified that two parcels of land, adjoining to Wicklow, called the Maudling, where formerly had been an Oratory, and Farren Eglus, were both detained from the church by James Byrne, of Ballinurin; and likewise, that a parcel of land called Glanealy had been alienated by Hugh Coniam, Vicar of Wicklow, to his son Dennis. To the second place, Farren Eglus, there is a confirmation of his claim conveyed by the name itself, which the Vicar seems not to be aware of; for the literal translation of the word is "the church-land."

There is a copy of a lease in St. Pat. regist. whereby the Chapter demised, in July 1663, one-sixth of an acre in Wicklow, called the Nuns' Gardens, at six pence per annum, for twenty-one years; "it abutteth" saith the deed, "on the commons of Wicklow on the south and the Abbey-lands on the west."

[u] This town-land is in the parish of Tallagh, it is corruptly spelt Timon, in modern maps; the ruins of the castle may be seen at a considerable distance.

On the 24th September 1547, "a messuage, and garden called Tymothan's Garden, within the precinct of the late Cathedral church of St. Patrick," were leased for twenty-one years to Henry Draycot, of Dublin, Gent. for the yearly rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* for the messuage, and 1*s.* for the garden. Mixed bundle of fiants in Rolls Office, not inrolled.

Canon; for, inasmuch as the foundation charter of 1219 notifies that such an arrangement had been made, and Timothan was annexed at a subsequent period, it is fair to conclude that the other Prebend, formed out of the demesne lands of the See, was that to which the charter alludes, and that no change has since taken place. Timothan is the only Prebend of the Chapter, except Cullen, to which no church has been, at any time, annexed; it is nevertheless stiled by Alan, a sacerdotal prebend, to which he allots the 8th prebendal stall in this Cathedral.

By the Inquisition held at Dublin 27th January, 38 Hen. VIII. there were found annexed to this Rectory or Prebend, one ruinous fortress, two messuages, two cottages, two hundred and forty acres of land, and one hundred and twenty acres of meadow and pasture, of the yearly value of x*l.*

King Edward VI. by letters patent, dated sixth of his reign, granted to James Sedgrave, Merchant, the entire Prebend of Tymothan, and the town or village thereof and all the tithes of the same; reserving the rent of 15*s.* 4*d.* in the name of a twentieth part.

It is a matter of doubt whether, upon the restoration of the Cathedral, the Prebendary of Timothan ever recovered his demesne lands; among the inquisitions we find one, which was held at the castle of Dublin, 15th James I. upon the death of Dudley Loftus [v]; when the jury reported that he died, seized of one castle, five tenements and four carucates in Tymothan, with the tithes of the same: but they did not report by what title he possessed them; according to Wilkinson's account, (1660,) "this Prebend was anciently endowed with a castle and three hundred and sixty acres of land, but no tithes; wholly swallowed up, "he saith," by Sir Adam "Loftus, Knight, and not a penny reserved for rent."

Having lost its endowments, it is not a matter of surprize that this Prebend should so frequently have reverted to the Crown by lapse; from the restoration of the Cathedral until 1730, its Patron, the Archbishop, did never once present; and from 1588 to 1716 it appears to have passed wholly unregarded. In this latter year, when the contests ran high between Dean Swift and Archbishop King, the vacant stall was filled up by the latter; and this mode of obtaining a majority of votes in the Chapter against the Dean, was grievously complained of by Swift. [w]

Sect. IX. Of the Prebendaries of Mallahidert and Castleknock.

The parish of Castleknock may be divided, in the first place, into two chief portions, [x] each of which is again divisible into minuter parts: one of these larger portions furnishes a maintenance to two Prebendaries in the Cathedral of Patrick.

In 1219, the great tithes of Castleknock were appropriated, by Archbishop Henry, to the priory of Malvern the lesser, a convent of benedictines in Worcestershire, upon condition that they should add five monks to their number. In the year 1225, the Prior and Monks of that monastery granted half the tithes of the manor of Castleknock to the uses of the oeconomy; they likewise renounced to the Archbishop

[v] Sir Adam Loftus, of Rathfarnam, knight, had a grant (pursuant to privy seal, dated Westminster, 18th July 1618,) of divers possessions, and, among the rest "the entire Prebend of Tymothan, the town-land of Tymothan, containing a castle, five tenements and four plow-lands, with all tithes great and small thereof," to hold the same, together with the plow-land of Knocklyne, in capite by knight's service and 15*s.* 4*d.* rent. Rot. Pat. 16 Jac. 6. p. facie.

Upon the intermarriage of Arthur Loftus, eldest son of Sir Adam and great grand-son of the Archbishop, with Lady Dorothy Boyle, sixth daughter of the Earl of Cork, fines were levied of Sir Adam's estate, and the deed of settlement grounded thereon, dated 4th March 1624, is enrolled; among the other possessions, so settled, we recognise the Prebend of Tymothan. Rot. Pat. 1 Cha. I. 2. p. dorso.

[w] See his letter to Archbishop King, dated 17th June 1716, where he writes, "I cannot but think it hard, that I must, upon all occasions, be made uneasy in my station, have dormant Prebends revived on purpose to oppose me, and this openly acknowledged by those, who say they act under your Grace's direction." Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. pag. 277, Scot's edit.

[x] The northern portion of the parish is the prebendal part, the southern was divided between the oeconomy and the Monks of Malvern. Vide Al. regist. fol. 6.

all right to the vicarage [y] with its small tithes and oblations; a partition [z] of the tithes of the whole parish [a] was accordingly made, with the consent of Archbishop Luke; and this is probably the foundation of that which at present exists; the prebendal, or northern portion of the parish, is, itself, divided into two parts, the one called the Prebend of Mallahiderd, or "Castrum-knoc ex parte Decani;" the other portion retains the original name, but was anciently stiled "ex parte Precentoris [b];" they were both Prebendaries of the sacerdotal order, and occupy the 9th and 10th stalls in the Cathedral.

The church of Castleknock was, itself, dedicated to St. Brigid, who was patroness likewise of the cell established there; that of Mallahidert was under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin; a well dedicated to her name is still frequented at stated times by the neighbouring inhabitants; a guild formerly existed in this place, stiled the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mallahiderd. [c]

The church of Cloghran, [d] (called "by Hiderd," to distinguish it from one of the same name near Swords,) although it lies within the bounds of this parish, was never subject thereto; Alan says it was so small as scarce to deserve the name of a chapel; it belonged to the Priory of All Saints, and passed, with the other possessions of that monastery, to the Mayor and Commons of the city of Dublin; the land is known by the name of Ballcullin.

The church of Culmin, [e] anciently called White-chapel, (Capella alba) was not discoverable in the time of Archbishop Alan, but the lands were included in that portion of the parish which belonged to the Monks of Malvern, at that time called Clonsillagh; in 1486 those Monks sold their property here to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary, near Dublin. [f]

The Inquisition [g] of 38th Henry VIII. ascertained, on the 27th of January, the extent and value of these Prebends; the report was made by 21 jurors of this and the adjoining parishes, who determined that of Mallahidert to be as follows:

Culduffe.	The tithes of Culduffe are worth to the Prebendary lxx*s.* annually, being leased for that sum.	Amount		lxx*s.*
Bossardiston, &c.	Those tithes issue from the town-lands of Bossardiston, Paslowestone, Kilmarten, Belgre and Tirrelston; they are worth, per annum, xx*l.* and are leased for that sum.	Amount	xx*l.*	
Abbatiston & Daniston	Those tithes issue from the town-lands of those names, they are of the yearly value of xi*l.* x*s.* and are leased for that sum.	Amount	xi*l.*	x*s.*
Moiety of Cabragh, &c.	Those half tithes issue from the town-lands of much and little Cabraghe, Pilletiston and Ashton, and are worth, annually, iv*l.* over and above the alterages which appertain to the Vicar of Castleknocke, and also, over the sum of xxvi*s.* viii*d.* paid to him by the Rector; the Vicar is bound to find a Curate here, but the Rector is bound to repair the Chancel.	Amount	iv*l.*	
		Total value of this Prebend	xxxix*l.*	

[y] Alan informs us (Rep. Vir.) that the three churches, Castleknock, Mallahidert and Clonsillagh, had but one perpetual Vicar, in whose absence three chaplains were provided by him to serve the cure. Repert. Virid. voce Culmin.

[z] This instrument of partition is extant in Dign. Dec. pag. 24. A more particular consideration of it is reserved for the topographical history of this parish.

The parish, as to its great tithes, may be divided into four parts, viz. 1st, that appropriated to the Preb. of Mallahidert; 2d, the Preb. of Castleknock's portion; 3d, that assigned to the Oeconomy; and 4th, that portion, which, being appropriated to a monastic institution, became impropriate upon the dissolution of the religious houses; this latter part was forfeited by rebellion and granted by way of augmentation of the Vicar's means, who moreover enjoys the small tithes of the whole parish.

[a] In the register, called Crede mihi, the value of the several portions of this parish are set forth, as they were estimated about the year 1250, viz. one Prebend 20*l.* the other 50 marcs, the Prior of Malvern's portion 40 marcs and the vicarage 10*l.* per ann.

[b] A deed, registered in Alan's reg. fol. 152, proves the truth of this statement; from this and other evidences we certainly know, that, by "Preb. de Castroknoc ex parte Decani," that of Malahidert is always meant, and by "Preb. de Castroknoc ex parte Precentoris," that now stiled Castleknock is always designated.

[c] It was founded in the twenty-third year of the reign of Henry VI. by virtue of an act of Parliament, convened at Dublin, on Friday, next before the feast of St. David the Bishop, Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, being then Lord Justice. The history of this ancient guild will furnish matter for a future page of this work.

[d] The church of Chapel-Isolde was appropriated to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; it does not appear that it was, at any time, subject to Castleknock; its name, however, seems to indicate that it was not always an independent church.

The jurors likewise reported the extent and value of the Prebend of Castleknock to be as follows:

The Longe tithe.	These issue from the hamlets of Belgre, Gallonteston, Holywodrathe, the Baye, Castlecurraghe, Moreton, Godamende, Mestayliston,[h] Hounteston, Whytesland,[i] tithes from xvii acres of Wyllyamston and Bathesland; they are worth xviii*l.* per annum and are leased for that sum. Amount	xviii*l.*
Keppoke.	These tithes issue from the town-land of that name, within this parish, of the annual value of viii*l.* Amount	viii*l.*
Donsynke & Skebrystonn.[k]	These tithes issue from the hamlets of those names, and are worth annually xii*l.* for which sum they are demised. Amount	xii*l.*
The Lyttel tithe.	These issue from the hamlets of Damaystown, Macestown, Pomerston[l] and Kylmarten,[m] and are worth, annually, xi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* for which which they are leased.	
	The Vicar here receives the alterages, and moreover,[n] liii*s.* iv*d.* from the Rector as his stipend; the Rector is bound to repair the Chancel, so that he hath herefrom, per annum,	ix*l.*
	Total value of this Prebend	xlvii*l.*

Sect. X. Of the Prebendary of Tipper.

The Prebendary of Tipper held the first rank among those of the diaconal order; he occupies the 11th stall in the choir of the Cathedral; anciently this church was stiled Kilkevin, as we are informed by Alan,[o] whose meaning cannot be mistaken in this particular, for he describes it as lying without the cross and within the liberties of Kildare, otherwise we should be apt to confound, from the similarity of name, this church with that of Tipperkevin; it was one of the thirteen Prebends incorporated by Archbishop Comin.

The Inquisition of 38th Henry VIII. reported the extent and value of this Prebend to be as follows:

Demesne	There are in Typper, of demesne, ii acres arable land.	
Tithes.	The tithes issue from the towns-land of Typper, Cradockston, Newtown-more and Ballytrasne, of the yearly value of xxi*l.* besides the alterages and the two acres above mentioned, which are assigned to the Curate; the Chancel is repaired at the expense of the farmer of the tithe.	
	Total value of this Prebend	xxi*l.*

Sect. XI. Of the Prebendary of Tassagard.

Tassagard[p] or Sagard was the second diaconal Prebend in this Cathedral: in 1275 it was worth 20*l.* per annum to the incumbent[q]; the parent church was dedicated to St. Mosacre; there were two chapels subservient, yet distinct from the mother

[q] Crede mihi.

[e] It was dedicated to St. Machotus, by Henry de Loundres.

[f] Vide Repert. Virid. Alani. The rectorial tithes are now annexed to the vicarage, as has been before mentioned and as will be more fully explained in another volume.

[g] During the suppression, a portion of this prebend was leased to Lord Chancellor Cusack. Rot. Pipæ, 1 Edward VI. The Prebendaries' house within the Close is described in this lease as a castle or messuage with its appurtenances, called "the St. Patrick's gate."

[h] Called Marshalstown, in Wilkinson's report.

[i] Called Whittyland, in a lease to Sir John Allen.

[k] Skrebleston in Wilkinson's report.

[l] Pamerston, in Wilkinson's report.

[m] He has only part of Kilmartin. Wilkinson's report. See also Preb. Malahidert.

[n] This stipend of *53s. 4d. Irish*, or *2l. Sterl.* does, I believe, continue to be paid by the Prebendary to the Vicar; it was paid in 1723, as appears from Mr. Wall's report in that year; the Preb. of Malahidert did not, at that time, contribute any thing to the Vicar; but, in 1775, both Prebendaries paid the sum of 40*s.* per annum to the Vicar. Terrier, Dioc. reg.

[o] Repertorium Viride.

[p] It is called likewise Teg-Sacre, which word has the same signification with Tassagard; that is, the house of the holy man or priest, Tigh-Sagart. St. Mo-sacer lived in the beginning of the 10th century. Colgan, pag. 454.

church, the temporal lords of each were likewise different persons; Tassagard, itself, was a regal manor, and the Provosts of this ancient Burg are noticed frequently on the pipe rolls of the first Edwards.

The chapel of Newtown, although subservient to Tassagard, is situated at some distance, and within the manor of Rathcoole, of which the Archbishop is the temporal lord.

The chapel of Symon-Talaght extends its jurisdiction over the town-land of Coolmine, a manor appropriated to the oeconomy of St. Patrick's; it is situated at the mountain foot, and its ruins are still visible. [q]

The extent and value of this Prebend was determined by four jurors, 27th Jan. 38 Henry VIII. to be as follows:

Demesne. [r] In the town land of Tassagard are two acres of land appertaining to the Rectory, called "the Parson's Croft," of the yearly value of xx*d.*

Tithes. The tithes issue from the hamlets of Tassagard, Culmyne and Newton; they are, together with the glebe, of the clear yearly value of xx*l.* x*s.* besides the alterages, which are assigned to the Curate, and the repair of the Chancel, which is performed by the farmer of the tithe.

Total value of this Prebend xx*l.* x*s.*

Sect. XII. Of the Prebendary of Dunlavan.

The Prebendary of Dunlavan [s] occupies the 13th stall; he was, according to Alan, of the diaconal order; the parish is situated on the borders of the counties of Dublin and Wicklow.

The Inquisition of 38th Henry VIII. extends this parish over the town-lands of Dunlavan, Loghtrane and Tortuant, [t] which the jurors valued at twenty pounds annually, including the manse [u] of the Rector; this value was over and above the alterages, which were assigned to the Curate, or repair of the Chancel, which was performed by the farmer of the tithe.

Sect. XIII. Of the Prebendary of Maynooth. [v]

In the year 1284, the church of Maynooth was, by Archbishop Luke, made Prebendal, at the request of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord of Ophaley; accordingly, Richard de Carren, the Rector, was installed on the 12th of October; the perpetual right of presentation was reserved to the Baron and his successors, and the Prebendary was bound to provide a Vicar, in deacons orders, to officiate in the Choir, who was to enjoy like benefits with the others of that degree. [1]

This Prebend was the 4th of the diaconal order in this Cathedral, according to Alan, who complains moreover, that it had been reduced, by the division hereafter described, from fifty marcs to twenty, of annual income. [2]

[1] Al. regist. T. C. D. pag. 623.

[2] Rep. Vir.

[q] Repert. Viride.

[r] Since the period of this inquisition, the scattered parcels of glebe belonging to this Prebend, have been ascertained by survey, and found to extend to 16 acres, 1 rood, and 4 perches; nevertheless, the ecclesiastical report made to parliament in 1807, states, that the prebendary hath "neither glebe nor glebe-house."

[s] There was formerly a Vicar at Dunlavan, who, in 1732, was endowed with one-third of the tithes. Terrier in Dioc. regist. Since that time the Prebend and Vicarage have been united, and other adjoining parishes have been added to the union for the support of the minister.

[t] Now Tornant, Alan calls this townland Yveston also; the same writer places within its limits Indostan alias, Ballymacranane, "as appeared," saith he, "from the deposition of certain witnesses in 1512, when the bounds of this parish was controverted with those of Rathsallagh and Donoghmore in Omayle." Repert. Virid.

[u] The report made to parliament in 1807, states, that the prebendary had then neither glebe nor glebe-house.

[v] Maynooth was the name of the mother church, Larabryne was an appendant chapel, which became parochial afterwards, when Maynooth was made prebendal.

better

The possessions of this Prebendary were not valued by the Inquisition [w] which was held when this Cathedral was dissolved, but an account of its extent is to be found in Wilkinson's report, made at the period of King Charles the Second's restoration; "this Prebend," saith the Reporter, "hath little or no glebe, except what was given to the Vicar, on his endowment, with the tithes of several towns, which much diminished the value of the Rectory: the tithes of the Rectory are, Maynouth, Kellistowne, Kellstowne, Reynoldstowne, Barogetowne, Granstowne and some other small hamlets."

"The Vicar's part is said to be (which I altogether suspect) Laraghbrine, Cartowne, Sheane, Newton, Creanstown, Cormickstowne, Tradstowne, Corraghanstowne; which, if it be true, is the largest endowment of any Vicar in the diocess of Dublin." [x]

College of Maynooth.

In the year 1518, Girald, [y] Earl of Kildare, built and established a college in his manor of Maynooth, parish of Larabryne; he placed therein a master, undermaster and five priests, (styled fellows) two clerks and three boys, who were to pray for the prosperous estate of the Kings of England, for the good state of the Earl of Kildare, his wife and their kindred while living, and for their souls after their death. The collegiate church, thus erected, was endowed with competent means, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the Establishment confirmed by Will. Rokeby, at that time Archbishop, on the 6th of October following; at the same time the rules for government of the new college, and appointment of its members, were likewise settled; by those constitutions the nomination of the master and the submaster was vested in the Earl and his successors; those persons were, however, to obtain institution from the Archbishop; the five priests or fellows were to be chosen by the majority, the voice of the master in such cases to be as two; the boys were to be nominated by the Earl, to whom was reserved the donation of the temporalities: the investiture of the spiritualities was to rest with the Archbishop; who, moreover, granted to this college the privilege of having a common seal, of sueing and being sued as a corporate body; without infringement, however, of the rights of the Prebendary, the Vicar of Maynooth, or the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Finally, these privileges and ordinances obtained the sanction of royal authority and were confirmed by letters patent, [z] bearing date the 12th day of the same month. It appears that the Earl did, after this, rebuild the church of St. Mary, at Maynooth, in a very beautiful manner, and endowed this college with more ample possessions than, at first, he had intended.

[z] Dign. Dec. pag. 146.

[w] One reason may be suggested, why the Prebend of Maynooth was not valued along with the others, at the time of suppression, viz. because the Earl of Kildare, its patron, had been attainted; but this is scarcely satisfactory, for the same rule would apply likewise to Yago: it is not impossible that the fruits of the Prebend of Maynooth might have been sequestered, when the College, hereafter described, to which it was annexed, was suppressed.

[x] Benjamin Gregory, who was Vicar of Maynooth in 1718, gave the following account to the Archbishop of the extent of this parish.

"The Prebend consists of part of Maynooth, Watertowne, Kellystowne, Creefstowne, Ravensdale, Blakestowne, Burroystown, Ballygorn, Griffinrath, Monocooly, part of Corballis."

"The vicarage consists of part of Manooth, Newtown, Roanstown, Donoughstown, Cormockstown, Creenstowne, Tradestowne, Ballicorraghan, Maws, Larabryne, Cartowne, Shyan, Doubtstown; also the small tithe of the whole parish, and the glebe land of six acres, near the church-yard of Larabrine, which is about half a mile from Maynooth." MS. penes Arpum.—A terrier dated 1752, signed by Daniel Letablere, Vicar, describes the vicarage only, which he extends over all the above-named Hamlets, and also over Ravinstown and Timard; according to his report, the tithe of hay throughout the whole parish belongeth to the Vicar, as doth likewise the turf tithe of the bog of Ballygorn. Dioc. regist. office.

[y] Girald Fitz-Gerald Fitz-Thomas. Alan, in Rep. Vir. It however appears, from an inspection of the grants, that Gerald Fitz-Thomas was the founder, although the foundation was not carried, finally, into effect in his life time, he having died in 1513.

In the year 1521, the Prebend of Larabryne being then vacant, it was, at the Earl's request, annexed to the mastership of this college for ever; the Prebendary was from thenceforward to reside there and eat at the common refectory [z]; so much of the revenues thereof were reserved, as were judged competent to support that Canon with one servant, to defray the incidental charges attending his office in the Cathedral, and to support his dignity in the same. [a]

At the Earl's further request, the consent of the Vicar being also obtained, the Archbishop, by another indenture dated the same day, established, that for the more creditable maintenance of the college, the profits of the vicarage should be likewise added to their funds, to be applied according to the discretion of the master and the major part of the fellows; it was provided, however, that they should pay to the said Vicar 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly; in failure of their so doing, the Dean and Chapter might sequester the fruits until the money should be paid: the Vicar was, also, to be under-master of the college, where he was to reside, and to have cure of souls in the parish of Larabryne. [b]

In Queen Elizabeth great rent-roll [c] we find an account of the possessions of this College, from whence the following is abstracted:

		£.	s.	d.
Town of Carbreston, Co. Meath.	Four messuages and 80 acres, demised to four tenants in equal portions, each farm valued at 20*s.* yearly - - -	4	0	0
	Rent of two cottages - - - - - -		2	8
	Amount of customs paid by aforesaid tenants - - -		2	0
Town of Kiltaile, Co. Meath.	Seven messuages and 130¾ acres, demised to seven tenants in various proportions, at a rent of 1*s.* per acre per annum, nearly - -	6	11	3
	Customs paid by said tenants - - - - -		8	2
Chiefries.	A free rent from certain lands in Porterstown and little Warrenston		3	0
	A free rent issuing from certain lands in Colleston - - -		6	6
Tenements at will in Collestown, manor of Rathbeggan.	Of these lands, the first five portions were demised for rents nearly proportioned to those above mentioned, being five mess. 149 acres arab. and three of meadow, for - - - - -	7	10	0
	Another farm of 22 acres arab. for - - - -		14	8
	Another of four acres - - - - - -		4	0
	Another of five acres - - - - - -		3	4
	Custom paid by said tenants - - - - -		15	8
	Three cottages in the same - - - - -		14	0
	Farm of one mess. 26 acres arab. and two of mead. - -	1	6	0
	Farm of five several pastures or underwoods, which, at the time of survey, were of no value, for that the tenants occupied the same for plow-bote, house-bote and fire-bote - - - -	*nil.*		
College-house, Maynooth, Co. Kildare.	Farm of one house called the College-house and one close belonging thereto; one park, containing by estimation, three stangs and one garden to the tenement belonging - - - -		13	4
	Total	23	14	7

N. B. The above were granted, "inter alia," to the Earl of Kildare, by letters patent, dated 13th Feb. 11 Eliz.

Rectory of Killenagh, Co. Wexford [d]	The tithes of the Rectory of Killenagh with all messuages, lands, alterages, &c. thereto belonging.			
	Value	6	13	4

[z] The Archbishop, with express consent of the Dean, who had the custodium of the vacant Prebend, and the consent of both Chapters, agreed to the Earls request, with a proviso, that the prebendary should be first instituted and installed at St. Patrick's, before he should be admitted master; after that ceremony he was to be placed by the Archdeacon in possession of the latter office, and from thenceforward to assume the government of the college: but, if he were to come in by any other way, it was to be deemed an intrusion, and the offending person liable to the greater excommunication.

[a] By this deed, constitutions for regulating the discipline of this college, were established. The master was thereby appointed the most honorable place, in the choir of the college, at their capitular meetings, and at table; the members were to obey him in all things lawful and honest, and in every thing relating to the service of the choir; ten marks were to be deducted from the income of his Prebend for the support of him and his servant in the refectory; moreover, he was to receive from the sub-master's and fellows 20 marks, yearly, to enable him to support the honor and expense of his station in the cathedral of St.

So far the rent-roll of Queen Elizabeth, which extends the possessions of this College to 30*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* annually; but it does not appear that all their possessions were then discovered; there is, in the Rolls-office, an Inquisition of 2d James I. held by virtue of a commission from Nicholas Kenny, Escheator, to which a return was made, that the Provost and Fellows of the late College of Maynooth, were seized in fee, of twelve acres arable land with appurtenances, lying upon the hill of Wingliles near Taghtooquevak; they were, of course, decreed to be the property of the Crown.

Sect. XIV. Of the Prebendary of Howth.

This Prebend was one of the thirteen Canonries incorporated by John Comin; at the time of Alan, it was the first sub-diaconal Prebend, of which order, he informs us, there were eight in this Cathedral.

The original prebendal church was situated in the small island of Hirlandsie, now vulgarly denominated, Ireland's Eye; but the establishment was removed from thence to the mainland by Archbishop Luke, and a new church built upon the Rector's glebe at Howth: there was anciently a vicarage endowed in this parish, to which the Archbishop collated, but it is now extinct, and was nearly so at the time of Alan, but restored by him, as he informs us, and conferred on one Nicholas Carney.[7]

The chapel of Mone, called likewise Kilbarrock, was annexed to this Prebend as an augmentation: it anciently belonged to the monastery of St. Mary near Dublin, to which the tithes of Ballybauchil were given in exchange; certain tithes near Luske were likewise, by the same deed, granted to the Prebendary.[8]

[7] Repert. Virid. [8] Al. Reg. fol. 180.

Patrick, which if they should neglect to do, the Dean and Chapter might grant a sequestration of the fruits of that benefice until payment should be made.

The sub-master and other fellows were to discharge all the master's duties, as prebendary, at Larabrine; in consideration of which service the officiating person was to enjoy the alterages; but the prebendary was not, by these rules, discharged from performing his duty, or attending divine service in the cathedral of St. Patrick; to all these he was still held liable, and was to pay canonical obedience to the Dean, in like manner, as before.

The members of the college were prohibited, generally, from going to market to buy corn (aut macetum) upon any occasion, however urgent, even for feasts of charity.

These rules were, on the 12th of October 1521, sealed with the seals of the Earl, and of the newly erected Corporation, and were then entered in the registry at St. Patrick's cathedral. Dign. Dec. fol. 150.

b Whatever is settled by this deed relates chiefly to the office of sub-master; of whom it was determined, that he should have the upper place, next the master, in the choir, at chapter and at table; in absence of the master, he was to have authority over the other members of the college; five marks were to be deducted from the profits of the vicarage, for the expense of his table; a good and learned curate was to be provided at the expense of the college, to celebrate divine service and to administer the sacrament at the chapel of Larabryne: he was moreover to pay due respect to the Archbishop, the Dean, or the official of the diocess.

These rules were signed and sealed on the same day, and in like manner, as those before mentioned. Dign. Dec. fol. 155.

c An inquisition was held at Trim, in the County of Meath, on Saturday next following the festival of the Annunciation, in the 5th year of Elizabeth; which found, that Gerald, late Earl of Kildare, father of Gerald then Earl, was seized in fee of the manor of Rathbeggan, in the said County, of which manor the jurors reported the extent to be as follows, viz.

In Rathbeggan are 180 acres arrab. 60 acres wood, pasture and moor: in Ponderlaghe 22 acres arab. in Baronstown 5 acres arab. in Inwyeston alias Enoston 4 acres arab. and that the hamlets of Collierstown were held of said manor by fealty; and that the town of little Warenstown is held of said manor; and that the said Gerald was seized of 4 mess. 140 acres arab. in Kiltele in said County, 2 mess. 80 acres arrab. in Carbreston in same County. And being so seized he assigned the same to Thomas Rocheford, Dean of St. Patrick's, Nicholas Kerdiff, Chanc. and Robert Sutton, Archdeacon, to the use of Gerald Earl Kildare father of Gerald now Earl and of his heirs; to the intent, that if in future times a college should be founded in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Maynooth, according to form of law, then said feoffees should grant the manor aforesaid, and all the messuages and lands in Kiltele and Carbreston to the master of the college and his successors, if they should be incorporated and by law capable of receiving lands. They found likewise that Thomas Rocheford and N. Kerdiffe had died, and that the aforesaid Robert Sutton had entered thereupon and afterwards died; by reason of which, said manor had descended to William Sutton of Tipper, brother and heir of Robert, who died seized; after his death, the manor descended to his son, John Sutton, who was likewise seized. The jurors found moreover, that Thomas Plunket, late of Downesoghley, did give the manor of Rathbeggan to Gerald Fitzgerald senior, late Earl of Kildare, grand-father of Gerald now Earl and his heirs, which manor had descended to Gerald, late Earl, &c. &c.

It should be observed, that Gerald the grand-father of the then Earl, who was 8th Earl of Kildare, was not properly Fitz-Gerald but Fitz-Thomas; from his being so designated it appears, that the name of Fitzgerald had, at that period, become the name of the family.

d After several successive leases from the crown, for short periods of time, the rectory of Killenagh or Killeneck was granted, by letters patent, 13. Jac. 1 to Sir John King, knight, assignee of Geo. Blundell, of Cardington, in Bedfordshire. Rot. Pat. 13 Jac. I. 2da pars. facie.

On Ireland's Eye the ruins of the ancient church are still visible, at the south west side; it was dedicated to St. Nessan[e], who founded a monastery there in 570, hence this island is denominated St. Nessan's Isle, in the bull of Alexander III. which was issued in 1179, and which enumerates this island among the possessions appropriated to the See of Dublin.

The ruins of the church,[f] built when the Prebend was established on the main-land, are still visible on the western shore of Howth, it was dedicated to St. Mary[g]; at the time of Archbishop Alexander de Byknore, the festival of its dedication was kept on the ides of April.

In 1630 the church was falling into decay, Mr. Huetson, at that time Prebendary, complained, that the Lord of Howth, the Heirs of Bealing of Bealingstown and others detained from him twenty acres of land, twenty houses and *55s.* chief rent due to him, and received by his predecessors.[h]

The extent and value of the Prebend[i] of Howth, according to Inquisition,[k] 38th Henry VIII. was as follows:

Demesne.	The demesne lands of this Prebend consist of xx acres, which the Lord of Howeth claims as his right.	
Free-tenants	The rents from the free-tenants are worth, per annum	Lvs.
Howeth tithes	Those tithes issue from the town-lands of Correston, Howeth, Balkyll and Sutton, they are worth, per annum, including the tithe of fish and the demesne lands, xxiv*l.* exclusive of the Curate's stipend and repair of the chancel, to which the person, farming the tithe, is bound - - - - - - - -	xxiv*l.*
Kylbarrocke tithes.	Those tithes are payable out of the town-lands of Kylbarrocke and Lyttel Mayn, worth per annum vi*l.* xv*s.* beside alterages, which are assigned to the curate; and repair of the chancel, to which the farmer of the tithe is bound - - - - - -	vi*l.* xv*s.*
	Total value of this Prebend	xxxiii*l.* x*s.*

[e] Alan has a note, written with his own hand, in his register, (p. 80) which relates to St. Nessan, and is, from its singularity, worthy of insertion; alluding to this island he says, "Qui *Oculus Hiberniæ* dicitur, ubi Sanctus ille (S. Nessanus) insistebat crebris orationibus, jejuniis et vigiliis; in quo loco apparuit ei malignus spiritus in specie hominis nigerrimi, quem prosequebatur quadem indignatione, cum hyssopo, aqua benedicta, pleno ambulans super mare per spatium fere unius miliaris, nuncupans diabolo ut intraret rupem in locum, qui dicitur Howth, ubi collis ille in vulgari appellatur, *Powkes-rock*, et videtur extrinsecus ejus imago in specie lapidea vilissima, unde legitur quod tempore quo fugavit diabolum, cecidit in mare, liber suus Evangeliorum, dictus ab incolis, *the Kerlowre*, postmodum a nautis inventus illæsus, proinde habetur hodie inibi in magno pretio ac veneratione non modica, ita ut vix justus audet jurare super ipsum, propter Dei vindictam ostensam hominibus perjuris in illum hactenus." This story of Satan flying from the holy man and escaping into the earth at pucks-rock, is preserved among the neighbouring people by tradition.

[f] The ruins of a chapel, reputed to have been dedicated to St. Fintan, is likewise visible on the hill of Howth, but there is no mention of it in any record that I have ever seen.

[g] Al. regist. fol. 152.

[h] Although both the Rector and Vicar had, in former times, considerable glebes, there is not a vestage of either now remaining in possession of the Prebendary. Of the Vicar's glebe I shall say more in another place.

In the King's subsidy roll, the land of the Rector of Howth was said to consist of thirty-two acres in the barony of Howth, one acre at Kilbarrock with three carucates and an half in Sutton, Mayne and Stapolyn, in the barony of Coolock. Extract by Dr. John Lyon, from an old register.

[i] All the accounts of the extent of this parish differ in some particulars; this perhaps arises, more from change of names than from any other cause.

Richard, Lord of Howth, had a lease of this rectory at the suppression of the cathedral; he demised it to Edward St. Lawrence, and this last lease, dated July, 1st Edw. VI. mentions divers messuages and twenty acres of glebe in Howth, and extends the tithes over the town and fields of Howth, Correstown, Balkill, Balscright, Modaxtown, Shenshire, Pollardestown, Sutton, Kilbarroke and little Mayne.

Wilkinson informs us, that "the demesne lands were, one mansion and twenty acres of land joining to the river side; with a fishing boat and commonage of certain cattle, anciently granted by the Lords of Howeth, but now concealed; he hath two chief rents *5s. Irish*, from some tenements. The tithes extend to town-lands of Corrstowne, Howth, Balgieth, Sutton and the tithe fishing thereof; also, Kilbarrock, little Mayne and Stapolin."

A terrier, signed by John Walls, Prebendary in 1754, extends the united parishes of Howth and Kilbaroc, over the hamlets of Kilbarack, Warren-house, Steapolin, Maine, Swan's nest, Whip of the water, Howth, Sutton, Censure, Studdwalls, Bodeen and Kitestown. Dioc. regist. office.

This Walls seems to have had a strange predilection for odd names, and, from this circumstance, I presume he is the same John Walls who was Prebendary of Wicklow in 1781. See page *56*, note t; as we have here "Whip of the water," we have there "Stump of the castle." Those phrases are probably obtained by some imitation of the sound of the Irish names, but their transmutation does little credit to his invention. Sir Will. Petty's surveyors have much deformed his celebrated maps by this highly injudicious and and truly barbarous practice.

[k] The jurors were five in number.

Sect. XV. Of the Prebendary of Rathmichael.

Rathmichael was, according to Alan, the second subdiaconal Prebend of this Cathedral; and, although its name does not appear in the list of those incorporated by Archbishop Comin, it occurs, however, among the prebendal churches, in the year 1227, where it is rated as of the yearly value of twenty marks.

The church, town and fortress of Rathmichael exhibit a series of picturesque ruins; every part of its precinct is capable of furnishing subject matter for the pen of an antiquarian; how long it has remained in its present depopulated state is uncertain; in 1630 the church, although it wanted repair, was not quite in ruin; besides the Rector, there was at that time a Vicar at Rathmichael,[l] who had 8*l.* per annum for his means.[m]

To the mother church of Rathmichael the chapel of Senekil was appendant; it was in the town, on the left hand of the gate-way leading up to the castle.

The Inquisition held 27th January, 38 Hen. VIII. reported the extent and value of this Rectory to be as follows:[n]

Demesne.	The demesne annexed to this Rectory consists of one mess. two gardens and xv acres arable land, worth, per annum, over and above viii*d.* chief rent, payable to the Archbishop, - - -		xii*s.*
Tithes.	The tithes issue from the lands of Rathmykell, Shenkyll, Balmacorus, Ballyrowgein, Shengannath, Quorke, Ballygelonan, which, with the tithe of the demesne lands,[o] are of the yearly value of xx*l.* the alterages moreover are worth, besides the Curate's stipend and cost of repairing the chancel, xxviii*s.* annually. Amount -	xxi*l.*	viii*s.*
	Total value of this Prebend	xxii*l.*	

Sect. XVI. Of the Prebendary of Monmohenock.[p]

The Prebendary of Monmohenock, alias Muene, alias Dunmanoge, occupies the 17th stall, according to Alan; half the great tithes of the parish only are possessed by him,[q] the other half the Abbot and Convent of St. Thomas[r] held "in proprios usus." The origin of this division was as follows: about the year 1200 Milo and Henry de Stanton disputed the patronage with William Piro, Bishop of Glendaloch; the matter was accommodated by a court of Delegates, nominated by Pope Innocent III. Henry was to possess the rectory during his life, paying to the Bishop one bizant yearly; after his decease one moiety of the same was to devolve to the Bishop and his successors, and the other to the Canons of St. Thomas, to whom the same

[l] There is no mention of a Vicar in Wilkinson's report, which was written about the year 1660.

[m] MS. Penes Arpum.

[n] The very accurate and intelligent Dr. John Lyon was, in 1751, prebendary of Rathmichael; a terrier of that date, signed by him, is in the registry-office of the diocess; he informs us, that the parish comprehends the hamlets of Rathmichael, Shenkill, Ballymacorous, Prompstown, Shanganagh, Cork and part of Connogh; he enjoyed both the great and small tithes of these townlands: the glebe, denominated "Karraigin," was situated north of the church and about 112 perches distant therefrom, it contained, according to a survey then made, 18 acres and 24 perches.

[o] "The Archbishop's demesne lands"—Wilkinson's MS. Report.

[p] The Crede mihi and Alans Repert. Viride distinguish between the churches of Ballachmone and Monmahenoc; the family of Stanton were patrons of both, about the period of the English conquest; both were perhaps originally one parish, they are moreover united at present. According to the valuation in the Crede mihi, Ballaghmone was then worth 26 marks, annually, and Monmohenoc 42, half of which latter the prebendary enjoyed, of the rest the monks of St. Thomas were the appropriators, by donation of the family above named. The river Lyr is, at this day, the reputed boundary between those parishes.

[q] An inquisition held at Castleknock, 28th Hen. VIII. reported, that Thomas late Abbot of St. Thomas the Martyr had, in 1524, leased half the tithes of Monmohenoc, all the tithes of Beallaghmone, together with others, to the Earl of Kildare for 61 years. Ch. Rem. office.

[r] Although the prebendary was intitled to one half the great tithes; yet, inasmuch as both the Rectors were obliged to contribute to the service of the cure, they allowed, each, one third to the Vicar; accordingly John Travers in 1718, reported that he had but one third; since that time the prebend has been consolidated with the vicarage, and both form parts of a union of parishes, which matter will be further elucidated in its proper place.

had been granted by Milo, who was lord of the manor there [s]; Alan, in a note upon this record, informs us, that this church was dedicated to St. Monocus, from whom the parish seems to derive its name. [1]

The same jurors, who valued Dunlavan and the adjoining parishes, upon the dissolution of the Cathedral, reported the value of this Prebend to be annually XIII*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.* besides the alterages, which were assigned to the Curate, the farmer being bound to repair the Chancel; the demesne lands, by the valuation of 1660, were extended to forty acres; but John Travers, who was Prebendary in 1718, in his answer to certain queries propounded to him by the Archbishop, described the glebe, [t] as comprehending but twenty-six acres, in three or four distinct parcels; this Prebend, valued in 1275 at twenty-one marks, [2] was leased in 1698 for the annual sum of 18*l.* [3]

Sect. XVII. Of the Prebendary of Stagonil.

The church of Stagonil or Teghgumnill or Temple-Becan [u] was one of the thirteen prebendal churches, originally appropriated to this Cathedral by Archbishop Comin, although it was not established as a distinct Prebend untill 1303; the incumbent was then taxed with the payment of 10*l. Irish* to the Oeconomy, and for the faithful discharge of that debt he was sworn, at the time of his installation. The rank of this Prebendary is not easily ascertained; he is, however, more frequently placed before than after those of Tipperkevin and Donaghmore, all of which are, by Alan, stiled Prebends of the subdiaconal order.

In the year 1630, the number of persons frequenting divine service at the church of Stagonil were about two hundred, which, if we may judge from the reports made in that year from the other churches, [v] was a very numerous protestant population: the great tithes were then worth to the Prebendary 50*l.* and the Curate had 20*l.* per annum. This account forms a striking contrast to those of a more ancient date, which generally report this church unable to support its burthens from its close vicinity to the Irish territories. To this church two chapels were subservient, viz. Kilrothery alias Kilraly and Kilcrony; to which last, at the time of Alan, the monks of St. Mary's-abbey near Dublin [w] had laid claim.

The extent and value of this Prebend was determined by Inquisition of 38th Hen. VIII. the jurors were in number five, of this and the adjoining parishes; their report was as follows:

Demesne. [x] Here is a manse and iii acres of demesne land, worth per ann. iii*s.*

Tithes. The Rector has the tithes of corn and hay growing on the lands of Stagonnyll, Kylbride, Kylcornan, Kylroddery and other parcels, [y] which are worth, per annum, together with the alterages and oblations, over and above the Curate's stipend and repair of the Chancel, XIX*l.* XVII*s.*

[1] Al. Reg. copy by Lyon, page 613.

[2] Crede mihi.

[3] Leases St. Pat. regist.

[s] The Bishop was to have one mess. and 10 acres in the town of Mon, and at the death of Henry de Stanton, 20 acres more, which the latter at that time possessed; from hence perhaps the title to the glebe land might be deduced.

[t] The glebes of the parishes of Monmohenoc and Ballaghmone, consist of 4 portions, three whereof are in Ballaghmone, and one of a larger extent containing 18 acres 1 rood and 16 perches in Dunmanoge, the whole extent, according to survey made in 1804, is 26 acres, 1 rood and 38 perches: I speak of the glebes of these parishes not of the present union. Eccl. report to parl. 1807. See also terriers in Consist. office, dated 1747 and 1804. The glebe in Dunmanoge is, perhaps, the only one that belongs properly to the prebendary.

[u] Called Templebeacan in the inquisitions 38 Hen. VIII. and 1 Edw. VI. and likewise by Alan in Rep. Vir. voce Kilrothery.

[v] At Bray, in 1630, there were only 16 protestants who attended divine service. MS. penes Arpum.

[w] Alan in his Rep. Vir. mentions three chapels, besides Kilrothery, dependant on this mother church, "A quâ, hæc capella (Kilrothery) dependet. cum tribus aliis hic subscriptis, suis in locis;" but afterwards, he calls the two which follow next after Kilcrony, viz. Kilbride and Carric, chapels of Delgany; the two last named, however, follow Stagonyl, in the account of the diocess given in the Crede mihi, which countenances the opinion, that they were chapels annexed to the latter. One of the town-lands of Stagonyl parish is called Kilbride, and in Delgany there is Templecarrick alias Killencarrick.

[x] This glebe has been lost among the lands of Lord Powerscourt. Report 1748. The incumbent had, in 1807, neither glebe nor glebe-house. Eccl. report to Parliament.

Sect. XVIII. Of the double Prebend of Tipperkevin.

Archbishop Richard de Feringes, in the year 1303, appropriated the church of Tipperkevin, with its appendant chapels, to the support of two Prebendaries, who, at the time of their admission, were sworn to pay annually to the oeconomy fund the sum of eight marks sterling; moreover, the Archdeacon's rights, as to visitations and proxies, were by this act specially reserved to him, to be enjoyed, in as full and ample a manner, as before they had been made prebendal; and, for the better support of divine service in the Cathedral, each of the Prebendaries was bound to pay to a Vicar, to officiate for them in their absence, a like stipend with that which the other Vicars in the same church received; the Archbishop moreover made provision, that the cure of souls should not be neglected in the prebendal church.

This church was, at the time of John Comin, endowed with a carucate of land by Robert Fitzmaurice, at that time lord of the manor; the parish is situated within the cross of the Archbishop, being part of his Lordship of Ballimore.[4]

Six jurors of this neighbourhood determined the extent and value of this parish, 38th Henry VIII. their report was as follows:

This Prebend is divided into two portions.

Demesne and tithes. There is here one manse[z] and fifty acres arable, pasture and furze, which, with the tithes from the town-lands of Typperkevyn, Dowdyston, Barrestown and Elverston, are worth annually xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* besides alterages to the Curate, and repair of the Chancel, to which the farmer is bound.

Amount xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.*

Sect. XIX. Of the double Prebend of Donoghmore in Omaile.

In the year 1267,[a] Archbishop Fulco de Sandford appropriated the church of Donoghmore to augment the oeconomy fund of this Cathedral; and disposed of the issues therefrom in the following manner: the Treasurer of the Cathedral was to receive the profits and pay to each of the Canons, who at that time enjoyed the Prebends thereof, twenty-four marks sterling during life or incumbency: upon their death the newly created Canons were to enjoy, each, a stall in the Choir and voice in the Chapter, and 100*s.* yearly pension from the oeconomy, without the charge of a Vicar, and their commons likewise, as usually enjoyed by the other Canons, until an equivalent to the value of said Prebend should be made to the oeconomy: by the same deed the Archbishop endowed a perpetual Vicar at Donoghmore, for whose support he assigned a carucate of land, of the yearly value of fifteen marcs, and ordained, that whenever it should fall short of that value, the Treasurer of St. Patrick's should make good the deficiency to the Vicar, from the common fund.

How long this church continued thus annexed to the oeconomy is not now discoverable; at the time of Alan its fruits were applied to the support of two Preben-

[4] Repertorium Viride.

[y] In consequence of a petition, signed by the incumbents and some of the inhabitants of Stagonil and Bray, the Archbishop, in 1722, granted his consent, that the town-lands of great and little Kilruddery, Ballywaltrim and Ballymorris should be dismembered from the former parish and added to that of Bray, and that half Kilcrony, with half of Glancormuck and Glancullen, should be united to Stagonil in lieu of the same, to the intent that the respective inhabitants should be better accommodated.

[z] Dr. King, who was prebendary in 1773, returned the glebe of this parish, as comprising 62 acres, 3 roods and 6 perches, (terrier in Consist. off.) nevertheless, in the return to parliament of 1807, Mr. Bradshaw's report inform us that he had "neither glebe nor glebe-house," a matter which must excite no small degree of surprise.

[a] In 1267 this church was worth 38 marcs. annually, besides which the Vicar had 18 marcs.: its chapel of Kilbreni was worth 18 marcs. and that of Frenistown 6 marcs. Crede mihi. Alan adds, with his own hand, "sed nihil valent his diebus."

daries and a Vicar, all collative by the Archbishop [5]; it had at the time two subservient chapels, viz. the chapel of Kilbreni, lying between Donard and Donoghmore; and the chapel of Frenistowne, of which the oeconomy has retained possession, ever since the mother church was incorporated therewith; by what right it became thus appropriated Alan was ignorant, as he himself informs us. [6]

By the Inquisition of 38 Henry VIII. this Rectory [b] was reported to extend over the town-lands of Donaghmore, Whitestown, Kilbrewhye, Castelsallagh, Quysshagh, Castelneroddery and Collywhaddre; [c] the tithes of which were valued at VI*l.* divided between the two rectors; this was over and above the oblations and alterages which were assigned to the curate; the farmer was bound to repair the chancel. [Note B.]

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Possessions of the Oeconomy. [a]

Those possessions of the Cathedral, which are appropriated to the sustentation of its fabric and other expenses relating to the community at large, and are not applicable to the personal support of any dignitary or prebendary, are denominated, the Oeconomy possessions.

In the early ages of the church, when the whole body of Ecclesiastics dined in the refectory at a common table, the principal funds were, probably, thus appropriated; all the possessions conferred upon the college by its foundation charter, are expressly granted "ad communiam suam." The bull of Pope Celestine III. confirms the grant of thirteen churches which had been made by Archbishop Comin to this college of clerks, but makes no distinction between the property held in common and that particularly granted to each individual canon: the first instance of this appropriation to particular members occurs in the charter of Henry, which established the four dignitaries; to each of whom was assigned his particular benefice, and these have continued, with some few exceptions, annexed to the same dignity, to this present day.

Those possessions [b] were derived to this Cathedral from divers grants, and at a very different periods of time. By his charter of foundation Archbishop Comin gave, the

5 Repert. Virid.

6 Repert. Virid.

b Alan in Rep. Vir. inform us, that Ballymergin, Whiteston and Randston were determined to be in this parish, but it was doubtful whether Ballirodegan (in his time called Halpeniston) and Rathfocane were.

H. Brenn was Prebendary and Vicar in 1725; from an account of the parish transmitted by him to the Archbishop, we learn that the value at that time was 110*l.* annually: he had a glebe of 20 acres whereon he was then erecting an house; his executrix received, in 1727, the Archbishop's certificate, that he had expended in buildings and improvements on the glebe of Donoghmore, from 1722 to 1725, the sum of *355l. 5s. 11½d.* Dioc. regist.

The Vicar was endowed with the small tithes, which included every thing but corn; he had likewise the whole tithe of crofts or portions of land not exceeding an acre in quantity. Terrier 1778, in Dioc. Reg. office. The Rectory and Vicarage are now united.

c Collynaddre, Inquisition 1st Edw. VI.

a The œconomy fund is managed by a member of the chapter, who is chosen annually; he is stiled, Proctor of the œconomy. The proctors' accounts are audited by two members of the chapter at least; Audit-day appears to have been, "almost always, Friday in the Archbishops visitation week." Min. of chapt.

On the Audit-day, St. Patrick's day, and the day of the Dean's visitation, a dinner used to be provided by the Dean for such members of the chapter as chose to attend; an allowance was however made out of the œconomy fund to defray the expense: the dinner on Audit-day was discontinued by order of chapter in 1782, that on St. Patrick's day in 1793. Min. of Chapt.

In 1615, the œconomy fund amounted to 180*l.* per annum, which was expended in repairing the cathedral and paying the salaries of the minor canons and the inferior officers of the church; a school-master also received 20*l.* and six poor alms men, each 6*l.* per annum. Reg. Visit. Prerog. office.

In 1730 this fund amounted to 485*l.* in 1780 it had increased to 719*l.* 1*s.* per annum. Min. of chapt.

b Those possessions of the œconomy, which lie within the precincts of the close, are represented in the plan annexed to chapt. II. those which lie within the City of Dublin or the liberties of St. Sepulchre, are described in the Inquisition, 38 Hen. VIII. and the description there given is further illustrated by notes.

church of St. Patrick itself, its tithes, alterages and cemetary; the church of St. Nicholas, within the city of Dublin; the church of St. Brigid, in the suburbs of Dublin; the chapel of Rich. de Norren's town; the chapel of the town of Will. Kryk and of Adam Roothe; a yearly pension of five shillings from the church of Cromlin; the church of Donoghmore; the church of St. Kevin, its tithes and appurtenances; the tithes of the Archbishop's demesne land of St. Kevin, with the tithes of the whole land of St. Patrick, and of the grove there, so much as they might require for fuel or enclosing their land; the right of commonage on the pasture of St. Kevin; three parts of all the offerings, arising from processions, made in pentecost week through the diocess; the tithes of all the Archbishop's mills which he had or might at any time possess, except those of Swordes; the tithes of his demesne lands at Ballimore, except the tithes of wool; the tithes of his demesne at Rathcoole [c] and the tenth acre of his meadows there; and finally, eight areas or void spaces round the cemetary of St. Patrick's, for the purpose of the Canons erecting houses thereon.

The same Archbishop added to the uses of the Oeconomy, by a subsequent grant, a certain mill, [d] which Will. de Wavill had built upon the lands of St. Patrick, saving two marks yearly out of its profits to Laurence, parson of Taulach. [1]

In 1216, King John granted to the Oeconomy the church of Crumlin, which, when Lord of Ireland, he had annexed to this church as a prebend.

The tithes of the lands of citizens [e] near Donabrook, half a burgage near St. Kevin's-gate, and likewise a mill near Donowre, appear to have been annexed to the Oeconomy by Archbishop Henry de Loundres, soon after his elevation to this See: [f] he likewise appropriated to them the church of Monecolumkill [g] with its appendant chapels; and Will. Earl of Pembroke, in the year 1227, granted the tithes of his mills [h] there: the same Archbishop, about the year 1225, confirmed a grant made by the Prior and Convent of Malvern the lesser, of half the tithes of Castleknock. [i]

Archbishop Luke granted the church of Aythdeere or Adderk; its funds to be appropriated in the following manner, viz. five marcs to light the altar of the Blessed Virgin, [k] and the residue to be distributed among the Vicars celebrating mass there [2]; it was afterwards appropriated to the Vicars solely by Archbishop Robert. The same Archbishop granted to the Oeconomy the land of Tirnemock,

[1] Al. Reg. T.C.D. fol. 65.

[2] Al. Reg. T.C.D. fol. 65.

[c] The Vicars possess certain small tithes, in the parish of Rathcoole, which were probably assigned to them, by the chapter, for the celebration of some mass; the Oeconomy do not now possess any portion of the tithes of this parish.

[d] Elena, widow to Waville, confirmed to them the possession of this mill, which was built on the Dodder, near Rathfarnham; she likewise granted to the canons an orchard and the whole area near the same, on which were some buildings belonging to the community; this orchard was opposite to the Chancellors orchard, and therefore (as I apprehend) near St. Sepulchres. Vide Al. reg. T.C.D. fol. 628 et 630 et D.D. fol. 230.

[e] "Terra communis civium."

[f] These possessions were confirmed by Innocent III. who died in 1216.

[g] There is in Al. reg. fol. 197, a deed, whereby William Earl of Pembroke acknowledges an agreement made between his father William, and the Archbishop, relative to this church; "clericus, "sayth he," tacitâ veritate, literas nostras impetravit vobis directas, super jure patronatus ecclesiæ de Mone; "et quia immemores fuimus compositionis inter vos et Dom. Williel-mum, patrem nostrum, super jure patronatus ipsius præbendæ, in irritum revocamus quicquid pro ipso vobis significamus; volentes, quod compositio inter vos et dictum patrem nostrum sit firma," &c. He then signifies his approbation of his father's presentation of Will. de Insula to a prebend of 15 marks, upon which he (the Earl) was to resign the patronage of this church, the perpetual advowson of a Prebend of that value being confirmed to him and his heirs, after the decease of Will. de Insula: that Prebend was probably Yago, and this opinion receives additional confirmation from the valuation in 1227, where it rated at 15 marks, yearly value.

[h] This deed is dated Kilkenny, 16th March, 11th Henry III. the Earl made an exception of such corn as was ground there for his own use. Al. reg. T. C. D. fol. 627.

[i] See Annals, St. Pat. Cath. A. D. 1225.

[k] Richard de Dukesworth, Rector of Kilbele, in the diocess of Dublin, granted all his lands and possessions "in tenemento de Kylbery," in frankalmoigne, for purchase of lights for this altar, and maintenance of the perpetual Vicar there: this grant was confirmed by let. pat. and likewise by the bull of Pope Nicholas III. Al. reg. fol. 10. See annals St. Pat. A. D. 1280.

lying near Kilfernock [l]: he granted likewise in 1231, the churches of Kilmesantan [m] and Kilbride with their appurtenances, as an additional support. [3]

In 1267 Donoghmore in Omail, was added to the Oeconomy possessions by Archbishop Fulco; it, however, became disunited therefrom some time after; but a dependant chapel, called Freynstown, [n] still continues to be thus appropriated.

The manor of Coolmyne was granted by Alexander de Bycknore, in 1349, for maintenance of certain chantries in the Cathedral of St. Patrick: the same prelate likewise granted several houses and gardens near the palace of St. Sepulchre's, and in the parish of St. Kevin, which had been previously assigned to the uses of hospitality and reception of strangers.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in the year 1364, granted the advowson of the church of Stacallan, in the county of Meath, for the endowment of a Divinity Lecturer in this Cathedral [o]: although the King's license of appropriation was obtained, it does not appear that the Dean and Chapter were ever in possession of this church.

In the year 1431, the Dean and Chapter obtained a great accession to this fund, by the grant of the parish of Swords; after the deduction of a specific sum to the college of minor Canons, the residue was appropriated to the uses of the Oeconomy.

In the time of Archbishop Alan the community was possessed of the church of Rathsallagh; he says that this church did not properly belong to the Oeconomy, but to the Archbishop [p]; he adds, that, after minute inspection of rolls and other records, he discovered they were intitled to two carucates of land called Rathsalhan, [q] together with Ballyogan. [4]

[3] Dign. Dec. fol. 53.

[4] Repert. Virid.

[l] This land has been lost to the church, its situation is described as being near Kilfernoc. Alani Rep. Vir. voce Kilfernoc.

[m] "Killescopsantan cum omnibus pertinentiis suis" are the words of Lib. Nig. St. Trin. fol. 64. This appropriation was to take place after the decease of Andrew de Menave, to whom Luke had, at some period previously granted this church as a prebend; after the death of Andrew, Luke, with consent of the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, confirmed this grant. See Al. reg. T.C.D. f. 619.

[n] The tithes of Ffraynestown were held by the Archbishop in 1509. See the Proctor's account of that year in Append. Numb. XVII.

[o] This must be considered as a grant to the Oeconomy, although for a special service, as it was given to the Dean and Chapter "in proprios usus." See Annals S. Pat. A.D. 1364.

[p] There is no mention of the parish of Rathsallagh in the Proctor's account of 1509. See Append. Num. XVII.

[q] Rathsallagh and Ballyogan were given to this Cathedral, as Alan informs us, (Rep. Vir. sub voce Balliscadan) in exchange for their moiety of Ballscadan; the manner in which they became entitled to that moiety is related in the annals (A.D. 1250.)

We meet with frequent mention of those tracts among the ancient records of this Cathedral. The Dean and Chapter demised to John, "Clericus Sti Patricii," two carucates of land in Rathsallagh, viz. those which they had from the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity, to hold the same during his life, paying yearly xviii marks of silver; at the termination of the lease, the Dean and Chapter were, moreover, to have all buildings upon the premises and half the castle. Al. regist. T.C.D. p. 638. Alan in his note upon this passage informs us, that this John was Preb. of Castleknock at the time of Archbishop Fulco. Andowe, who was Proctor to the Oeconomy in 1509, gives credit for the sum of xiiis. ivd. "pro una carucata terræ vocata Rathsallagh, juxta Bree, et cum Richard Walsh hoc anno." See Append. Num. XVII. Alan says it was situated near Rathmichael. Rep. Vir. sub. voce Kilsalchine.

There is not any portion of land in the County of Dublin, known by the name of Rathsallah; neither hath the Cathedral been in possession of this tract since the restoration of King Charles II; yet it appears they had it not long before that event: upon a roll in the auditor general's office there is evidence of a lease from the Dean and Chapter, whereby they demised to Edward Basnet, Dean, one messuage and a plowland called Rathsalken, adjoining on the north-west to the lands of Seyngenaugh, and to the mean sea on the east, to hold to him and his assigns, for 31 years from 1st May, 34 Hen. viii. at the yearly rent of 13s. 4d. *Irish*: the Proctor's accounts for the years 1594 and 1606 mention Rathsalcan and Ballyogan, from each of which they received 13s. 4d. per annum, rent.

John de Culna, nephew to Will. de Culna, formerly Chancellor of St. Patrick's, granted to Adam Fitz-Robert Ellis, all his land in Ballyogan, which William had from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's; Ellis was to pay ix marks yearly to to the Chapter, and one pair of gloves or one-penny, per annum, to John de Culna. This deed is without date, but being witnessed by John Gargat Mayor, Robert de Asseburne and Laurence Unred, Provosts of Dublin, it appears, therefore, to have been executed early in the reign of Edward the first. Al. regist. fol. 200.

The situation of Ballyogan is set forth, by Alan, in a note, (p. 69) of his register; he describes it as lying between the lands of the hospital of St. Stephen (Leperstown) and Carrickmayne; he adds, "Ballyochgan appellatur Ballymochain, secundum nostros interpretes;" but the names indicate rather opposition than resemblance or identity; moch is great or large, and og may signify little, and has, more properly, that signification when applied to land than any other that could be given to it.

The carucate of Ballyogan is mentioned in the Proctor's account for 1509, the tenant there paid the yearly rent of 13s. 4d. to the Oeconomy, at that time; it is now appropriated to the Dean of Christ Church.

The Chapter of St. Patrick's not being able to discover the situation of those lands, passed a resolution on the 15th July, 1663, "that the dicoverer of Tirnamuck with its mill, Rath-

Evidences of a farm, called Jesus-farm,[r] occur among the records, but this property has been lost to the Cathedral; it more properly belonged to the Vicars Choral: during the ages of superstition grants were not unfrequently made to ecclesiastical bodies for perpetual performance of certain masses; in justice the property so conveyed should be considered rather the perquisite of the officiating Vicar than of the Cathedral at large.

The church of Uske[s] was tributary to this Cathedral, to which, as Alan informs us, (Rep. Vir.) it paid an annual pension of five marks, for lights.

The Oeconomy fund received, moreover, a revenue from the diocesses of the suffragan Bishops, which we find not unfrequently mentioned under the name of "St. Patrick's ridges[t];" these duties were not taken into the King's hands at the dissolution[u] of the Cathedral; they were not, however, abolished by the reformation, but continued to be received so late as the year 1606, for they are noticed in James Usher, the Proctor's, account of that year. The Cathedral was possessed likewise of another source of emolument, nearly resembling that I have just mentioned, which appears to have been a voluntary contribution, from the produce of the land, towards maintaining the fabric of the Cathedral; this custom likewise survived the era of the reformation: it was not deemed a contribution for superstitious purposes, on the contrary, it was countenanced by Queen Elizabeth, whose letters patent, dated 4th year of her reign, granting protection to the agents of the Cathedral upon those occasions, is inserted in the Appendix to this volume.

Of the above recited possessions, some are not known at this present day by their ancient names, and a portion has been lost by the neglect, or alienated by the corruption of past times; I shall now proceed to describe, in a more particular manner, such as are distinguishable or still remain in the hands of this Church.

The Parish of St. Nicholas[v] is divided into two parts, viz. St. Nicholas within

salkan and Ballyogan with the tithes, should have the preference of a lease for 21 years." Minutes of chapter.

The records above quoted furnish remarkable instances of decrease in the value of land between the time of Edward I. and that of James I. even in the immediate vicinity of this metropolis.

[r] This farm was appropriated to the support of a mass, called "Jesus Masse," and there is, in the Auditor General's office, notice of a lease from the Dean and Chapter to Nicholas Browne, of Clondalkin, husbandman, whereby was demised a farm in Clondalkin, "appertaining to Jesus Masse," to hold the same and its appurtenances from Easter, 29th Hen. VIII. for 31 years, paying 40*s.* per annum, over and above a chief rent of 40*s.* annually due to the Archbishop and all taxes. It is noticed in the Inquisition, 38 Hen. VIII. and by Wilkinson in his report, (1660,) but the latter uses the past tense, as if the property had then been lost. In the book of Chapter minutes there is entered a resolution of the Chapter, dated 25th February 1691, ordering "that two of the Prebendaries do wait on the Archbishop relative to Jesus farm, which his Grace holds, and is the right of the Dean and Chapter." See more in chapter xiii. From what is there related it appears probable, that Jesus farm and the Bay is one and the same place. Among the chief rents payable to the Archbishop out of the lordship of Clondalkan, there occurs in Wilkinson's account (1660) the following.

"The Bay-farme, held by John Locke, rent half-yearly 15*s.*" which, being British currency, is equivalent to the chief rent payable to the Archbishop out of Jesus farm, according to the records above quoted, viz. 40*s.* yearly. MS. penes Arpum. The proctor's accounts for 1606 mention Jesus farm, which was then leased to Richard Venables, for 2*l.* per annum.

[s] This pension is mentioned in the Inq. 38 Hen. VIII. and in Wilkinson's report of 1660; it is not mentioned however in the proctor's acccounts for 1509 or 1606.

[t] Among the duties reserved in ancient leases, that denominated "Ridges" occurs frequently; it appears probable that the service of a certain number of days in harvest, to which the lord was entitled, became commuted, and the duty ascertained by the measure of the space in preference to that of time: hence a ridge of work in sowing or reaping became, by mutual consent, a substitute for the service of one or more days.

[u] On the 10th of May 1550, the wardens and procurators of the parish church of St. Patrick leased the ridges of corn, called "St. Patrick's ridges," throughout the diocesses of Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin and Kildare, and the Deaneries of Omurthy, Rathmore and Salmon-leap, for three years, at vi marks Irish, per annum. Rot. pat. 4 Edw. VI. dorso.

Sir Adam Loftus, proctor in 1594, gives credit for the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* rent for St. Patrick's ridges; and Jas. Usher, proctor in 1606, has, in his receipts for that year, inserted as follows:

"Item, St. Patrickes ridges for Kilkennye 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

"Item, St. Patrickes ridges, for the deanrye of Morphye, the Nase and Kildare 2*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

"N. B. St. Patrickes ridges, from henceforth set to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bolger for 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Irish*, per ann.

"Item, Mr. Robinson to pay an organist during his life 10*l.* *Irish*, per annum. Ex. orig. penes Decanum.

The rural deaneries of Dublin diocess which we find mentioned in the document above-recited, are those most remote from Dublin, but nearest to Glendaloch; their being subject to this contribution, when those more adjacent to the metropolis were not, might, possibly, arise from their being included in the diocess of Glendalogh.

and St. Nicholas without [w] the walls; and, by virtue of the grant of Archbishop Comin, the Dean and Chapter continue to nominate the officiating Curates of those parishes, as they do, in like manner, that of St. Bride; [x] but, except this right of presentation, the cathedral enjoys no further advantage from the possession of those parishes; the rectorial tithes are unprofitable, inasmuch as the whole extent is occupied with buildings; the reformation has rendered the prolific fund of alterages and oblations wholly unproductive, and the sum which, by an act of the legislature, was assessed upon each house for ecclesiastical dues, hath been appropriated solely to the Minister serving the cure.

The churches of Richard de Norrens town and of William Cryks town, are probably the same with Norraghmore (anciently called Norragh-patrick) and its appendant chapel of Cryckstown, [y] which Robert, son of the abovenamed Richard, granted to the nunnery of Timolin-beg, founded by himself; he had previously granted to this Cathedral, a carucate of land, [z] in lieu thereof: of the chapel of Adam Roths town no trace can now be found.

The Church of Donaghmore, which follows next, was probably the same with Yago, which the Dean and Chapter, in 1230, granted to Will. Earl of Pembroke, reserving to themselves the benefice of the town of Osbert de Kathmeth, which appears to be Brethnockstown, [a] the tithes whereof they still retain: this last was a Chapel dedicated to Saint Sylvester, and, in the time of Archbishop Laurence, obtained the name of Technabretnas, it was subservient to Yago as to a mother Church.

[v] It appears from Archbishop Comin's charter, as if the parish of St. Nicholas within the walls ("in villa Dublin") was alone conveyed under that name. The charter of Henry de Loundres is still more explicit, "infra muros Dub. sitam," and he adds "quam prædecessor noster I. felicis memoriæ eidem confirmavit:" Gilbert Comin, who was incumbent at that time, was to pay to the chapter annually, one pound of wax on St. Patrick's day, "nomine pensionis." If this be so, the parish of St. Nicholas without was part of the ancient parish of St. Patrick; and, the parochial church, being within the cathedral, countenances such an opinion; its being, at a subsequent period, distinguished from the Close may be easily accounted for, as the latter portion was a sanctuary, and enjoyed privileges which did not extend beyond the district inhabited by the Canons.

[w] The parish of St. Nicholas without is served by a curate nominated by the chapter.

The parish church occupied, in ancient times, the north transept of the cathedral; but it is at present in ruins. A portion was taken off from it, and constituted, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1708, a distinct parish by the name of St. Lukes; the nomination of the curate there is likewise vested in the chapter; a house and glebe in the Coomb was conferred upon him by the statute above-mentioned. A church has been, erected in this latter parish; but that of St. Nicholas has been, for a long time, unprovided with a place of worship.

[x] The church of St. Bride or Bridget, although it was granted to this Cathedral by Archbishop Comin, did, in more ancient times, belong to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. See the grant of Archbishop, Laurence O'Toole, and King John's confirmation of the same, to the cathedral of the Holy Trinity. A parish, which is now united to St. Brides, viz. that of St. Michael of Pole, or "dell Polla," belongs likewise to this Cathedral; and the Chapter, in the beginning of the last century, granted the ancient church to John Jones, D. D. to be used as a school-house. On the 23d of August, 1706, we find the Chapter issuing an order, that he should "not pull down the monument or tower of St. Michael of Pauls, near his his school-house in Sheepe-street;" but this order for the preservation of the ancient round tower has not been respected by his successors. The parishes of St. Bride and St. Michael of Pole, and a part of St. Stephens, were united in 1682, by act of Council; the Dean and Chapter signified their consent to this union, by letter, dated 25th September in that year; they stiled themselves therein "the parsons and undoubted patrons of those parishes."--Min. of Chapt. The Curate used to pay 6*s*. 8*d*. yearly to the Chapter in lieu of all their emoluments as Rectors. A Church called St. Michaels occurs in the article published in Append. Num. V. It is not, I apprehend, this church that is alluded to, but I conceive it to be a mistake of the transcribers for that of St. Nicholas. Stanihurst, in his list of Dublin parishes, says that St. Peter de Monte was also appendant on St. Patrick's church; but I believe he had not any authority for this assertion. See descript. Ireland in Holingshed, 4to edit. vol. VI. p. 25. Alan in Rep. Vir. says that the Archbishop collated thereto.

[y] Knockiston, Crockston or Crickston, two miles distant from Dunlovan, saith Alan in Rep. Vir.

[z] The chapel of which carucate is called Kilfinan. Rep. Vir. voce Norragh-Patrick.

[a] Brennockstown, or Brethennockstown, which, Alan saith, in Rep. Vir. is the same with Technabretnas, mentioned in the bull of Alex. III. among the churches annexed to the see of Dublin. It is however stiled "Capella" in that ancient account of the diocess which is extant in the register called, "Crede mihi."

To the explanation above-given Alan does not always adhere; in a note written with his own hand, in his register, he describes Technebrenach as follows, "Versus Kilgoban, seu domus Wallentium." The etimology of the words will favor either construction.

The chapel of Braynockstown is in the County of Kildare; it was leased, 1st Edw. VI. to Maurice Eustace, of Castlemartin, for 21 years, for 4*l*. per annum.--Audit. Gen. office. In 1629, John Pue, the chapter clerk, had a lease from the Dean and Chapter for 21 years, at 3*l*. 10*s*. per annum; the tenant was to find likewise a sufficient person to serve the cure. Sir Maurice Eustace obtained, in 1664, a lease for 21 years, the rent was 4*l*. 10*s*. *Sterl*. per annum. The rent in 1800 was 10*l*. per annum. Leases St. Pat. regist.

Of the Church of St. Kevin, the Dean and Chapter still continue Rectors[b]; the vicarage, however, has been united to the Archdeaconry of Dublin.

The Community of St. Patrick's are still possessed of the tithes of the Archbishop's demesne lands, at Ballimore.[c]

The Cathedral itself with its cemetary and the eight void spaces adjoining, are held to be the property of the Oeconomy, excepting such parts of the latter, as have been heretofore appropriated to certain members of this body, and are still possessed by their successors; it appears from the valuation of the residences in the Close, at the time of the surrender to Henry VIII. that several Prebendaries were then possessed of manses, but their property, of what nature soever it was, has been lost, since that time, by the neglect of their successors.

The church of Crumlin[d] was first, in 1193, granted by John,[e] when Earl of Morton, to form a Prebend in this Cathedral, but was afterwards, in 1216, given by the same, when King, to the Community[5]; it is called in the old records, Crum or Trum,[6] this similarity of name occasioned a dispute between the Archbishop and the Bishop of Meath, in the 16th of Edward II. the former asserted that John, when Earl of Morton, had presented William Rydel to the church of St. Patrick, of Trim, and had afterwards granted the advowson thereof, to John Archbishop of Dublin.[7] Will. Fitz-William Fitz-John de Harptre was, at the time of the conquest, possessed of the advowson of Crumlin, which he conferred on Robert, his clerk, in free and perpetual alms, in this grant he included the tithes of all timber cut in the wood there,[8] and permission to appropriate sixteen acres most convenient to the church; the tithes of this parish are still possessed by the Oeconomy, and the Curate is nominated by the Dean and Chapter.

The church of Mone[f] or Mone-columkill had several chapels subservient to it in ancient times; of these Kilgelan or Kilelan was appropriated, by Archbishop Henry, to the monastery of Grane, who reserved the pension, before paid, of one marc yearly, to the mother church.[9] The chapel of Burton, which lay within the town-

5 Rep. Vir. 6 Lib. Nig. fol. 65. 7 Rot. Com. Banc. 16 Edw. II. 8 Al. Reg. T.C.D. fol. 232, et Dign. Dec. fol. 39.
9 Al. Reg. T. C. D. fol. 624.

b In 1660, the tithes of St. Kevin's parish were demised to Sir William Domville, for twenty-one years, at 12*l.* per ann. In 1681 they were demised to Thomas Twigg, for twenty-one years, in consideration of 80*l.* fine (there being but one year of Domville's lease unexpired,) and 12*l.* rent for the first year and 15*l.* for remainder of the term. The descendant of the last named tenant, James Twigg, Esq. holds at this day the rectorial tithes of this parish from the Dean and Chapter. Leases St. Pat. regist.

The vicarage of St. Kevin's was always in the gift of the Archbishop and was usually conferred upon his Choral Vicar in this Cathedral, whom, as Preb. of Cullen, he was obliged to maintain.

c The Chapter's tithes in Ballimore were valued in 1685, at 3*l.* per annum. Min. of Chapt.

d In 1630, the tithes of Crumlin were divided, the one moiety was in possession of the Dean and Chapter, and the other of the Minor Canons, one of which latter body discharged the service of the cure. In 1660, 19th March, the tithes of Crumlin, viz. the moiety of all pulse, corn, hay and furze, were leased for twenty-one years to Mat. Barry, yearly rent 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for first seven, and for remaining fourteen years 10*l.* The other moiety, it seems, was possessed by the Minor Canons: for we find in the same registry a lease dated 4th Feb. 1719, whereby the Chapter demised all the tithes of this parish "including the moiety lately recovered from the Minor Canons:" to Paul Barry for twenty-one years, at 30*l.* per ann. Leases St. Pat. regist. It was resolved in Chapter, 12th Jan. 1684, that the cure of Crumlin should be served by the Petit Canons only. In 1800, the sum of 200*l.* fine and 60*l.* per ann. was offered for the tithes of this parish; they were, however, granted to the incumbent for 100*l.* per ann. Chapt. Minutes.

e See introduction, A. D. 1193 and 1216.

f The patron of the church of Mone was Columb-Chille, and the annals of the IV Masters mention the death of Columba O'Flanigan, Comhorb of Maoin-Choluim-Chille under the events of the year 1014: according to the same annals this church was plundered in 1040, by Dermot, prince of Hi-Kensalach.

Alan mentions three chapels, besides Cordergan, which were subservient to the church of Mone, viz. Killelan, Burton and Archscoll. Repert. Viride.

In 1640, the Dean and Chapter leased to John Pue, the tithes, great and small, of the parish of Moone; all the tithes of Burton, Selyot, Ardscolle and Freynstown, with the alterages, &c. for twenty-one years, at 30*l.* per ann. and in 1645, the same tithes, together with those of Rathsallagh, Co. Wicklow, were leased to William Bulkeley, Archdeacon, for 31*l.* 10*s.* *Sterl.* per ann. for like term of twenty-one years; he was bound to repair the Chancel at Mone and to keep a Curate there. In 1670, Richard Bulkely, Esq. had a lease for twenty-one years, of all the preceding, except Rathsallagh; he was to pay 20*l.* per ann. and to set aside one-third part for maintenance of a Curate. Leases St. Pat. regist. In 1810, the tithes of Mone were leased for 180*l.* fine and 50*l.* per ann. eleven years of the former lease had then expired. Min. of Chapt.

Richard Searle, who served the cure of Mone in 1725, communicated to the Archbishop the following account of the town-lands in this parish: although he is not accurate in com-

land, called Burton, is still appropriated to the Oeconomy: the chapel of Ardscoll continues still a portion of the possessions of this church; but that of Cordergan, mentioned by Alan, is not now discoverable; it was probably a portion of the parish of Kilelan. [10] The tithes of a small town-land called Silliot, distant near ten miles from the rest of the parish, and about a mile from the town of Kildare, are likewise appropriated to the Community.

The tithes of Castleknock [g] parish, which are appropriated to the Oeconomy, are those of the town-lands of Castleknocke, Irishtown, Carpenterstown, Blanchestown, Diswellstown and Porterston; half the tithes of great and little Cabragh, [i] Pylletstown and Ashtown, and likewise the tithes of Whitestown. [k]

The church of Kilmesantan [l] or Templesantan is situated in the mountains, in the glin between the hills of Ballymorfin and Glassnamucky; the land lies, as Alan informs us, within the manor of Tallagh [11]: this church, being inconveniently situated without the marches, a chapel was erected, dependent however, on the mother

[10] Repert. Virid. [11] Repert. Virid.

bining three distinct parishes into one, his account may, however, be deemed useful. "In the parish of Moone beside Sylliot which lies near Kildare, at least four miles from the rest of the parish, are the following town-lands: Moone, where the old church; Little Burton, one mile; Great Burton, one mile and half; Irishtown, one mile and half; Knocshannah, two miles; Inch, two miles; Turnorstown, two miles; and Ardscol, two miles from Moone." MS. penes Arpum.

According to the Rev. Lathum Coddington's account, communicated by him to the author, the parish of Mone contains "the town-lands of Burtown, Irishtown, Ardskull, Inch and Foxhill: Burtown and Foxhill have, each, the ruins of a church and burial place thereon, at Moone the ruins of a large ecclesiastical establishment; part of the town-land of Sillet-hill, in the King's County, is also annexed to Moone; it contains about eighty acres, lies within one mile of the town of Kildare, but is ten miles distant from the rest of the parish of Moone." It is to be observed that Foxhill, in this report, and Knocshannah in that of Searle, is the same place, as the names sufficiently testify.

[g] 1676, Nov. 10th, in consideration of an increase of rent from 14*l.* per ann. to 20*l. Sterl.* G. Morton obtained a lease of the rectory of Castleknoc, for twenty-one years: the Chapter had, on the 6th of October preceding resolved, that he should have a lease for twenty-one years, at half the value, in consequence of his having made a discovery of the said rectory. In 1710, those tithes were leased to Phil. Whittingham, D. D. for 25*l.* per annum. In 1802, they were granted to the Vicar during incumbency for 14*l.* per ann. in 1806, the tithes of Castleknoc were demised for 100*l.* fine and 26*l.* per ann. Min. of Chapt. and Leases St. Pat. regist.

[h] The tithes of corn and hay of Blanchardstown, "lately called the little tithes of the parish of Castleknoc," were held by Will. Dongan, Esq. in nineteenth year of James I. for 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Rot. Pat. 1. p. facie.

[i] The half tithes of much and little Cabragh, Ashtown and Pelletstown were leased, 28th April 1582, for fifty-one years, to Humphrey Forthe, Gent. Chapter-clerk or Register, for 4*l.* per annum, Irish money. Rot. Pat. 44 Eliz. dorso. It seems, that by the rebellion, they were reduced to near half the former value, being, on 15th Feb. 1666, demised for 2*l. Sterl.* per annum. In 1805, the tithes of both Cabraghs were demised for 14*l.* per annum. Chapt. Min. and Leases St. Pat. regist. The other moiety of those tithes belongs to the Prebendary of Castleknock.

[k] The tithes, great and small, of Whitestown, in Castleknock, were leased, in 1509, according to Proctor's accounts, for 26*s.* 8*d.* yearly; they were demised, 22d Nov. 1671, for twenty-one years, for 20*s.* per annum; they were leased for the same rent in 1684. In March 1733, P. Whittingham, tenant of the great tithes of Castleknock, petitioned the Chapter for a lease of the tithes of Huntstown and Whitestown adjoining. On 13th Jan. 1734, they were leased to the Vicar of Castleknock for 2*l.* 10*s.* per ann. Min. of Chapt. and Leases St. Pat. regist.

[l] The church of Kilmesantan is situated in a romantic, but deserted glin, called Glasnamucky, which runs up into the mountains, and is environed by them on all sides, except at its entrance near Oldbawn. For many centuries it has ceased to to be made use of as a place of worship; the ruins are, however, still visible on a cliff hanging over the river Dodder, they measure eighteen paces in length and five in width; although built at a very early period and in a very sequestered spot, nevertheless its walls exhibit no contemptible skill in masonry.

In 1672, Catharine, Countess of Mount Alexander, obtained a lease for twenty-one years of the rectory of Templeoge and Glassnimicky, alias Glassmucky, alias Templesauntan; also the tithes of Knockbeline, Ballycroghan, the Hill of Rowanstown, Glassmockey, Old Court, Tagony, Ballynalife, and Freeresland; saving a messuage and one hundred acres demesne land, belonging to the rectory or chapel of Templeoge and Templesaunton; for 6*l.* per annum rent, and 20*l.* fine. On the same day the chapter appointed her their attorney toward the recovery of the latter, and confirmed all lawful acts and proceedings, which she should take for that purpose. She was, likewise, to have the land at half the yearly value for twenty-one years, if recovered. Christ. Barnewall, of Gracedieu, and Thomas Wickliffe held these tithes by leases dated 1568 and 1583; the rent reserved in the latter was 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum; the term was sixty-one years after the expiration of Barnwall's lease; the demesne is included, which indicates that it was then in possession of the tenant.

The following account is extant among the Dean's papers, it is noted by Swift with his own hand "viewed anno 1717," and exhibits the extent and value of the tithes at that period:

	£.	s.	d.
Templeoge - - - -	15	0	0
Ballyroney - - - -	3	0	0
Knockline - - - -	13	0	0
Old Court - - - -	11	0	0
Part Killininey - - -	7	0	0
Fryerstown land - - -	2	0	0
Clashamuckey liberty, and Ballynescorney, -	9	0	0
	60	0	0

set to several tenants for the above sum.

In 1803, there were eight and a half years unexpired of a former lease of those tithes, which were then held at the rent of 25*l.* per annum; the Chapter agreed that they should be renewed for 120*l.* fine. Min. of Chapt. and leases St. Pat. regist.

I am not without suspicion that the glebe of one hundred acres, mentioned in the more ancient leases of this rectory, is the same with the land called Tirnamuck, mentioned in pag. 69; to this

church, on that side of the Dodder nearest to the city, in a place more secure [m] for attending divine service during the then existing wars; it obtained from the Irish natives the name of Templeoge or the new church, which it still retains.[12] A chapel named Kilbride, was likewise dependant on the mother church of Kilmesantan; it lies in the glin near the Liffey, between Knoctelaune and the Goldenhill, and was called Kilbride Ogaddre.[13]

The church of Kilbride [n] was situated in the mountains not far from Bretage; it was within the Archbishop's barony of Choillagh.[14]

The chapel of Freynstown is situated near Rathsallagh, and was anciently subservient to the church of Donoghmore in Omayle.

The manor of Coolmine [o] is a principal estate of this church; it is situated within the parish of Tassagard; but the tithes thereof were appropriated to a distinct chapel, subservient, however, to the mother church, and called the chapel of Simon Tavelaght: of this manor, Archbishop Alexander de Byknore, on 23d March, 3d Edw. III. obtained a grant in fee, from Geoffry Crumpe, citizen of Dublin, subject, however, to the rent and services due therefrom to the chief lord, which service was originally an annual rent of ten marcs, payable to Peter Haket and his heirs.[15]

This manor had been conveyed, when John Wogan was lord justice, [p] to Peter Haket by Peter, son of James Bermingham,[16] who had purchased the chief rent

[12] Repert. Virid. [13] Repert. Virid. [14] Repert. Virid. [15] Dign. Dec. pp. 123, 163. [16] Dign. Dec. pag. 120.

conjecture the exact similarity between the names (Tir-na-muck and Glass-na-muck) gives some countenance; moreover, the the quantity of land in each is the same. viz. one hundred acres, and they are likewise both lost to the church; all these circumstances taken together, form a very unusual coincidence, and are enough to make us suspect that Alan's information, relative to the situation of Tirnamuck is erroneous, when he places that tract near Kilfernock. Vide Repert. virid. voce Kilfernoc.

[m] "In le macre" saith Alan (Rep. vir.) I apprehend he means maghaire, which signifies the plain or cultivated land; by this name the district called the Pale was known among the Irish, and distinguished it from the Marches of the Pale which were not cultivated.

[n] There were several churches and chapels named Kilbride, within the diocess of Dublin, which it may be necessary distinctly to enumerate.

1. The church here described. 2. The chapel appendant to Kilmesantan, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. 3. A church named Kilbride in the deanery of Arklow, of which the Archbishop formerly possessed the tithes. 4. A chapel appendant on Delgany or Stagonill. 5. A chapel, near Rathmore, which belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. 6. A chapel appendant to Tallagh, of which the Dean of St. Patrick has the tithe; this last is situated near the Dodder river.

That Kilbride which I have placed first in the list, is stiled by Alan "Ecclesia," and he moreover informs us that the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem had taken possession of it, instead of another Kilbride, (the fifth in the list above,) which was waste and scarce discoverable in his time, but was situated between Rathmore and Tipperkevin. (I presume he means Tipper, which joins Rathmore, but Tipperkevin is at a great distance from thence, and many parishes intervene between them.) "Male facit occupari ecclesiam parochialem Stæ Bri-"gidæ in montibus, spectantem ad communiam Sti Patricii, "sub colore hujus capellæ deficientis." Alani in Rep. Vir. voce "Capella de Kilbride." I apprehend the Prior succeeded in this affair, for the cathedral has never since been possessed of any church or chapel named Kilbride, except that which I have placed the second in the above list; and moreover, by an inquisition held at Dublin 20th March, 33 Hen. VIII. it was found, that Sir John Rawson, last Prior of Kilmainham, had surrendered to the King, along with other possessions of the monastery, "Kilbride, in the county of Dublin, near the Three-castles, with court-leet and frank-pledge to the same belonging, and two hundred great acres of mountain, one hundred of arab. mead. and pasture, and two hundred of pasture and mountain, then waste and of no value." Ch. Rem. office.

The Community are still in possession of the parish or chapelry of Kilbride Ogaddre, and the tithes great and small thereof, together with those of Ballimore and the tithes of Cloghran-Swords, were demised for twenty-one years at the yearly rent of 6*l.* per annum, 20th Feb. 19 Cha. II. In 1685 the tithes of Kilbride were reported to the Chapter to be worth 10*l.* annually. In November 1812 the tithes of Ballimore, Kilbride, and Cloghran, were granted to the Preb. of Dunlavin, during incumbency, at 25*l.* per annum rent. Min. of Chapt. and leases St. Pat. regist.

[o] The manor of Coolmine is bounded, north by Rathcool, east by Sagard, west by the commons of Rathcool, and south by those of Sagard; it was demised, 6th June 1583, by Dean Jones and his Chapter, to John Allen, of Allenscourt, for the yearly rent of 2*l.* per annum: nor were they content with giving this long term; but, on the 31st March, in the year following, they granted a lease in reversion at the same rent for eighty-one years more; the latter lease still remains in the registry, and Dean Swift has expressed thereon his indignation at this shameful alienation of the property of the Church, by those men who ought to have been its guardians and protectors. It appears, however, that the last mentioned lease did not take effect; both were indeed surrendered 11th June 1640, and in consideration thereof a lease was executed, with license of the State, granting the same for sixty years at 12*l.* per ann. to Walter Cruise, Gent. This manor was demised 20th Nov. 1660, for twenty-one years, to Grissel Aungier, at the rent of 14*l.* yearly. Leases St. Pat. Reg. In 1681 the rent was raised to 20*l.* per annum; it was then demised to Francis Cuffe, Esq. In 1695, it was demised to the Countess Dowager of Arglass; The survey made in 1747 extended the land to two hundred and sixty-five acres, whereof the northern and eastern portion, deemed arable, contained one hundred and ninety-two acres, one rood, but the southern or mountain portion covered seventy-two acres three roods. Leases St. Pat. regist. On 21st June, 1813, a lease of those lands for twenty-one years was granted to John Kennedy for the annual rent of 100*l.* and 2000*l.* fine Reg. of St. Pat. Cath.

[p] In 1295, or between the years 1302 and 1308.

above mentioned from Richard, son of Lord Maurice de Bermingham: in 1328, John Fitz-Peter Haket reduced the rent to seven marks and a half, or one hundred shillings, upon condition that Crompe should pay the latter sum within one month after it became due, whether there were peace or war in Ireland; he also remitted 20*s.* per ann. for eleven years[17]. The Archbishop, becoming seized of the land by the title above described, obtained, in 1335, from Elena Le-petit, widow of Peter Haket, and from John Fitz-Peter Haket, a surrender of the rent charge[18]: being thus fully possessed of the manor, he made a free grant thereof to the Chapter of St. Patrick, dated 23d of Edw. III. and nominated Simon Hirdman his Attorney, to put certain Canons of the said church into possession[19]: in the year 1365, the same King, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date, Westminster, 18th May, 39th of his reign, dispensed with the statute of mortmain in favor of the Dean and Chapter; the Canons, who were at that time in possession, were thereby empowered to settle for ever,[q] on the Dean and Chapter and their successors, the following lands, for the support of certain chantries[r] of ancient foundation in that church; those lands were, one messuage and carucate of land in Coolmine, and a messuage with appurtenances belonging to the late Archbishop, Alexander, lying within the liberties of the city, held of the King in free burgage, without any service.[20]

In 1384 the Dean and Chapter obtained an exemplification of these letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, signed by Philip de Courtenay, at that time Lord Lieutenant.[s]

A large portion of the tithes of Swords, and its subservient chapelries,[t] has been appropriated to the Oeconomy; they have usually been divided into portions, called quarters, and are known by the names following, viz. Killeigh,[u] Killostre,[v]

[17] Dign. Dec. pp. 121, 165.
[18] Dign. Dec. pp. 124, 167.
[19] Dign. Dec. pp. 126, 127.
[20] Dign. Dec. pp. 116, 160, 176.

[q] On the 13th Jan. Royal Licence being obtained, the parties nominated attornies to give and receive seisin. Dign. Dec. fol. 128.

[r] Alan, in a note, remarks "sed modo pro pane & vino, ut aiunt." Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. *555*.

[s] 13th July, 8 Rich. II. Dign. Dec. fol. 118 and 161.

[t] In the year 1681, the Archbishop settled what should be paid to the Curate of Swords for serving the cures of those chapels. Having previously nominated a commission of enquiry to determine the real value of the tithes; Malahide was reported worth 45*l.* per annum, Killossery 70*l.* and Killeigh 20*l.* The Archbishop therefore adjudged 45*l. sterl.* per ann. to the Vicar, being one-third portion of the whole "Tanquam salarium, secundum jura & statuta hujus Regni Hiberniæ, pro fungendo isto officio Curati." Dioc. regist. office.

The Œconomy tithes in the parish of Swords were worth 76*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, in 1509. Append. Numb. XVII.

[u] In 1648, the tithes of Killeigh were demised for twenty-one years, to John Pue, Alderman and Mayor of Dublin; in 1663, Lord Chief Baron Bysse obtained a lease for twenty-one years, of the "tithe of corn, hay, and the small tithes of Killeigh parish," extending into the towns and lands of Killeigh, Breckdenston alias Brecknanston and Collurdston, for 7*l.* per annum. In 1683, they were demised with the tithes of the north quarter, to Henry Scardeville, Prebendary of Swords, with a saving to the Curate of the burials, and 10*l.* per ann. salary. Collurdston is called Colwellstown, in a lease of 1648, and Colveston, in another, dated 1741.

The present Bishop of Killala, (Verschoyle) who, before his elevation to the Episcopal bench, was Dean of this Cathedral, held likewise, for a time, the vicarage of Swords; amongst the Dean's papers, there is a manuscript, in his hand-writing, which sets forth the number of acres contained in the greater number of the town-lands of this parish; I have thought fit to give publicity to the labours of this prelate; little doubt can be entertained of their accuracy, if we consider the intelligence of the writer, and his opportunities of obtaining information: some of those town-lands, that are omitted by him, are perhaps included in others the contents of which he has specified: according to this MS. the contents of the several town-lands in the parish of Killeigh, are as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Killeigh - - - -	180	Knocksedan - - -	40
Westereave and Tubberbur	190	Drumlin - - - -	32
Calvestown - - -	40	Breckdenstown - -	80

[v] On the 28th November 1565, the Chapter demised to Henry Draycot, the tithes, "personal, prædial and mixed, of corn and hay from the rectory, church or chapel of St. Brigid of Killosery," to hold for twenty-one years, in reversion, after a lease for thirty-one years, made in July 1557, at the yearly rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d. Irish*. Rot. Pat. 28 Eliz. They were demised in 1676, to John Hawkshaw, for twenty-one years, in consideration of increase of rent, from 10*l.* to 15*l.* per annum. Lease St. Pat. reg. A resolution of Chapter accompanies the grant of this lease, professing, that it was in consideration of a discovery made by him. Min. of Chapt. 6th October 1676.

In 1793, when the Rev. James Verschoyle was incumbent, the tithes of the parish of Killosery, were held by the Vicar of Swords, for the yearly rent of 31*l.* 5*s.* In 1809, the full value of the tithes amounted to 134*l.* 4*s.* 1½*d.* which left to him a profit of 102*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* In the following year, they were granted to the Vicar, to hold during his incumbency, for the rent of 47*l.* 5*s.* per annum.

Cloghran,[w] North-quarter or Skidow,[x] Belingstown or the quarter of the Boolies,[y] South-quarter or Rathbeale,[z] the Furrows,[a] Drynam,[b] the Burgage tithes,[c] and Malahide,[d] the extent of which portions will be found in the Inquisition, 38 Hen. VIII. and the notes hereunto annexed.

According to Dean Verschoyle's MS. account, the parish of Killosery contains the following town-lands.

	Acres		Acres
Killossery	80	Brazeel	100
Rath of Killossery	172	Mount Stewart	40
Blackhall	40	Newtown Brazeel	27
Rolleston	240	Leys Brazeel	50
Lespople	320	Morgansbush	20
Surgotestown	240	Scatternaugh	60
Brackdenstown	80	Knockbryan and Dromin	17
Willysbush	20		

Mention is made of Cadelstown, but no account given of its specific contents.

[w] In 1583, the Dean and Chapter demised to N. Colman, for 61 years, the tithes of corn, hay and furze, of Clogharan Swords, for 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, the tithes of the demesne lands, in Ballimore, for 1*l.* per annum, of Kylbride, for 4*l.* per annum, and likewise an orchard in Bride-street, for 2*s.* per annum, rent. Leases St. Pat. reg. See likewise note n, p. 75.

In 1685, the tithes of Cloghran were reported to the Chapter to be of the yearly value of 3*l.* and in 1705, of 5*l.* per annum. Min. of Chapt.

[x] Lord Chief Baron Bysse had a lease of those tithes granted to him, for twenty-one years, in December 1663; he was to pay 19*l.* sterl. per ann. the deed mentions, that Christopher, his father, and Robert, his grandfather, had held the same: he had a previous lease, dated in 1645, and, being at that time Recorder, covenanted, during life to give the Chapter, "good council, in matter of law." No mention of Dromlyn appears in this deed, but it mentions "both the Baldergans." Robert Bysse, the Chief Baron's Grandfather, had purchased the interest of Robert Brackenhall, to whom those tithes were demised in 1579, for sixty-one years; of this lease he obtained a renewal to himself, in 1582. Leases St. Pat. reg. A lease of these tithes had been granted, in 1579, to Ralph Hoskenchiele, for sixty-one years, at 24*l.* *Ir.* per ann. from thence we learn, that Sir Antony Sentleger, Edmund Devenish, and Barn. Scurloghe had been, before that time, successively the Chapter's tenants; the lease to Scurloghe, dated 1st January 1564, mentions, that it was granted, "in consideration of good council, to be given by him, during life, to the Chapter." The tithes of Skidow and Killeek were demised, in 1810, for 35*l.* per ann. rent, and 10*l.* to the Curate. Leases St. Pat. regist.

The number of acres contained in the several town-lands of this portion, are set forth in the MS. of Dean Verschoyle, as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Skiddow	360	Brownstown	132
Ballydergan	180	Cookstown	32

Drishook is mentioned, but its extent is not set forth.

[y] On the 19th March 1660, the tithes and alterages of the quarter of the Boolies were demised for twenty-one years, the tenant was to pay during the first seven years, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterl. per ann. and during the last fourteen, 8*l.* annually. Leases St. Pat. reg. In 1798, those tithes were demised to the Vicar, to hold, during incumbency, and again, in 1810, to his successor; the reserved rent, in the latter lease, was, 19*l.* 3*s.* yearly. Min. of Chapt.

From Dean Verschoyle's MS. we learn the number of acres contained in the town-lands comprised in this quarter, which are as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Davystown, or Daineston	90	Great Bealingstown	200
Magilstown	180	Little Bealingstown	40
Gillinstown	80		

The other two denominations, Loghmartin and Dollards, are noticed in this account, but their contents are not set forth.

Dean Verschoyle, who was at that time Vicar of Swords, held, during his incumbency, those tithes by lease. In 1809, the rate of value was as follows:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	
Full value	56	11	3	per ann.
For which the Vicar, as lessee, paid	19	3	0	
And retained a clear profit of	37	8	3	

[z] In March 1663, the tithes of Rathbeale were claimed by the Vicar's Choral, as held by them in fee farm. Min. of chap. 27th June 1717, the Chapter leased the tithes of Rathbeale, to the Vicar's Choral, for twenty-one years, at 10*l.* per annum. Lease St. Pat. regist. In 1738, the tithes of this portion, described as in the inquisition, were declared to be out of lease and they were valued at 41*l.* 12*s.* per annum. Being ordered by the Chapter to be leased for one year, the tenant of the Vicars' put in a claim to the tithe of hay, in Rathbeale, and to all the tithes of the other denominations, and obtained an injunction against the Chapter. However, upon the 11th January, we find the Chapter issuing an order, to one Mr. Jolly, to call upon the inhabitants for the tithes: in the order alluded to, two denominations are mentioned, which did not before occur, viz. the leys of Rathbeale and part of Smeerstown. Min. of chap. A note occurs in the book of Chapter minutes, dated 8th May 1747, which intimates, "that it had been found that the tithe hay of Balgeith, was granted by charter, to the Vicars' Choral, and wrongly leased by the Chapter, with the tithes of Rathbeale:" accordingly it was ordered, that a proportionable allowance should be made to the tenant. In 1741, the great tithes of Rathbeal, Brasspot, Tonlagee, Balcultry, Roganstown, Balstubbock, Balgeith and Saucerstown, and one moiety of the great tithes of Knockbryan and Dromyn were leased to John Moore, for twenty-one years, at 20*l.* per annum; they were again leased, in 1757, for 17*l.* per ann. saving the tithe of hay of Balgeith and except the tithe of Mooretown, demised, by J. Moore, to John Laurence. Lease St Pat. reg. Although seven years of the previous lease had expired in 1797, yet a renewal at the former rent of 20*l.* per ann. was given for a fine of 20*l.* See more of Rathbeale in Chapt. XIII.

According to Dean Verschoyle's account, the number of acres contained in those several denominations, are as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Rathbeale and Leys of the same	200	Balcoultry	60
Brasspot	20	Roganstown	80
Tonlagee and Balstubbock	40	Saucerstown	100
		Knockbryan & Dromins	17

Balgeith is added to the list, but the number of acres it contains is not specified.

[a] The tithes and alterages of the towns of Forrowe, Pyckastown, Barbestowne, Glasloghe, Remondestowne or Redmondston, Rahingle and Forsterstown, called the tithes of the Furrowes, were demised, for 21 years, in July 1556, to Christ. Barnewall of Gracedewe; and again, for 21 years, in reversion, to Patrick Goughe, of Dublin, merchant, in 1562, for 6*l.* per annum. Enrolled 30th January 1629.

Dean Verschoyle's MS describes the extent of the following townlands within this district.

	Acres.		Acres.
Great Furrows or Forrest	280	Remonstown	68
Forsterstown	60	Rathingle	30

Gaeston, Paeston and Barbestown are mentioned, but the number of acres contained in each, are not set forth. In 1797, the tithes of Furrowes, were leased, by the Dean and Chapter, for 5*l.* per annum, rent and duties. Min. of Chapt.

[b] In 1582, Humphrey Forthe Gent. register and chapter clerk, obtained a lease for 51 years, in reversion after a lease made to Thomas Taylor for life, "in consideration of his daily

The tithes of Rathsallagh [c] continue still with the Oeconomy; but the more valuable property of two carucates of land, called Rathsallan and Ballyogan, have long since been lost.

The extent and value of the various possessions of the Oeconomy, were ascertained in the 38th year of Henry VIII. The tithes, alterages and oblations in the parishes of Swords and Templeoge, by Inquisition held at Swords on the 18th of January, concerning which the jurors [f] reported as follows:

Killeghe. The tithes of this portion, issue from the town-lands of Killegh, Typperbyr, the Mote, and Westreve, which are worth, besides the charge of repairing the Chancel, and that of supporting a Chaplain to serve the cure, both at cost of the farmer, iv*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* per ann. and are leased for that sum to Thomas Cusack, knight.

Amount IV*l.* XIII*s.* IV*d.*

Killostre. The tithes of corn and hay of this portion, are payable out of the hamlets of Kyllstre, Blakehall, Rolleston, Lespopell, Rathe, Surgoteston and Cadelston, which with the alterages, besides the charge of repairing of Chancel, and expense of a Chaplain, both at the farmer's cost, are worth xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* per annum, and are demised for that sum.

Amount XIII*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.*

and faithful services," of all the tithes personal, prædial and mixed, of corn and hay in the towns, hamlets and lands of Drinam, Feltrim, Rathulk, Nevinston, Marshalston and Brownsland alias Brownstown; with half the tithes of all kinds of the towns, hamlets and lands of Belingland alias Belingstown and Feldsland alias Feldston and all other, the tithes of that portion of the parish of Swords, called "the tithes of Drinam," for 10*l.* per annum. Rot. Pat. 44 Eliz. dorso. Those tithes were, on the 16th Nov. 1670, leased to Sir William Usher, knt. for the reduced rent of 7*l.* 2*s.* In a lease, dated 1762, the reserved rent was 15*l.* per annum. Leases, St. Pat. regist. The lease made in 1729, specially excepts the tithes of Meabstown, Peafield and Glangill. Lease, St. Pat. regist. In 1734, the tithes of Meabstown, Peafield and Glangill, part of the tithes of Drynam, were leased to Hugh Wilson, Preb. during twenty-one years or incumbency, for the rent of 20*s.* per annum, being valued at that sum. In 1793, the tithes of Peafield were demised to the Vicar of Swords during incumbency, for 20*s.* per annum; and, in 1810, the tithes of Meabstown, Peafield and Glangill, for 3*l.* per annum, yearly. In 1797, the tithes of Drynam were demised to the same, to hold during his incumbency, for 22*l.* and, in 1810, for 34*l.* 7*s.* per annum, rent. Min. of Chapt.

J. Murphy who, by command of the Chapter, viewed the lands contained in this district in 1728, reported the number of acres contained in the several town-lands, to be as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Drynam . .	296	Nevinstown . .	80
Feltrim . .	221	Marshalstown .	60
Rahulk . .	100		

And so far his account is conformable to that of Dean Verschoyle; but the former adds two other denominations, Mapistown containing upwards of two hundred acres and Fosterstown twenty acres, in all nine hundred and seven acres: Murphy, in his report, remarks that only half Mapistown belongs to this quarter.

In Dean Verschoyle's account there is no mention made of Mapistown or Fosterstown; and the tithes of Meabstown, Peafield and Glangill, were, in his time, demised and still continue to be set apart from the rest; but he rates Brownstown as containing one hundred and thirty-two acres; Belingstown and Feldstown he has noticed, but does not give the extent of either; moreover, Brownstown is again mentioned in Skidowe quarter. In 1728, Murphy valued the tithe of this portion at the full, as worth 45*l.* 2*s.* per annum.

In 1709 the value was as follows:

	Full value.	Rent reserv.	Prof. to Incumb.
Drynam . . .	59 4 0	23 7 0	35 17 0
Peafield . . .	15 1 0	1 6 0	13 14 1

[c] In 1759 there was a lease made to Robert Wilson, for twenty-one years, at 20*l.* per annum, of the tithe of Taylor's land, Hilltown, Mooretown of Swords and other denominations, "commonly called and reputed to be the Petty Canons and Choristers tithe;" likewise all the tithes, great and small, of that part of the lands of Moretown which John Lawrence lately held from John Moore. Lease, St. Pat. regist. We learn from an entry in the book of Chapter minutes, dated 4th April 1782, that the Petit Canons had proved to the Chapter their right to the tithes of Mooretown, in the parish of Swords. According to Dean Verschoyle's account, Mooretown contains one hundred and eighty acres; he mentions Taylor's land and Hylton, but does not inform us of their extent. For more matter relative to those tithes see Chapt. XII.

[d] In 1559, the tithes of Malahide, "as well predial as all personal offerings and alterages," were demised to William Talbot, of Malahide, Esq. for fifty-nine years, after the expiration of any lease then in being; and, further, in 1562, to Patrick Goughe, for twenty-one years more in reversion; the rent reserved in this last lease was 12*l.* per annum. Enrolled 30th January 1629. In 1660, "the said lands, being for the most part waste and yielding no profit," were demised to Ralph Wallis, Esq. for twenty-one years; he was to pay, during the first seven years 6*l.* yearly, to the Chapter and 5*l.* to the Curate, and during the last fourteen 12*l.* yearly, to the Chapter and 8*l.* to the Curate. In 1677 they wereleased for 22*l.* per annum. Leases, St. Pat. regist. According to Dean Verschoyle's statement, this portion contains about six hundred acres.

[e] Rathsallagh is in the Deanery of Ballimore and County of Wicklow, a little to the south-west of Dunlavin, to which it is at present united. The tithes of Rathsallagh have been generally leased along with those of Mone, Barton, Silliot Ardscoll and Fraynestown: those parishes were demised to William Bulkeley, Archdeacon of Dublin, in 1645, for twenty-one years at 31*l.* 10*s.* *sterl.* per annum; Rathsallagh was not included in the lease to John Pue, whereby the other parishes above mentioned were demised in 1640, for twenty-one years, at 30*l.* *sterl.* per annum. Leases St. Pat. regist.

[f] The names of thirty jurors, are annexed, inhabitants of this and the adjoining parishes.

Cloghran de Swerdes.	The tithes of this parish, called "the thirde sheffe" of Cloghran-de-Swerdes, arise out of the town-lands of Cloghran, Corbally, Baskyn, and Stacoll, and are worth, besides the town of Tybberboyne, now waste, xlvi*s.* viii*d.* per ann. and are leased for that sum, to Anthony Seyntleger, knight. Amount	xlvi*s.*	viii*d.*	
North quarter of Swerdes.	The tithes of corn and hay of this portion, issue from the town-lands of Dreysshoke, Skyddowe, Dromlyn, Cokeston, Baldergan and Brownston, and are worth, together with the alterages, besides the oblations to the Vicar of Swerdes, ix*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* per ann. and are leased for that sum. Amount	ix*l.*	vi*s.*	viii*d.*
Booles, &c.	The tithes of corn and hay whereof are payable out of the town-lands of Davyeston, Magillstown, Gilleneston, moche Belyngeston, little Belyngeston, Loghmarten, and Dullards, worth, with alterages, besides oblations which belong to the Vicar of Swerds, v*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* per ann. and are demised for that sum. Amount	v*l.*	vi*s.*	viii*d.*
South quarter of Swerdes.	The tithes of corn and hay of this portion, issue from the town-lands of Rabelle, Ballstubboke, Balcurtre, Sawseryston, Roganeston, Balgeithe, Gortown, and Oldwynnyng, worth, with alterages, x*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* per annum, besides oblations, which belong to the Vicar of Swerdes. Amount	x.	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Moche Fforrowe, &c.	The tithes of moche Fforrowe, Gaysland, Paeston, Barbeston, Forsterastown, Remoneston, and Rahangel, are worth, with alterages, iv*l.* per annum, besides oblations, which belong to the Vicar of Swerdes. Amount	iv*l.*		
Dreynam.	The tithes of corn and hay of this portion, are payable out of the town-lands of Dreynam, Ffeltrym, Rahulke, Marshalliston, Newen-eston, with "the halfe sheffe" of Ffelysland, Belyngesland, Rob-tistonland, Hamoneston, and certain lands in Swerdes, and are worth, with alterages, but without oblations which belong to the Vicar of Swerdes, x*l.* per ann. they are demised for that sum. Amount	x*l.*		
Burgage tithes.	The tithes, called "the Burgage tythes" are worth, per ann. with the alterages of Hylton, besides oblations to the Vicar, viii*l.* and are demised for that sum, to Thomas Fitzsymons. Amount	viii.		
Malahyde.	Those tithes, issue from the lands, called "the Courte de Malahyd" and Balregan, and are worth, together with the tithe of fish and alterages, xi*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* per annum, besides half the oblations at funerals, which belong to the Vicar of Swerdes, the stipend of the Curate, and repairing of the Chancel, defrayed by the farmer. Amount	xi*l.*	vi*s.*	viii*d.*
Temple-saunton, alias Glassmo-chey.	There is here one mess. and one hundred acres of arable land in demesne, appertaining to this Rectory or Chapel, which together with the tithes of Templeoge, Knockelyn, Ballycreaghyn, the hill of Rowanston, Glaysmoyke, Old Court, Tagony, Ballmalyse, and the land called "the Freres-land," are worth, over and above the Curate's stipend and repair of Chancel, iv*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* per annnum and demised for that sum, for xxxi years, to Pat. Barnewell. Amount	iv*l.*	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*

The extent of other the spiritualities and temporalities of the Community were determined by Inquisition[g] held at Dublin, 25th January, in the same year.

Culmyn.	Here is one castle, four messuages and one hundred acres arable land, worth, per ann. - - - - - -	xl*s.*		
Cromlyn.	In Crumlyn is one park, in tenure of Jas. Whyte, worth, per ann.			x*d.*
tithes.	The tithes of Cromelyn are worth, per annum, - - - -	x*l.*	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Rathsalla-ghane.	In Rathsallaghane is one carucate of land, worth, per ann. xl*s.* demised, however, for - - - - - -		xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Ballymore.	The tithes of the demesne lands of Ballymore, are worth, per annum		xx*s.*	
St. Kevin's parish.	There is in this parish a water-mill, worth, per ann. liii*s.* iv*d.* demised, however, to Bart. Fitzsymons and Henry Dansey, for x*s.*			

[g] The jurors were ten in number.

St. Kevin's parish.	James Umfrey holds two parks of two acres, worth, per ann. vi*s.* iv*d.* Edward Bassenet holds one park, containing two acres by estimation, worth xiii*s.* iv*d.* per ann. leased for viii*s.* James Umfrey holds one orchard, worth, per annum, x*s.* demised for iii*s.* Nich. Meagh one orchard, worth, per ann. ii*s.* Robert Eustace one orchard, worth, per ann. vi*s.* viii*d.* leased for ii*s.* Will. Browne one orchard, worth xiii*s.* iv*d.* and demised for ii*s.* Total amount	cv*s.*	iv*d.*	
St. Kevin's tithes.	The tithes of St. Kevin's parish issue from the town-lands of Baggotrathe, Cullyn, Menrathe, Mylton, Greneferme, Parkeferme, Stokenferme, Brodefelde, Mageneferme, Bremychames-land, Stobenlands and the Rathe-lands, worth, per ann. viii*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* besides alterages, which are assigned to the Vicar. Amount	viii*l.*	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
St. Nicholas without.	Henry Dansey holds, in St. Patrick's-street, one mess. and garden, worth, per ann. xiii*s.* iv*d.* leased for ii*s.* viii*d.* Will. Browne one mess. worth, per annmu, xxxiii*s.* iv*d.* besides repairs, demised for xiii*s.* iv*d.* Laurence Whyte one mess. worth, beside repairs, xvi*s.* per ann. and leased for x*s.* Thomas Locwode a mess. and garden, worth, besides repairs, xii*s.* per annum. Total amount	lxxiv*s.*	viii*d.*	
rectory.	The alterages and oblations of the church or chapel of St. Nicholas without, are worth, per annum, besides the Curate's stipend, -	vi*s.*	viii*d.*	
St. Audoens.	In Bridge-street, in this parish, is one mess. and appurtenances, worth, per ann. xl*s.* demised, however, for - - -	xxvi*s.*	viii*d.*	
St. Brigid. rectory.	The oblations and alterages of this parish are worth, per ann. ii*l.* besides the Curate's stipend and repairs of Chancel, - -	ii*l.*		

Lands and possessions belonging to the Community, situated within the Close or precinct of the Cathedral.

Dean's manse.	One capital messuage with garden and necessary edifices, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - - -	liii*s.*	iv*d.*	
Vicars. hall.	One hall, one kitchen, xvi bedchambers, and other necessary houses, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	liii*s.*	iv*d.*	
Archdeacon Dublin.	One mess. garden and tower, called "Castleragge," and other necessary edifices, worth annually, besides repairs,	xl*s.*		
Eustace's.	One messuage, a small garden and appurtenances, late in tenure of Robert Eustace,[h] worth annually, besides repairs, - -	x*s.*		
Parkar's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in the tenure of Henry Parkar,[i] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	x*s.*		
Meagh's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in tenure of Nicholas Meagh,[k] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	x*s.*		
Dansey's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in tenure of Henry Dansey,[l] worth, besides repairs, - - - - - -	vii*s.*		
Poor-house.	One mess. worth annually, vi*s.* viii*d.* but being assigned to the poor, it produces no rent.			
Brown's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in tenure of Eustace Brown,[m] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	xii*s.*		
Geffrey's.	One castle or mess. with appurtenances, late in tenure of Symon Geffreye's,[n] called the Gate of St. Patrick, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - - - - -	xxx*s.*		
Creiff's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in tenure of Thomas Creyff,[o] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	xx*s.*		
Wogan's.	One mess. and appurtenances, late in tenure of John Wogan,[p] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	x*s.*		
Johnson's.	One mess. garden and appurtenances, late in tenure of Richard Johnson's,[q] worth annually, besides repairs, - - -	xxxiii*s.*	iv*d.*	
	One garden, called Tymothan's garden, worth annually - -			xii*d.*
Fitzsymon's.	One mess. and appurtenances, in tenure of Bartholemew Fytzsymon,[r] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*	

[h] Preb. Malahidert. [i] Preb. Kilmatalway. [k] Preb. St. Audoen. [l] Preb. Yago.
[m] —— Tymothan. [n] —— Howth. [o] —— Tasssagard. [p] —— Donoughmore.

Ellercar's.	One messuage, garden and appurtenances, late in tenure of Thomas Ellercar,[s] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	XXVI*s.*	VIII*d.*
Festam's.	One messuage, garden and appurtenances, late in tenure of Thomas Festam,[t] worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	XX*s.*	
Cocks'.	One mess. and garden on the north side of the Cathedral, late in tenure of William Cocks,[u] worth annually, besides repairs, -	XIII*s.*	IV*d.*
Archdeacon Glend.	One mess. garden, orchard and appurtenances, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - - - -	XXXIII*s.*	IV*d.*
Chanters.	One mess. garden and orchard, worth annually, besides repairs, -	XL*s.*	
Min. Canons hall.	One castle with divers bedchambers and other edifices, one garden, &c. worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	LIII*s.*	IV*d.*
St. Laurence chapel.	There is, within the precincts, a chapel called St. Laurence chapel, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - - -	IV*s.*	
Treasurer's.	One mess. with iii gardens, one orchard and one tower, worth annually besides repairs, - - - - - -	XL*s.*	
Chancellor's.	There is in the parish of St. Kevin and without the precincts, one castle or messuage with a garden, an orchard (" ortum") and appurtenances, worth annually, besides repairs, - - - -	XL*s.*	
Lyne's.	Also, without the precincts, a mess. garden and appurtenances, late in tenure of Nich. Lyne,[v] worth annually, besides repairs, -	XXX*s.*	
	Within the precincts is a small wood house, adjoining the south side of the Cathedral, worth annually, " ultra reprisas," - -		XII*d.*

The following possessions of the Community were valued by the same jury, at the same time.

Freyeston.	The tithes of this hamlet and appurtenances are worth, per annum	XX*s.*	
Rathsallowe.	The tithes of the hamlet of Rathsallowe are of the yearly value of	XL*s.*	
Clondalkan.	Here are lx acres of arable land, with appurtenances, which, besides xl*s.* chief rent, payable annually to the Archbishop of Dublin,[w] are worth annually - - - - - -	XL*s.*	
Castleknock tithes.	Those tithes issue from the town-lands of Castleknocke, Irishton, Carpentiston, Blancheriston, Deswelton and Porteriston, and are esteemed of the annual value of - - - - -	XII*l.*	
Whitestown.	The tithes of this hamlet are worth, per ann. xxvi*s.* viii*d.* and are demised to Anthony Seyntleger for that sum. Amount	XXVI*s.*	VIII*d.*
Moiety of Cabraghe.	The moiety of the tithes of much Cabraghe, littel Cabraghe, Pylleteston and Ashton, is worth, per annum, iv*l.* it is demised, however, for the sum of xx*s.* to William Walsh for his life.[x] Amount	XX*s.*	

[q] Preb. Maynooth.
[s] —— Castleknock.
[u] —— Tipperkevin
[r] Preb. Tipper.
[t] —— Monmohenoc.
[v] —— Clonmethan.

[w] This is, I apprehend, Jesus farm.

[x] I shall proceed to give here a more ample description of some portions of the Oeconomy possessions, which are situated in or near the city of Dublin, but without the close or precinct of the Cathedral.

I. A large tract of ground, situated at the west side of Bride-street, did formerly belong to the Oeconomy; but their property there is at present inconsiderable, for the chief part was alienated soon after the restoration and only a small rent reserved to the Cathedral. Concerning this tract, I have selected from the records the following particulars.

On the 19th March 1660, the Dean and Chapter leased to Sir William Domville, for sixty years, two orchards or gardens belonging to the commons of St. Patrick's church, where Sir William then had his dwelling-house, lying east of St. Sepulchre's and the treasurer's garden; bounded on the east by the close or park, hereafter named, in tenure of the same Sir William; as also that Close or Park; abutting east to the lane leading from the white fryars out of the city: this lease professes to have been granted in consideration of the renunciation of a former one, whereof twenty-one years were then unexpired, and which was originally made to Gilbert the father of Sir William, and also of an advance from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.* annual rent: this demise mentions the losses Sir William had sustained during the civil wars and his having laid out 500*l.* on the premises, and observes, that previously they had been in a ruinous state. On the 21st Dec. 1665, the Sub-Dean and Chapter certified their consent that a private bill should pass whereby a fee farm lease was confirmed to Sir Will. Domville, of his dwelling-house, orchard and gardens adjoining, in consideration of a rent reserved: the Chanter likewise submitted his interest in part of the concerns to be disposed of, as the Chapter should think fit. Min. of Chapt.

Accordingly Sir William Domville, who was, at that time, Attorney-General, obtained an act of parliament, which recites, that whereas Sir William Domville, knight, had surrendered his interest in two orchards or garden ground, late in tenure of his father, Gilbert Domville, Esq. whereon Sir William then had his dwelling-house, and also, that close lying east of the said two gardens, containing, by estimation, three acres of ground or thereabouts, all belonging to the commons of St. Patrick's church, leased heretofore to Gilbert Domville, whereof fifty-eight years were then unexpired; and, whereas, Sir William had been "damnified about 1000*l.* by the waste and destruction of several buildings erected by said Gilbert Domville upon the "premises, which were all destroyed," and having paid 200*l.* *Sterl.* toward repair of the Dean's house, "which lay waste and ruinous," and had increased his rent from 5*l.* to 10*l.* *Sterl.* per ann. it was therefore enacted, that the said Sir William should have and enjoy the same for evermore, to him, his heirs and assigns, paying said rent and soforth. Rolls of Parliament.

Upon this piece of ground the street, called Peter-street, has been since that time erected; it still continues in possession of the family of Domville.

On the same day that the lease, above mentioned, was granted to Sir William Domville, he obtained likewise a second, of

An Inquisition held at Dublin,[y] on the 27th of the same month, reported the extent and value of the following possessions, situated within the County of Kildare.

Brenaxton tithes.	The tithes hereof, issuing from the town-lands of Brenaxton and Wasterston, are worth annually, besides stipend of Curate and repair of Chancel - - - - - - - -	IV*l.*	
Uske pension.	The Dean and Chapter receive an annual pension, from the Rectory of Uske, of - - - - - - - - -	LXVI*s.*	VIII*d.*
Moone.	The tithes hereof, with appurtenances, are of the yearly value of	CVI*s.*	VIII*d.*
Byrton and Seliott.	The tithes of two third portions of those, with appurtenances, are worth annually - - - - - - - -	XL*s.*	
Byrton and Ardscoll.	The tithes of the third part of Birton and Ardscoll, are worth annually - - - - - - - - -	XL*s.*	
Ardscoll.	The tithes of two parts of Ardscoll, issuing from the town-lands of Ardscoll, Ballyneroin and Inchecoventre, are worth annually, besides alterages assigned to the Curate, - - - - - -	LIII*s.*	IV*d.*

certain premises bounded west by Bride-street, east by a plot called the old Chanter's park, in possession of Sir William, south, by the way leading to the same park, and north by a garden belonging to the treasurer of St. Patrick's; this last was demised 3d Nov. for forty years, the rent reserved was 10*l.* per ann. for the first eighteen years, and 12*l.* for rest of the term.

In 1741, a piece of ground, whereon were several houses, was demised by the Chapter for 21*l.* per ann. it is described as bounded, west by Bride-street, east to Vicar's Choral ground, and north to Golden-lane, being one hundred and forty-one feet in length at west end and one hundred and twenty-four at east, eighty-five feet in breadth at north end, and ninety at south.

II. The Oeconomy possess several tenements in the street called the Coombe, of these, one denominated the Booter-park, is deserving of attention; it is, however, now entirely covered with buildings. Booter is, I apprehend, a corruption from the Irish word bothar, a street or road, it is of common occurrence, and hence we have Booters-town and Stony-booter, it is vulgarly pronounced butter and sometimes batter.

On the 4th May 1669, the Dean and Chapter leased to Hen. Hesket, for forty years, "that piece of meadow called the Booter-park, near the city of Dublin, bounded east and south on the lands of the Earl of Meath, west on the way leading from Thomas-court to the Double Mills, and towards the north upon the King's high-way leading to Washam's-gate; containing from north to south sixty-nine yards and from east to west fifty-eight yards," paying for the first thirteen years 13*l.* and for remainder of the term 20*l.* per ann. this grant was in consideration of his renouncing a former lease then unexpired, of contributing 40*l.* to defray the great charges of repairing the Cathedral and engaging to expend 300*l.* in buildings and keeping the same in repair.

On the 24th July 1705, a lease of the Booter-park, for forty years, at 30*l.* per ann. was granted to Henry Wetherall; it is therein described as "situate in the liberty of Thomas-court and Donore, on the south side of the upper Coombe; containing in front to the north one hundred and eighty-four feet, on the east two hundred and seventy-five feet, on west to Crooked-staff two hundred and fifty-one feet, and on the south to Mutton-lane one hundred and eighteen feet;" the dimensions are somewhat greater according to a survey made in 1749, being on the north one hundred and ninety-two feet, on the east two hundred and eighty-six and a half, on the west two hundred and fifty-four, and on the south one hundred and nineteen feet; it is at present leased for 50*l.* per ann. rent. Leases, St. Pat. regist.

Either this tenement or some other in the Coombe was derived from one Adam de Ley who left, by will, his house in the Coombe to the Chapter, as he was then proceeding on a pilgrimage to St. James's and might not return; he reserved to his wife a right to inhabit the same, paying, however, to the Chapter half a pound of wax yearly: this fact was determined by an inquisition, which was held during the time that one Thomas was Dean, probably Thos. de Chaddesworth, and therefore, between 1284 and 1310. Crede mihi, fol. 103.

III. The Dean and Chapter possess likewise, a considerable tract of land which lies to the southward of Kevin's-street and at no considerable distance from thence.

Lieutenant Colonel Philip Ferneley had a lease of those lands in 1647, for sixty-one years, at 2*l.* per annum; they had been held before that for 4*l.* per annum, but the rent was reduced "as the fortification of the city had run through the land and much reduced its value:" on the 30th of Sept. 1667, he resigned his former lease, part of the term of which was unexpired, and the Chapter appropriated three stangs to serve for a burying ground for the inhabitants of the Close and of the parish of St. Nicholas without, which place of burial is known by the name of the Cabbage-garden; Fernely was granted a lease of the remaining portion for forty years, at 40*s.* per annum; in this deed it is said to consist of two parcels of ground, of two acres and half; adjoining on the north to the Chancellor's house.

The residentiary-house in the south Close, which belonged to the Deanery, being, on the 14th May 1718, added to the Oeconomy estate for ever; the Chapter, in consideration thereof, determined, that the fields or parks, near St. Kevin's, should be for ever annexed to the Deanery, and in pursuance of this resolution, on the 8th Jan. 1721, it was further ordered, that a lease of those two acres should be made to the Dean and his successors for forty years, and that the same should be renewed every fourteen years, and so from time to time, provided, in like manner, the Dean and his successors should renew the lease of the residentiary-house.

On this plot of ground Dean Swift formed the garden which he called Naboth's Vineyard; the reason of this appellation is not known, but, probably, he meant thereby, humourously, to allude to some circumstances that occurred, during his treatment with the representative of Fernely, whose interest he purchased, or perhaps to testify his own eagerness to obtain possession of this place of favorite recreation.

The two lots which have been just described were leased by the Chapter in 1754; the first, "a piece of ground called the Long-walk," containing 2 roods and 15 perches, to John Rose, who was to pay for the first ten years, 1*l.* and during the remainder of the term 2*l.* per annum, rent; this portion is therein described as bounded east by the garden of Edw. Sing, Bishop of Elphin, west by John Carmack's garden, north by the church-yard and Mr. Ford's garden, and south by the high-way.

The second, called Naboth's Vineyard, containing 1 acre, 2 roods and 7 perches, bounded east by ground belonging to the Archdeacon of Dublin, west by a passage leading from Liberty-lane to east end of Williams-lane, north by Liberty-lane and south by Mr. Kinshelagh's garden; "The south aspect whereof was planted with fruit trees, and the whole enclosed with a high stone wall," was demised for ten years, at 3*l.* per anuum: this lease, although signed by the Chapter, was probably for the Dean's benefit, as they continued long after to hold this garden;

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Minor Canons and Choristers.

On the 4th February 1431, Archbishop Richard Talbot, with consent of the Prebendary of Swords and of the two Chapters, instituted a new corporation within this Cathedral, consisting of six Minor Canons [a] and six Choristers; the former were to be Presbiters; of these he designated the first in rank by the title of Sub-dean and the second by that of Suc-centor; they were not, however, to have a voice in the Chapter or any fixed stall on the Choir. For the support of this body he allocated the tithes of the parish of Swords, except such portions as were specially reserved to the Prebendary and perpetual Vicar; the two elder Canons were to receive six marks yearly, over and above the stipend of ten marks, allowed annually to each of the other four; each of the Choristers were to have four marks of English money; twenty marks from the residue were reserved to the Precentor, [b] Nicholas Monagh, for life, but after his death the whole residuum was appropriated for ever to lighting the altars and other uses of the church. [1]

[1] Dign. Dec. pag. 64, and Append. Numb. XVIII.

for we find, on the book of Chapter-minutes, a resolution, subsequent in point of date, whereby "Naboth's Vineyard was continued to the Dean on the usual terms."

This garden was constructed about the year 1724, as appears from a small account in the hand-writing of Swift, extant among the Dean's papers, wherein he has noted the various sums which he had paid, from July 1724, to April 1725, for stones, to build the alms-house and the wall round Naboth's Vineyard; the amount of the several items is 211*l.* 10*s.*

The wall of Naboth's Vineyard still exists; in the centre of the ground an Hospital, for the use of the county of Dublin, has been lately erected, and the Dean and Chapter have been enabled to give a permanent title to the premises by an act of the imperial parliament, 54th Geo. III. The building is not yet finished.

IV. The house in Bridge-street, whereof mention is made in this Inquisition, has been lost by neglect; among the leases deposited in the Chapter-house, is one dated 20th Feb. 1582, whereby it was granted in fee-farm to Alderman Rouncel, for 20*s.* per annum, in consideration of his having roofed St. Kevin's-church; it is described as situated on the west side of Bridge-street, from whence it extends backward to the city wall; the name of Dean Jones is annexed to this lease, he seems to have neglected no opportunity of alienating the church possessions.

[y] There were four jurors sworn upon this occasion, the same persons valued Ballymore, Dunlavan, &c.

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[a] Although six Petit Canons are mentioned in the charter of endowment, yet it does not appear that there were ever six distinct persons in the college. See the grant of Henry VIII. Inquisition, 38th Hen. VIII. the restit. charter of Phil. and Mary: the Proctor's accounts, and Reg. visit. 1615: none of those records make mention of more than four persons. In the list of persons, who received pensions at the suppression of the Cathedral, there occur the names of four Petit Canons, five Priests Vicars, sixteen Vicars Chorals, and two Choristers; the names of Nicholas Betage and John Claregenet occur under both the 2d and 3d denominations, that is, as Priests-Vicars and as Vicars-Choral.

The following account of this college is taken from the report made to the Royal Commissioners in 1615.

"Sunt etiam in Ecclesia Cath. Divi Patricii, quatuor ministri, "qui vocantur Parvi Canonici, qui annuatim recipiunt ex oeco-"nomia ecclesiæ ad valorem xv librorum separatim, et quilibet "eorum habet cubiculum juxta ecclesiam et tenetur alere unum "Choristam; horum officium est interesse divinis quolibet die, "et inservire ecclesiæ in matutinis et vespertinis."

[b] Supposing that there were six Minor Canons in this college, when first established, the annual allowance would be 64*l.* exclusive of the Precentor's pension, and this was, probably, not far from the full value of the tithes of that time; for, in 1509 they produced but 76*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as appears from the proctor's account of that year. Append. Numb. XVII.

From the bull of Eugenius IV. it appears to have been originally intended, that the salaries of those Canons should bear somewhat the same proportion to the value of the tithes, that they did when the college was founded; after mentioning that a portion was assigned to the Prebendary, it proceeds as follows: "Necnon residuum fructuum, redituum et proventuum eorundem, prefatis Decano et Capitulo ipsius Ecclesiæ Sti Patricii ad supportationem et sustentationem Parvorum Canonicorum et Choristarum predictorum applicari debere, &c." which clause indicates, that the appropriation of those tithes was for the support of this college; but, by assigning a fixed salary to each, the founders shewed their short-sightedness; inasmuch as, by reason of the change which has taken place in the value of money, the salaries of the Minor Canons are disproportioned, both to their necessities and to the amount of those tithes which were originally appropriated to their support: even the sums of money which were allowed by the Chapter, to the members of this college have been different at different times.

In 1509, the payments from the Oeconomy, according to Andowe, the Proctor's, account, in Append. Numb. XVII. were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
To the four Petit Canons, for their salaries, -	26	13	4
To the six Choristers, for their stipends, - -	16	0	0
To the Vicars of the Dean and Precentor, for their salaries, - - - - - - - - - - -	4	0	0
To the Master of the Choristers, for his stipend,	2	13	4
To trimming the Choristers, - - - - -	0	6	8
Total -	49	13	4

At the dissolution of the Cathedral the four Petit Canons were allowed, each, 6*l.* per annum, and the two Personists or Choristers four marks each; there were, likewise, five Priests Vicars who received pensions of ten marks each and sixteen Vicars Choral, thirteen of whom received each 4*l.* one received 3*l.* one other 2*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* and one 2*l.* per annum.

King Henry VI. had signified his royal consent to this arrangement, [c] and had dispensed with the statute of mortmain in this particular; his letters patent, dated 1st April, 9th of his reign, recite, as a reason for this addition to the establishment, that the lands of the church and its prebends had suffered such destruction from the Irish Enemies and English Rebels, that those benefices were become insufficient to support their Ministers; whence there were not a sufficient number to perform divine service in the Cathedral according to the original establishment. [1]

On the 9th of July 1432, the Archbishop confirmed and published the constitutions of this college, which prescribed the duties to be performed in the Cathedral by its members, and settled the fines to be inflicted for neglect; the appointment or dismissal [d] of the Minor Canons was vested thereby in the Dean and Chapter, and of the Choristers, in the Precentor; it ordained, likewise, that the Canons might not be dismissed, but for such like causes as were established in respect to the Vicars. [e]

In the year 1443, the bull of Eugenius IV. added the confirmation of papal authority to this establishment; he thereby determined the rank of the Minor Canons to be of a degree intermediate between that of Prebendaries and the Vicars [2]; it was confirmed, likewise, by authority of Parliament, in the year 1467. [3]

[1] Dign. Dec. fol. 68. [2] Dign. Dec. pag. 72. [3] Stat. Roll, 7th Edward IV.

After the church was restored by Philip and Mary, the allowance to the four Petit Canons, the Deans and Chanters' Vicars and the Choristers, according to the Proctor's account. Append. Numb. XVII. was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
The four Petit Canons, for their salaries for one year, - - - - - - - - -	40	0	0
The Vicars of the Dean and Chanter, for one year, - - - - - - - - - - -	4	0	0
The Choristers, for their year's salaries, -	9	0	5
Their trimming, - - - - - - - - -	0	3	4
For the refection of the Choristers and boys, from restoration of the Cathedral to the period of this account, - - -	10	6	8
Total -	63	10	5

The account of James Usher, Proctor in 1606, furnishes the following items, paid to this college from the Oeconomy fund.

	£.	s.	d.
Salary to the four Petit Canons, - -	26	13	4
To the same, for the Choristers, - - -	4	0	0
To the same, out of Cromlyn and Burgage Swords, - - - - -	11	0	0
To Anth. Wilkes, for teaching the Choristers,	2	0	0
To the barbour, for the Choristers, - -	0	5	0
12¼ yards black puke, for the Choristers gowns, at 10s. per yard, - -	6	2	6
For making the same, - - - -	0	9	0
	50	9	10

Besides their salary, the Petit Canons held at that time, the tithes of Burgage-Swords and half the tithes of Cromlyn, for 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum; and the Dean's Vicar rented the alterages of the parish Choir at 5*l.* per annum.

The items in Adam Loftus's account for 1594, pretty nearly correspond with those given above; but, in this last, there are two additional, viz. 2*l.* 5*s.* to the Dean's, and a like sum to the Chanter's Vicar; those latter still form part of the ordinary charges in the Oeconomy account.

[c] Previously, as appears from Append. Numb. XVIII. Sect. I.

[d] The instrument of nomination to a Petit-canonry is in the Dean's name, and has his seal annexed thereto; the deed must, however, be confirmed by Chapter; the ceremonial of their installation is performed by one of their own body.

The Petit Canons are sometimes members of the Chapter likewise; William Pilsworth was installed Prebendary of Tassagard, 16th Feb. 1660: yet his name is to be found among the Petit Canons after that period.

The books of Chapter-minutes furnish us with accounts of divers regulations made by that body, for the controul and government of this college.

3d June 1662; it was settled that a fine of 2*s.* 6*d.* for each offence, should be incurred by every Minor Canon, who should absent himself from his duty.

23d October 1662; it appears from the entry of this date, that the Chapter had several disputes with the Minor Canons; two of the body, Peter Manby and Thomas Mallory had resigned on the 2d Sept. the latter had been suspended by the Chapter from the office of steward to the Minor Canons, and Pilsworth was nominated by them to succeed him; on the 10th Nov. he was ordered to pay 40*s.* to Richard Green, for service done in the church during the vacancy created by such suspension, &c. Manby was afterwards Dean of Derry, and the same who apostatized to popery in the reign of James II.

11th Jan. 1663; the Dean and Chapter sequestered the profits of the Minor Canons until their steward should produce an account of their disbursements since the restoration of the church; and, on the 28th March following, the verger was ordered to receive the rents and arrears of rent due to them: on the 31st, the Chapter gave him power to destrain in case of non-payment.

12th August 1684; a sequestration was issued by the Chapter to the Precentor, of the profits of the Minor Canons, for their neglect in not attending divine service.

12th Jan. 1684; by consent of the Petit Canons and Choristers, their seal was delivered up to the Dean, to be kept by him for their use: the sequestration of their incomes was taken off, so far as regarded two of their body, the third was ordered to attend to his duty or to resign his place; on the same day it was ordered, that the cure of Crumlin should be served by the Petit Canons only.

8th April 1685; Michael Moss was made a Petit Canon, and upon the petition of that body, the Chapter relaxed the sequestration of their estates.

23d May 1758; they resolved that they would renew no lease without leave of the Dean and Chapter, and declared that this resolution was entered upon solely with a view to serve their corporation.

[e] See Append. Numb. XVIII.

On the 4th of September, 9th Henry VII. the wardens of St. George's guild received a grant from the Crown, of eight marks per annum, payable out of the fee-farm rent of the city; forty shillings thereof were to be expended in the purchase of bows for the citizens, for defence of his Majesty's liege subjects against the rebels; and five marks to be paid yearly to the four Petit Canons, for saying divine service twice every week: viz. every Sunday in the choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and every Wednesday at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, within the same.[f] The deed here alluded to is extant among the city records; but the pension is not now received.

On the 10th of September, in the year 1520, the Minor Canons and Choristers were granted a charter of incorporation, which conferred upon them the privileges of perpetual succession, of having a common seal, of suing and being sued in all courts, whether spiritual or temporal, and of acquiring to them and their successors lands, services or advowsons to the yearly value of 10*l.* sterling.[g]

When the Cathedral was suppressed, 38th Henry VIII. this corporation was likewise dissolved; its possessions were then ascertained by Inquisition,[h] and the report of the jurors, as to the extent and value, was as follows:

St. Brigid parish.	In the strete, called Saynte Brydes-strete,[i] iii messuages, iii gardens and one orchard, worth, per annum, - - - -	XVIII*s.*
St. Nicholas without.	In the strete, called the New-strete,[k] one messuage, one garden and one orchard, worth, per annum, - - - - -	XI*s.*
Kilmaynan.	One messuage, viii acres arable and one of meadow,[l] worth, besides the chief-rent, annually, - - - - - -	XII*s.*
Cromlyn.	One messuage, xvi acres arable land,[m] worth, per annum, besides the chief-rent, - - - - - - -	VIII*s.*

f Dign. Dec. pag. 275.

g This charter was discovered, in 1745, by Dr. John Lyon, amongst the papers of a private gentleman; and was enrolled 7th of August, 16th Geo. II. See Append. Numb. XVIII.

h This inquest was made at Dublin, 25th Jan. 38 Hen. VIII. ten jurors were sworn, to value the possessions of the Minor Canons and Choristers.

i Matthew Barry, clerk of the council, in consideration of resigning a former lease, obtained a lease for ninety-nine years, commencing Michaelmas 1683, paying 4*l.* per annum for the first forty years, and 4*l.* 10*s.* for the rest of the term; this tenement is described in the lease as lying in Bryde-street, mearing on the east to Wickham's land, west to the King's pavement, north to Christ church land, and south to the Vicar's Choral and the Bishop of Kildare's land; containing from east to west four score and fourteen yards, in breadth at west end twenty yards, nineteen yards at the east end; upon this ground there were built, three houses in Bride-street, next adjoining the south side of little Chancery-lane, the whole of the south side of that lane, three houses next adjoining it on the west side of great Chancery-lane, and three houses on the east side of the same. Reg. Min. Canons. The heirs of Matthew Barry sold their interest in those premises, in 1732, for 500*l.* to Mr. Patrick Callan, who obtained, in 1743, a renewal for ninety-nine years, at 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* per annum, to which rent 1*l.* 1*s.* was to be added at the end of thirty-nine years. Notes of Dr. John Lyon, himself a Petit Canon.

k Jacob Poole, clothier, in consideration of 46*l.* fine, obtained a lease for sixty years, from 29th Sept. 1721, at 8*l.* per annum, of "a parcel of ground known by the name of the Pond-park, in New-street, containing in front, eastward, thirty-nine feet, on the west to the river (the Poddle) fifty-three feet, on the north three hundred and forty feet, and on the south to Lord Lanesborough's ground three hundred and sixty-five feet," for a fine of 40*l.* It was renewed for sixty years at the same rent, 29th Sept. 1749. Minor Canons regist.

l Thomas Fetherstone had a lease for ninety-nine years, from 29th Sept. 1707, of those lands, at 6*l.* per annum: they are thus described; one parcel, containing two acres, two roods, Irish measure, bounding west to the high-way to the Naas, east to the river Camock, south to Lord Ross's land, and north to the common land of Kilmainham, leading to it; the other parcel of four acres and ten perches, bounded on south and west with Lord Ross's land, east to Herbert's and Plunket's land, and north to lane leading to Herbert's land; this lease was renewed to Mr. Worrall for ninety-nine years, from 25th March 1748, at 6*l.* 6*s.* per annum, rent. Minor Canons regist.

It appears that these lands were granted to the Minor Canons by a Prior of Kilmainham.

m In 1609, Edmond Purcell was tenant to the Min. Canons, he paid 9*s.* *Irish* per annum, or 6*s.* 9*d.* *Sterl.* Archives Cath. H. Trin. Dub.

The greater part of these lands were, for a long time, concealed; they were divided into several distinct portions, of which the meares and bounds are destroyed. On the 28th March 1662, the Minor Canons preferred a petition to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, complaining that certain persons, of the names of Bruce, Purcell and Brereton, had unjustly detained from them, for upwards of twenty years preceding, four tenements and twenty-five acres, in the town and fields of Crumlin, without rendering any account for the same, and did refuse to give them possession; the same document sets forth, that these lands were the chief means for discharging the service of the cure of Crumlin: in consequence of this application, an order was issued to the parties to give possession or attend at the council board to shew their titles. We find that these lands were demised, 1st February, 14th Charles II. (1660) to Peter Holmes; they are described as being in four portions, comprising thirty-seven acres, three roods, and likewise four tenements in Cromlin; viz. sixteen acres in possession of Alexander Usher, and twenty-four acres, three roods in possession of Purcel, Brice and Brereton; Holmes was to hold them for thirty years, from lady-day following, paying 10*l.* fine and 6*l.* *Sterl.* per annum, rent.

It appears that Ignatius Purcel became purchaser of Holmes's interest, and the dispute between him and the Petit Canons being

Taullagh.	Eight messuages, vi gardens and v acres and a half arable land, [n] worth annually xx*s.* vi hens, value xii*d.* besides iii*s.* paid to the Vicars Choral. Total	xxi*s.*
Newcastell.	Four messuages, xxx acres arable and iii acres wood, meadow and pasture, [o] yearly value, besides chief-rent, - - - -	xviii*s.*
Lucan.	One messuage, xxxv acres arable, v acres pasture and wood, [p] worth, per annum, " ultra reprisas," - - - - -	xlv*s.*
Pension.	The said Canons receive annually, from the Proctor of the Cathedral, to be divided among them, - - - - -	xl*l.*
	Sum total [q] of their possessions and annuity	xlvi*l.* xiii*s.*

renewed, it was at last agreed, that the matter should be referred to Sir John Temple, Attorney-General, as arbitrator; the parties bound themselves in the sum of 100*l.* in April 1682, to abide his decision: in Feb. 1682, Edmond Dean had a lease of these lands in possession of Purcel, at 5*l.* per annum, for ninety-nine years, to commence from 1689.

On the 1st of January 1660, Matthew Barry had a lease of a moiety of the tithes of Cromlin from the Minor Canons, paying 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, for seven years, and 10*l.* for seven years more; and again, in 1665, the same tithes were demised to Barry for sixty-one years, at 10*l.* per annum, rent.

In 1669, the small tithes of Cromlin were leased by the Minor Canons, to Robert Jordan, for three years, at 30*s.* per annum. Minor Canons register.

There was, anciently, a dispute whether certain lands in Cromlin did belong to the parish church, or to the Petit Canons; it was adjudged in the court of Common Pleas, to be the property of the former. Note, dated 15th April 1696. From another document, in the register of the Minor Canons, the following account of those appropriations has been extracted.

	A.	R.	P.
Brice's church land, - -	25	0	8
Church land of Crumlin, - -	27	0	18
Petty Canons, - - -	16	3	22

[n] The Minor Canons, in consideration of a fine of 10*l.* demised those lands to Sir James Ware, 21st March 1664, for a rent of 30*s.* per annum, besides 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum to the Vicars Choral, and besides all chief rent and service of court to the Archbishop of Dublin; to hold during the term of sixty years, after the expiration of the lease made to Samuel Molyneaux, for seventy-one years, which did not expire till 1711. This deed describes the premises as follows: eight messuages with their back-sides and crofts in the town of Tallaght, together with eight acres of arable land in the fields of the town, commonly called Burgage-field and Drough field: the Archbishop's chief rent from these lands was 7*s.* 6*d.* as appears from the claims certified at Chichester house, and from a rent roll of the Archbishop's lands made by Wilkinson in 1660. Minor Canons regist.

The Petit Canons land, in Tallagh, were surveyed by Roger Kendrick, in 1745, and were found to contain 26 acres, 1 rood and 22 perches; the same parcels contain, according to the Archbishop's map, 23 acres, 3 roods and 21 perches.

From a note of Dr. John Lyons, in a register of the Minor Canons, we learn that those lands were demised, in 1750, at the following rents, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
One house, per annum, - - -	10	0	0
Two houses, two gardens and two acres, -	4	10	0
One house and garden, and four acres, -	4	12	0
Burgage field at 9*s.* per acre, being 9½ acres,	5	14	0
Total	24	16	0
Deduct Rent to Minor Canons, 2 2 0			
Archbishop's chief rent, 0 7 6	2	12	0
Vicars Choral, - - 0 2 6			
	22	4	0

[o] John Neville, Esq. had a grant of these lands, which are said to consist of several parcels, containing thirty-nine acres, two roods and twenty-three perches, to hold for sixty years, from 29th September 1724, rent 8*l.* per annum, fine 100*l.*

It appears from ancient deeds, that the lands of Newcastle were the grant of John Russel, but at what time they were bestowed is uncertain; the consideration given, was two pair of silver candlesticks to the church of Newcastle; those lands are not contiguous but scattered, and consist of above twenty several parcels. Minor Canons regist.

[p] In 1609, Sir W. Sarsfield was tenant of these lands, which had been the grant of one Henry Parker. John Hawkshaw, Gent. in consideration of his recovering and "supporting the Petty-Canons' title, and a fine of 8*l.* 10*s.*" obtained a lease for sixty years, from Michaelmas 1698, of about eighty-nine acres of land, rent 5*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, and 1*s.* per pound receivers fees: in 1746 this lease was renewed for sixty years more, and the rent raised to 16*l.* per annum and 16*s.* receivers fees; one John Hawkshaw held these lands from the Minor Canons, by lease, dated 1663, for forty-one years. Minor Canons register and records Christ-church.

[q] Besides what is mentioned in this Inquisition, the Minor Canons did possess certain tithes in the parish of Swords.

The Petit Canons' tithes, in Swords, were demised for sixty years, from lady-day 1699, for 11*l.* per annum, to John Hawkshaw, Gent. This lease was renewed 25th March 1746, for sixty years, at 12*l.* per annum, rent, and 12*s.* receivers fees. Reg. of Minor Canons.

From a rental of the Minor Canons, dated October 17th 1609, and extant among the archives of Christ-church, we find, they were then possessed of those tithes which were demised to Christopher Huetson for 10*s.* *Sterl.* per annum.

On 25th May 1657, the tithes belonging to the Petit Canons were ordered to be surveyed by the Parliament Commissioners: they were then possessed of the tithes issuing from Nicholas Taylor's lands, in Swords, one hundred and sixty acres; Caddle's lands seventy acres; also, from Bealing's, Talbot's, Russell's, and Handcock's lands, and from Jordan's farm; they are, in the Auditor-General's office, called the Burgage tithes of Swords. Extracts by Dr. John Lyon. From an Inquisition relative to the Archbishop's lands in Swords, about the year 1664, we learn that Jordan's farm contained, by estimation, twelve tenements, one house and forty-one acres.

In the yesr 1748, there was a suit commenced between the Dean and Chapter's tenant and the Minor Canons, relative to the tithes of Mooretown of Swords, a portion of that tract denominated, Burgage land.

It appears that the difference arose from there being two portions of land adjoining each other, each denominated Mooretown; but the proprietors of those tracts have, since 1641, been different persons; the one was called the Leaze of Rathbeal or Mooretown of the Leaze, the other, Mooretown of Swords, which mears on the common and was usually reputed to be Burgage land.

An entry in the book of Chapter-minutes, dated 4th April 1782, mentions "that the Canons had proved their right to the tithes of Mooretown, in Sword's parish."

I have been informed that there has been a compact entered into between the Dean and Chapter and the Minor Canons, whereby the latter have relinquished their right to any part of the tithes of Sword's parish; in consideration of which, they are freed from the charge of, each, maintaining a Chorister.

From the rental, among the Archives of Christ-church, before-mentioned, we find that they possessed a house in Shepe-street, of which I do not find any account elsewhere, rent 13*s.* *Sterl.* per annum; perhaps it was built at the upper end of their tenement in Bride-street, which reaches backward nearly to Ship-street, a matter not improbable, for the rental, alluded to, makes no mention of any ground in Bride-st. the original is written on parchment, but much decayed.

CHAPT. XIII.

Of the Vicars Choral.[a]

Archbishop Henry de Loundres, at the time he established the four Dignitaries, instituted the College of Vicars, for whose common support he granted the church of Keneth[b] with its appurtenances, in frankalmoigne.[1]

About the year 1244, Archbishop Luke, together with the Dean and Chapter, at the instance of Warin de Ffisacre a Canon of the Cathedral, granted to the Vicars an area of ground, held at that time by Warin from the oeconomy, for the purpose of building houses thereon for the use of their community.[2]

[1] Vide Append. Num. XIX.

[2] Vide Append. Num. XIX.

[a] We learn from Archbishop Alan, that in his time there were sixteen Vicars in the Cathedral; fourteen members of the Chapter had each a distinct Vicar; the Prebendaries of Tipper and Kilmatalway had one, those of Tipperkevin, Monmahennock, Rathmichael, and Tassagard, had one; the Prebendaries of Wicklow, Dunlavan, Yagoe, and Timothan paid 4*l.* per annum, to be distributed among that body; but the double Prebend of Donoghmore and the Prebend of Stagonil were free from any charge for the Vicars. Al. regist. fol. 177. Although he has not specified the fourteen members, who had each a separate Vicar, it is easy to discover that he means, the six Dignitaries; the Prebendaries of Swords, Clonmethan, St. Audoens, Castleknock, Mallahidert, Maynooth, Howth and Cullen, or the Archbishop's Vicar, who, by a rule which he informs us was made by Archbishop Walton, was endowed with the vicarage of St. Kevin, and had the privilege of wearing the hood (almisio) of a Petit Canon, by reason of the Archbishop's prerogative, as Prebendary of Cullen; but this custom has gone into disuse; neither has the Archbishop, now, any Choral Vicar. The Vicarage of St. Kevin's is united to St. Peter's, and forms part of the corps of the Archdeaconry of Dublin.

In the year 1615, there were but twelve Vicars; the yearly income of each was, at that time, 10*l.* they had likewise, a common-hall and chambers. Regal visitation. In 1639, as appears from the visitation of that year, there were twelve Vicars Choral; it appears their full number was, however, sixteen, as the places of the others are reported to be vacant.

Shortly after the restoration of King Charles II. on the 29th of April 1664, the Dean and Chapter settled the proportions of stall wages, which they agreed unanimously, should be restored according to the ancient customs of the church, and paid to the Vicars as follows: the four dignitaries, two Archdeacons, Prebendaries of Swords, Clonmethan, Castleknock, Mallahidert and Maynooth, each 3*l.* to their respective Vicars; Wicklow and Howth to their Vicar the like sum, Rathmichael and Monmahenock the like; St. Audoens, Tipperkevin and Yago the like; Stagonil, Kilmatalway and Tassagard the like; thus was a provision raised for fifteen Vicars, and as the college were only twelve in number, the remaining 9*l.* was applied, the one half to supply surplices and gowns for the singing boys, and the other half to be divided equally between the Deans and Chanters' Vicars: in this distribution the Prebendaries of Timothan, Donoghmore, Tipper, Dunlavan and Cullen, were omitted. In 1680 a change was made, in the proportions to be paid by the Prebendaries; the Dignitaries, however, continued each to maintain one Vicar as before; by this latter arrangement the Prebendaries were to contribute as follows:

	£.	s.	d.	
Preb. Swords - -	3	0	0	To Preb. of Swords Vicar.
Preb. Castleknock -	2	5	0	To Preb. of Castleknock's
—— Rathmichael -	0	15	0	Vicar.
Preb. Clonmethan -	2	5	0	To Preb. of Clonmethan's
—— Howth - -	0	15	0	Vicar.
Preb. Mallahiderd -	2	10	0	To Preb. of Mallahiderd's
—— Yago - -	0	10	0	Vicar.
Preb. Maynooth -	2	0	0	To Preb. of Maynooth's
—— Dunlavan -	1	0	0	Vicar.
Preb. Wicklow -	3	0	0	To Preb. Wicklow's Vicar.
Preb. St. Audoen's -	1	10	0	To the Dean's Vicar.
—— Monmohenock	0	15	0	
Preb. Stagonil - -	1	0	0	To surplices for Choristers.
—— Tipperkevin -	1	0	0	
—— Tassagard -	1	0	0	
—— Tipper - - -	1	0	0	
Preb. Kilmatalway -	1	10	0	To Chanter's Vicar.
—— Donoghmore -	0	10	0	

[b] The ecclesiastical history of the parish of Keneth or Kinneigh, is involved in great confusion; it lies scattered in two counties and seems scarcely to be comprised in any one diocess; a portion of its tithes is impropriate and belongs to the Earl of Kildare; another part is appropriated to the Vicars Choral, the Bishop of Kildare, and the incumbent of Rathmore; besides these, the Vicar, serving the cure, hath his portion.

These divisions seem to arise from the various appropriations originally made of its several appendant chapels; but neither the names of all these chapels, nor the extent of their parochial rights, are easily to be determined: Alan mentions the following, viz. Corbally, Inchegowre, Ballygarrah and Rathdownell; the latter three he calls, in another part of the same work, the chapels of Will. De-la-mer, Simon de Michan and Hughstown; he expresses much doubt upon the subject, and even says that the Bishop of Leighlin claimed these three latter as being within his diocess. Rep. Vir.

This parish comprises the hamlets of Rathdownell, Richardstown, Philipstown and Ballyhacket, in the barony of Rathvilly and county of Carlow; of Newtown, Ballarollan, Corbally and and Carrigeen, in the barony of Kilkea and Moone, Co. Kildare.

Although the chapels, mentioned by Alan, are now extinct, it may be observed that some of the town-lands, just enumerated, still retain their names; and Ballyhacket, which is one of them, is likewise the name of a rectory, whereof the Prioress of Grane was found seized when that nunnery was suppressed; it is not, however, mentioned by Alan among the chapels appendant on Kinneigh. Vide Inq. Ch. Rem. off. 30 & 34 Hen. VIII.

According to Ralph Hansard's account, who was incumbent of this parish in 1748, the Vicars Choral had one-third of the tithe of the whole parish and the Bishop of Kildare another third of all, except Carrigeen, which the Earl of Kildare had; the incumbent of Rathmore had the remaining third from the town-lands of Rathdaniel, Richardstown and Carrigeen, and the Vicar, serving the cure, the remaining third portion of the other town-lands. Terrier, Dioc. regist.

Those portions which the Earl and Bishop of Kildare, and that which the Vicars Choral enjoy, are properly the rectorial tithes; the remaining third enjoyed by the incumbent of of Rathmore and the Vicar, is, I apprehend, a deduction for service of the cure; hence the Report of 1630 states, that the great tithe of Kinneith was then divided between the Bishop of Kildare and the Vicars Choral. The Earl and Bishop of Kil-

Dean Chaddesworth, after his election to the Deanery, granted to them half a messuage and a mill, in St. Patrick-street, subject to the rent and service due therefrom, to the Archbishop. [3]

On the 8th of April 1395, Archbishop Robert de Walby made a grant to them of the parish church of Athderg. [c]

During the reign of Richard II. the Vicars obtained a charter [d] of incorporation, which, however, was entirely superseded by that granted to them in the reign of Charles I.

[3] See Annals St. Pat. Cath. 1284.

dare derive their title from the monastic establishments, which were, in former times, proprietors either of the appendant chapels or of that portion directly appendant on the mother church; those monasteries were, those of St. Thomas near Dublin, and of Grane in Kildare. This matter will appear evident from perusing the following evidences.

The right to the church of Kinneath was disputed in very early times, but settled by composition of Archbishop Hugh Ynge, who divided it between the Nuns of Grane and the Vicars; it appears that Walter de Riddelsford, who founded the nunnery of Grane about the year 1200, did grant to them the right of patronage of Kenheigh, a donation which was conconfirmed by Pope Innocent III. in 1207. Monast. Anglic. vol. III. pag. 1022.

Among a collection of ancient charters and grants, presented to the university by Bishop Sterne, there is a bull of Pope Julius II. first year of his pontificate, (1503,) whereby he nominated Delegates to hear the complaints of the Prioress of Grane against the Abbot of St. Thomas, and Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who had injured her by intrusion upon Rathenvyla, Chygwory, Ballygearylth, and Ratheath, chapels united to Kynnhegh. By another bull of the same Pope, dated 9th of his pontificate, he appointed Delegates to hear a matter of complaint of the same against the Vicar's Choral. Among these names we may discover in Chygwory, Inchigore; in Ballygearylth, Ballygarrah; Rathenvyla gives name to that barony, in the county of Carlow, wherein this parish is situated.

From another controversy, terminated by Archbishop Luke, we learn that there was a Vicar endowed here in very remote times; the parties in this dispute were, the Chapter of St. Patrick's on the part of the Vicars, and Sir Robert Fitz-Roulin, knight; it was adjudged, that Sir Robert should present the Vicar, who was to enjoy all obventions of the church and its chapels, and to pay a pension to the Vicars of St. Patrick's, of xx marks per annum. Al. regist. fol. 166.

In 1285, another agreement was entered into between Tho. de Chedd, Rector of Kinneath, and the Vicars; the latter were to enjoy, for five years, all the profits and oblations issuing from the chapel of Corbally, in lieu of the pension above mentioned; saving, however, the tithe of wool and lambs, and also, a piece of arable land which had been lately recovered in the court of the Bishop of Kildare; the Vicars were to provide a Chaplain to serve in the chapel, and were to have liberty, at the expiration of five years, to continue to hold the chapel for five years more, or to take again their pension. Al. regist. fol. 157. From a plea roll of 18th Edward II. it appears that Thomas de Chaddesworth (the same, probably, who was Dean of this Cathedral) was presented to this Rectory by Haket Fitz-Robert, then lord of the manor and patron of the church; he is, in all likelihood, the Thomas de Chedd, above-named; from the same record it appears that Mariana, grand-daughter and heiress of Haket, had two daughters coheiresses, whereby the inheritance became divided, and the right of one was conveyed to Walter de Ridelsford; it is not improbable, therefore, that this Walter conveyed, after this period, his moiety to the Nuns of Grane, and that they, from thence, derived their right, and not from their foundation charter in 1200, as is stated by Ware and others.

Archbishop Alan says this parish was, in ancient times, parcel of the Archbishop's mensals; and, asserts likewise, that the Nuns of Grane and the Vicars Choral, presented to the vicarage alternately; it might have been so in his time; but, I apprehend, it was not so at a period more remote; he mentions a composition, by Archbishop Rokeby, (William II.) which so settled it; but this is not now extant, and from his words it appears that the first presentation of those Nuns was in Alan's own time; "Ad quam dictæ moniales (1515) primitus presentarunt dominum Dionisium Barnwall." Vide Alani Rep. Viride, voce Kinneath.

Of the chapels appendant on Kinneigh, two were within the diocess of Leighlin, viz. Inchegore and Rathdownell, and those chapels were both appropriated to the monastery of St. Thomas near Dublin, as appears from the following records: Rathmore, in the same diocess, was likewise granted to those Canons by Theobald Walter, in 1210, and by Roger de Licestre, (King's Coll. pag. 168); perhaps the cure of those three were served by one Curate or Vicar nominated by the Monks, and that the composition, which still continues, originated at this period.

About the year 1210; Allan Ostricerius granted to the abbey of St. Thomas near Dublin, the church of Kenheth. King's Col. pag. 167. About the same time Hamo de Nottingham granted to them the chapel of Inchegory, in the diocess of Leighlin, together with its tithes, (King's Col. pag. 170. Rep. Vir. voce cap. Will. De-la-mer.) In the 33d year of Edw. I. John, son of Peter de Ballimore, lord of the manor of Rathdonwyll, diocess of Leighlin, sued the Abbot for the advowson of that church, but in the following year the parties came to a compromise, and for ten marks of silver he conveyed his right to the Abbot, Ralph de Windsor. Plea roll, 33d Edward I. and King's Collect. pp. 170, 188. Three years after (2d Edw. II.) Nicholas Fitz-Nicholas de Rathdownell conveyed whatever claim he might have therein to the same Abbot, by a deed which was witnessed by William de Burgh, "Custos Hiberniæ." King's Collect. pp. 170, 284. This Nicholas was descended from one Adam de Rathdownell who, in the reign of Henry III. had possessed the manor and advowson; but the property, having been conveyed from their family to one from whom Peter de Ballimore derived, his confirmation, was only to make more secure the Abbot's title. Plea roll, 33d Edward I. By Inquisition, 28th Hen. VII. it was found that, in 1524, the Abbot was seized of the tithes of Rathdownyll and Inchegore, which he had leased, for sixty-one years, to the Earl of Kildare.

The Vicars Choral are now sole patrons of the vicarage and impropriators of one-third of the tithes of the parish; their portion of the rectory was granted by the patent of Cha. I. for 20*l.* per annum; but it afterwards decreased so much in value that it was leased, in 1665, to Richard Hosier, for sixty years, he paying 15*s.* per annum for first three years and 2*l.* for the residue of that term; it was afterwards demised for 6*l.* per annum to the same tenant. Vicars regist.

[c] Before the appropriation here alluded to, it had been granted, by Archbishop Luke, for the purposes of providing lights and paying the Vicars serving at the altar of the Virgin Mary, within this Cathedral. Vide Append. Num. XIX. Rich. de Havering made it prebendal, and gave it to Adam de Staunton. In 1630, the Lord Ranelagh farmed this Parish from the Vicars; he seems to have been a considerable intruder into the property of this college.

Somewhat of the ancient constitution of this college may be learned from a report made by the Regal Commissioners in the year 1539, when the King was about changing the constitution of the convent of the Holy Trinity into that of a Dean and Chapter, to be formed, as was by them proposed, on the model of St. Patrick's Cathedral: from thence we learn, that the Vicars lived within the precincts of the church and kept up hospitality in a collegiate manner, eating daily at a common table; they were obliged to attend divine service at the Cathedral, day and night; the first or chief of them was called the Sub-dean or Dean's Vicar [e]; he was President of the Vicars College, where he enjoyed very considerable authority; it appears that he possessed a stall in the Choir and seat in the Chapter, but messed at the common table of the Vicars: the next Vicar was called the Succentor, Subchanter or Chanter's Vicar, and had likewise a seat in the Chapter, as had, probably, all the Vicars of the four dignitaries, who, nevertheless, eat at the table of the Vicars Choral; the duty of the Succentor was to instruct the boys of the choir in singing and to settle the table of weekly services; the Chancellor's Vicar assisted that Dignitary in the execution of his office, which was that of amending the false latin in the choir books; the Treasurer's Vicar was subject to that dignitary, in a similar manner, in the execution of his office. Although those members of the college appear to have had seats in the Chapter, it does not, however, follow from thence, that they had voices in the Chapter, or could vote [f] either at the election of the Archbishop or Dean, or upon any other occasion, or that they were Prebendaries; the constitution, recommended for the arrangement of the new Chapter of Christ Church, is declared to be formed on the model of St. Patrick's; and, although the two elder Vicars of that Cathedral were to have Prebends and to be allowed voices in the Chapter in all capitular acts, the two younger were to have the title of Minor Canons, and were prescribed to wear the habit and perform the duties of such; a difference also existed at this period, between the mode of appointing the principal Vicars and that of the others; how the former were appointed is not clearly expressed; but the latter were nominated by the Dean [g] solely; they all, however, held their offices for life, nor could they be suspended or dismissed without just and legal cause.

After their incorporation by King Rich. II. we find frequent mention made of this college among the records and on the parliament rolls; these are the only matters relative to their history which can be now collected, inasmuch as their ancient records have been lost, among which we have particularly to deplore an ancient register, denominated the black book of the Vicars Choral. [h]

In the 12th of Edw. IV. a petition was made to the parliament, sitting at that time in Dublin, by the Vicars of St. Patrick's Cathedral, which represented that they and their predecessors were seized of the seignory of Shanganagh, time out

[d] This charter was not, I apprehend, enrolled; at least there is not a vestige of it to be traced upon any roll now extant.

[e] In ancient times the Dean's Vicar of St, Patrick's Cathedral rented the alterages of the Choir; Adam Loftus who was proctor to the oeconomy in 1594, gives credit for the sum of *5l.* "for the alterages of the parish quier, with the Dean's Vicar:" James Usher, in 1660, does the like. It has been usual for the Dean, even in later times, to direct all licenses of marriage to the Dean's Vicar.

[f] There is some difficulty in this matter; nor is it intelligible what sort of preeminence, it could be, that those Vicars had in the Choir and Chapter, to which the report of the regal Commissioners allude. Neither is it clear what difference there was between the Deans and Chanters Vicars, who were the chief members of the Vicars' College, and the Sub-dean and Suc-centor who governed the college of Minor Canons. By the original constitutions of the latter society it was established, that they were to have no voice in the Chapter; the preeminence alluded to, as possessed by the Sub-dean or Dean's Vicar and the Succentor, might have been that of aiding with their council, although excluded from the privilege of determining by their vote, or perhaps they might enjoy some authority by deputation in the absence of the dignitaries themselves.

[g] The article of nomination to a Choral Vicar's place, in this Cathedral, is always in the Dean's name and signed with his seal, but confirmed by chapter; they are installed by one of their own body, usually the Dean's Vicar.

[h] This book existed, however, at a period subsequent to the restoration, for we find in the book of Chapter-minutes, the following entry, dated 22d May 1662: "the Vicars Chorals blackbook delivered to William Lightburne (Proctor) to keep till next chapter day."

of mind; that, on the 3d of April, in the 9th of Henry IV. they had leased it for thirty-six years, for the yearly rent of 10*s.* to Thomas Laules Carragh, who, before the termination of the first twelve years, was to build an edifice of stone there, under penalty of forfeiting twenty marks; after that, on 2d March, 25th Hen. VI. they had leased eighty acres of arable land in that seignorie to Esmond Walshe, Gent. for twelve years, at the yearly rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* The petitioners complained, that he was then indebted to them six marks of the above rent, and continued after the expiration of the lease still to hold the land, paying nothing for the same; that they had sued him in Chancery, the authority of which court he had disobeyed. It was therefore enacted, that a proclamation should be made, requiring the said Esmonde to appear at the quindene of St. Michael, before the Justices of Common-place, to answer to this complaint, and the judges of that court were empowered to determine the case, as if it were an action commenced in their court, at common law; Walshe was to give security that he would content the Vicars in their claim; which, if he should fail to do, he was to forfeit 40*l.* half to the King and half to the Vicars, and be declared out of the King's protection. [4]

From a supplication of the Vicars, presented in the same year to the parliament sitting at Naas, we learn, that Michael, Archbishop of Dublin, had purchased a certain place in Clondalkin, called the Bay, which he had given to the Vicars and their successors, that the mass of Jesus should be the more honorably performed every friday in that Cathedral for ever; of this land the Vicars complained they were dispossessed by John Galbarry, bastard-son of Nicholas Galbarry, deceased, who was not amenable to common law. [i] The Parliament, therefore, enacted, that proclamation should be made, requiring him to appear at the castle of Dublin, on the quindene of Easter next ensuing, to shew his right to the lands, if any he had, which if he should fail to do, it was to be decreed the property of the Vicars by the Justices of Common-place sitting in that place; the judges of that court were likewise authorised to determine the cause if he should appear. [5]

We find the Dean and Chapter petitioning the parliament, which sat in Dublin, in the fifteenth year of the same King, against Esmond Harold, who, under the title of Galbarry, had invaded their possessions in the Bay [k]: they stated that the Vicars had assigned to them the said land for performance of the said mass, that Harold had disseized and otherwise molested them and was not amenable to law; the parliament therefore, at their request, issued a similar proclamation, as in the former case, against Galbarry. [6]

The Vicars of this Cathedral, had a special reservation in their favour included in the act of general resumption of the 8th of Henry VII. under the denomination of the "Vikeries del Cathedralle Esglise du Saint Patrik." [7]

The act of resumption, made by the parliament which sat at Drogheda in the tenth year of the same King, contains a special reservation that the said resumption shall not extend to the "Chorale Vicars of Saint Patrike in the lande of Irelande, which is of the Kingis foundacion, soe and upon condicion, that the saide Chorale Vicars and theire successours shall praye for the goode estate and prosperite of our Soverain Lord the King that now is, King Henry VII. and his most dere wyff the Quene, the Prince and all theyr noble generacion, and after theyr decesses to pray for the soules of theme all in tyme to come." [8]

4 Stat. Roll unpublished. 5 Stat. Roll unpublished. 6 Stat. Roll unpublished.
7 Stat. Roll unpublished. 8 Stat. Roll unpublished.

i Of "marche reule." Stat. 15 and 16 Edw. IV. where he is likewise stiled J. Barry.

k See more of this tract, called the Bay, which appears to be the same with Jesus-farm, in chapt. XI. pag. 71.

The act of 28th Henry VIII. for the final suppression of abbeys and monasteries, provides, that nothing therein contained shall be prejudicial to the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's church of Dublin, nor to their successors, for their right or title to the benefice and tithes of Kynneth within the counties of Catherlogh and Kildare. [9]

Upon the dissolution [1] of this church, in the thirty-eighth year of the same King's reign, this college shared the fate of the Cathedral itself. The house of the Vicars Choral and its precinct was assigned, in the 1st of Edward VI. for a grammar-school, with convenient lodging for the master and usher; the patent constituted Mathew Talbot master, and William Talbot usher, the former with a salary of 20*l.* Irish, the latter of 10*l.* Irish, payable out of the Exchequer.

The same charter, which, in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary, restored the Cathedral to its ancient rights, revived, likewise, the college of Vicars Choral, and confirmed to them and their successors, for ever, in like manner as to the other members of the Cathedral, their respective possessions; it likewise dissolved the school which had, on the suppression of the Cathedral, been established in their hall by letters patent.

In the 16th of Charles I. the Vicars Choral obtained a new charter, [10] whereby their number was fixed at twelve, of whom five at least were to be priests; the Dean's Vicar, one of the five, to be chief of the corporation and to have 10*l.* per annum more than any of the rest, out of their revenues, with a power to punish any of the Vicars for crimes committed either in the church or in their college, and to make bye-laws for their better government, provided the Dean or Sub-dean should approve: the Dean was empowered to visit the college every year, when he might punish by mulct, suspension or expulsion; and might make bye-laws, with consent of the other three dignitaries, the Archdeacon of Dublin or the major part of them, provided such laws were not repugnant to the laws of the land [m]; the

[9] Stat. Roll.

[10] Vide Append. Num. XIX.

[1] There were sixteen members in this college at the suppression of the Cathedral, thirteen of whom received, each, a pension of 4*l.* one received 3*l.* another 2*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* and the sixteenth 2*l.* annually.

[m] Several orders of Chapter, regulating the conduct of the Vicars, are to be found on the books of Chapter minutes; the offences, most frequently alluded to, are those following, viz. neglecting to build or repair their hall; making leases without consent of the Dean and Chapter, and neglecting their duty in the Choir; instances of the first have been already given in Chapt. II. note n; for offences of the second sort they were, at various times, admonished, and particularly on the 26th of May 1699; and, upon another occasion, a complaint, to the chief governor, was threatened: a pecuniary mulct was the usual punishment of the last; and by a minute of the 16th July 1717, it was ordered, that the money forfeited by the Vicars for neglect of duty, should be laid out in wainscotting their hall; an order, regulating their apparel, occurs among the minutes of Chapter, 31st May 1678, when they were admonished not to wear swords in the precincts and also to provide gowns against Michaelmas-day, to wear under their surplices.

The Deans of this Cathedral have, at all times, found it a matter of no small difficulty to govern this unruly body. Swift, not unfrequently, mentions the difficulty he experienced in subduing his "rebellious choir;" on the 12th of April 1692, certain statutes were ordained, which they were commanded to fix up in their hall; to these, each member was required to subscribe immediately after his nomination; this practice was adhered to until the year 1786, since which time it has gone into disuse; the last name which appears subscribed, is one that will ever do credit to their society, I mean that of James Verschoyle, the present Bishop of Killala. Those orders and statutes are as follows:

"Orders and statutes, made by the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, for the government of the Viccars Choralls of said church.

Of the Choir and admittance of Viccars Choralls.

The ellection of Viccars is to be made according to the foundation of the church; the Viccars of the four Dignitaries and the Archdeacon of Dublin being to be ellected by the respective Dignitaries, which being done, the admittance is to be performed in such manner as heretofore has been used, they having first taken the oath before the Deane or Sub-deane.

Of the qualifications of such as are to be chosen and admitted Viccars Choralls.

I. They are to be men of good repute, civill conversations, noe swearers, drunkards or whore-mongers, nor infamous livers, nor ale-house-keepers, players, dancing-masters, or men of any offensive or scandelous imployments or professions.

II. They are to be well skilled in musick and fitted for voyces to the service of the Choire, soe as to be able to sing their parts in the usual anthems of the church at first sight.

Of the office and behaviour of the Viccars in God's house.

I. As att all times and in all places, they shall be grave and modest in attire, hayre, gate, and gesture, see especially in time and place of divine service, and that none of them presume to serve in the Choire, but in their gowns and surplices: alsoe they shall dilligently attend divine offices in the church, both forenoone and afternoone, at the canonicall houres, every day.

salary of the twelve Vicars to be apportioned by the Dean and Chapter, with consent of the chief governor; the appointment upon every vacancy was vested solely in the Dean, but the four Dignitaries and the Archdeacon of Dublin might chuse out of the body their own Vicars, in like manner as they had been before accustomed; the visi-

II. That none of them absent himselfe from the church nor neglect his duty there or goe into the country abroad without speciall licence obtained of the Deane or his absence of the Sub-deane, or one of the four Dignitaries, under paine of such punishment as the Deane, or in his absence the Sub-deane, shall thinke meet or proportioned to their delinquencie, according to the statute.

III. That every Viccar be present at the church and attend the service att the time appointed, before or upon the ringing of the last peale, that the congregation waite not for their comeing, and if none be their att that time, they shall be punished att the Deane's discretion.

IV. That every Viccar that comes not into the church till after the confession, shall "toties quoties" pay two pence "nomine pœnæ,', and if not till after the psalms, shall "toties quoties" pay four pence "nomine pœnæ," and if not till after the first lesson then he shall pay six pence, and if any Viccar shall negligently absent himselfe from the whole service, then he shall "toties quoties" pay twelve pence "nomine pœnæ," and if any Viccar shall, twice in the same weeke, absent himselfe without licence obtained he shall receave an admonition, and if after three admonitions he shall continue negligent, he shall be expelled. Provided, nevertheless, and it is ordered, that every Viccar shall have two services allowed him in every weeke, to be absent, soe that he give notice thereof to the Deanes Viccar to the end that another may attend.

V. That every one of the Deane and Dignitaries Viccars, in his turne, weekely, beare the office of a monitor and bring in weekely a noate of absences or any other defaults against these statutes, to the Deane, or in his absence to the Sub-deane, and in case the monitor prove to be partiall in keeping of the roll, the same monitor pay for his default five shillings "toties quoties" or more if the offence require.

VI. That every Viccar, at his first entrance into the Choire, doe behave himselfe reverently and doe accustomed obeyance to the Deane, allsoe at his coming forth, and if, in the time of service, any have occation to cross the Choire, to doe their accustomed reverence.

VII. That no Vicar sitt in his seat att the time of performing divine service, except in reading of the lessons, or use any other posture of body than may beseeme gravity, reverence and attentness to his sacred imployment in which he shall abstaine from all private talkeings, whisperings and laughings, but shall reverently behave himselfe, as in the presence and house of God.

VIII. That every Viccar shall receave the holy comunion four times in the yeare at the least, and if any omitt the same, he shall pay for each omission five shillings; but if he omitt at four times appointed in the yeare, he shall, after admonition, be expelled.

IX. That the Steward shall, quarterly, upon demand, pay to the Deane, in his absence to the Sub-deanes hands, all such sumes as shall be levied upon the Viccars defaulting in any kind "sub pœna expulsionis;" and it is the intention hereof, that the mulcts imposed upon the absenters and such as are negligent, shall be divided amongst the present and dilligent, or upon the reparration of their colledge or comon hall, or any other good use tending to the speciall benefitt of that societie, according to the discretion of the Deane and Chapter.

X. That att the entrance of the Deane (or in his absence the Sub-deane) into the Choire, every Viccar shall stand up, thereby expressing their due respect unto him, and soe att his goeing out according to the statute alsoe.

XI. Also, every Viccar, att his goeing to read any lesson, littanies or to the Lord's table, shall, both goeing and att his returne, expresse a civell obeydance to the Deane, or in his absence to the Sub-deane, Dignitaries or Prebends next their, in order and rank, and the Viccars shall, each of them, and att all times, behave themselves reverently towards the Deane, Dignitaries and Prebendaries of St. Patrick's, and they may not presume to put on their hatts at any time in "Nave Ecclesiæ," or walke in the yeles of the church in the presence of the Deane or Sub-deane with their hatts on.

XII. They shall be liable to the Deans visitation att the set times thereof, as it hath beene accustomed in their colledge, and shall appeare in the Chapter-house before the Deane and Chapter, when they are thereunto called upon all occasions, and if the Deane and Chapter, in some speciall causes that concernes the good of the church, urge any Viccar to declare his knowledge and the said Viccar refuse to declare the same, he shall be urged thereunto by all lawfull meanes, and if he shall then refuse, he shall be (after three admonitions) expelled.

XIII. That when any fault shall be committed by any Viccar, which is not plainely reduceable to some of these named in the statutes, or where these names are not attented with punishment plainely expressed, the offenders shall be censured for such their defaults, according to the discretion of the Deane in his visitation, or otherwise by the Deane and Chapter, by pecuniarie mulcts, publique acknowledgements, suspention, sequestration of meanes, expulsion, as the qualitie of the fault shall require.

Of their behaviour one towards another.

I. Noe Viccar shall implead another by suites in law, for matters concerning the church, without consent of the Deane; and, therefore, in matters of difference, they are first to seeke for redress from the Deane or Sub-deane.

II. He that giveth another opprobrious words, shall make publique acknowledgment of the wrong and be admonished, and after three admonitions, if he amend not, he is to be expelled; and he that shall notoriously slander another by the charge of a scandelous defence, either publiquely or by a libell, shall acknowledge this fault and beare such punishment as the Deane and Chapter shall thinke fitt.

III. He that strikes another, eyther with hand or foote, or any other way, in the church, shall be expelled; and if it be in any other place, he shall be punished at the discretion of the Deane and Chapter.

IV. He that shall (being Steward) defraude the societie or any one Viccar shall make restitution, or after two admonitions be expelled.

V. That the Steward of the Viccars shall, within six weekes after his yeare is ended, yeild a true accompt to the rest of the Viccars and pay all arreares that shall be in his hand att that time, and if he shall be, upon complaint, found faulty, he shall be punished accordeing to the discretion of the Deane and Chapter.

Of their behaviour abroad.

I. That every Viccar is soe to demeane himself abroad, as he may in a good example to others and raise noe scandall to the church he belongs unto; and noe Vicar is to haunt ale-houses or tavernes or suspicious scandelous places or be out of his lodgeing or house, or colledge, att unseasonable times of the night, that is after ten att night, under paine of punishment, as the Deane and Chapter shall think fitt.

II. A Viccar, knowne and proved to be a common swearer, drunkard or incontinent liver, shall be expelled; and, if any Viccar shall keepe an ale-house, or wine-taverne or house of ill resort, he shall be corrected by the Deane and Chapter, and if he submitt not to such reformation as they shall think meete, he shall be immediately expelled. To the intent that none may plead ignorance for his delinquencie and disobediance, the Viccars shall have two fair copies of their statutes transcribed, the one to hang up in their vestry, the other to be kept amongst their writings, and once every halfe yeare, on the first Monday after Easter-day and Michaelmas, shall meete in their common

torial power of the Archbishop, [n] as exercised by him in times past, was likewise reserved to him and his successors; to the college was granted the privilege of having a common seal, of suing and being sued as a corporate body; the charter likewise confirmed to them their possessions which are therein recited, and which they were to hold by soccage in capite and not by knights service in capite, nor common knights' service, and reserved only a crown rent of 40*s.* per annum; they were prohibited from leasing any of their possessions for a longer term than one year without consent of the Dean and Chapter, they were further bound to the payment of 20*l.* per annum to the Master of the Choristers, called Master of the song, [o] and 16*l.*

hall where the Deanes Viccar shall read unto them all these statutes distinctly, to the end they may the better know and doe their duty and avoid the penalties and mulcts which attend the neglect thereof.

By the Rev. Michaell Jephson, M. A. Dean of the Cathedrall-church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, by the advise and consent of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Synge, Precentor; the Rev. Dr. Samuel Foley, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church aforesaid; and the Rev. Dr. Dive Downes, Archdeacon of Dublin: it is this day, being Tuesday, the twelfth day of Aprill 1692, enacted, that the Vicars Choralls of the Cathedrall-church aforesaid, doe not hereafter presume to grant away, alien, demise, let or dispose any part or parcell of the lands, tenements, hereditaments which they now doe possess and enjoy in right of theire being Vicars Choralls of Saint Patrick's aforesaid, to any person or persons, bodyes pollitique or incorporate, for any greater or longer estate or terme, than the terme of one yeare, without the consent and allowance of the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Patrick's aforesaid, under payne of immediate expultion and deprivation for the same, to every such of the aforesaid Viears who shall transgress herein.

It is on the same day likewise ordered, by the authority aforesaid, by the advice and consent aforesaid, that the foregoing statute be annexed to the statutes now in use, called the Vicars orders, &c. and that every of the now Vicars Choralls of Saint Patrick's doe consent, conforme and submitt thereunto, and in testimony thereof, subscribe the same, when thereunto required by the Deane, under pain of suspension for refusall of the same, and that the same be performed by every one, hereafter to be admitted Vicars Chorall, att the time of his admission.

19th April 1693,

[n] Some traces of the exercise of visitorial power, by the Archbishop, over the members of this college, occur in an ancient visitation book, extant in the Regist. of the diocess. It appears from thence, that on the 23d of April, in the year 1639, the Archbishop visited this college and interrogated each of the Vicars then present, Whether they acknowledged him as their visiter? whether they admitted, that, as Archbishop of Dublin, he had power to visit them, as well in their public, as private houses? To this every one of them did assent, except Randolph Jewett, who answered, that he did not know whether he was their visiter or not; and being further interrogated, he required time to consider thereupon. Afterwards, Thomas Loe, speaking of the new statutes which were propounded to the Vicars, said, "that to live under them was to live under slavery," or words to that effect. I presume, by the new statutes was meant, the charter of incorporation of 16 Cha. I. which passed the great seal about eighteen months after this time. The Archbishop then adjourned his visitation till the 14th of May, on which day, he admonished the Vicars to appear in the Chapter house of St. Patrick's Cathedral and to receive such articles, as he should minister unto them: upon this occasion we find two members of that body, Dan. Wibrowe and Will. Ballard did dissent from any thing, which they had spoken during this visitation, which might hinder their appeal to the King and Chancery of Ireland."

On the 14th of May and on several days during the following months of June and July, proceedings went on against the above-mentioned and some other members of this body; but, after a short time, proceedings appear to have ceased against all, except Randolph Jewett and Will. Ballard: on the 4th of July the former returned the following answer to the third question, which was, upon this occasion, proposed to him, viz. "that he had been a lay-man for the space of nine years preceding, and likewise was at that time and when he came out of England upon invitation of the Rev. the Dean of St. Patrick's." Hence it appears, that the process instituted against him was grounded upon the charter of Philip and Mary, which required that the Vicars Choral should be priests; accordingly we find he was deprived; however, on the 28th May 1641, in consequence of a petition presented by him to the Archbishop, praying his Grace to restore him to his Vicars place, for the better maintenance of his wife and family, he having done his best service for the church for eleven years, the Archbishop, in consideration of his submission and considering his skill and the sweetness of his voice, "ex premissis, et aliis justis considerationibus, &c. dominationem "suam in ea parte specialiter moventibus," did retract the diffinitive sentence of deprivation, which had been promulgated, and entirely restored him to his Vicars' Chorals place, and declared, that from thenceforth he should be esteemed one of that body: this act is said to be done by the Archbishop, in his palace of St. Sepulchre's, within the Close of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Randolph Jewett was Organist when the Vicars patent was passed, and the sum of 20*l.* per annum is reserved to him as teacher of the singing boys.

Of what nature the charge against Ballard was, does not appear; he was suspended "ab officio et beneficio" on 29th April 1640, by the Archbishop, and afterwards deprived; but, on the 27th May 1641, having petitioned the Dean and Chapter, he was restored by them, in consideration of his poverty; the Chapter likewise granted to him the sum of 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* to be paid by the Proctor of the church. It is to be observed, moreover, that the Archdeacon alone "suspended his voice" upon this occasion; from hence it appears probable, as the Archdeacon was the Archbishop's son, that this measure did not meet with that prelate's approbation.

On the 30th of April 1644, the same Archbishop visited this college and continued his visitation by successive prorogations to the 6th, 7th and 9th of May; on which last day, "with the unamous assent and consent of the Dean and Chapter, he did order, that the Minister attending service in the Choir, should have the mulct of those Vicars that did neglect their duty there."

It is remarkable, that in 1640, the Dean visited this college, as surrogate of the Archbishop.

[o] In a book belonging to the Vicars, there is written by the hand of Swift, the following account of the revenues of the Master of the song; when this entry was made J. Worrall served that office in both the Cathedrals of this city.

"The whole income of the Master of the song, for the maintenance of six Choristers in both Cathedrals, Feb. 4th 1725-6.

From Christ-church.			
Paid to the Master, per annum, - - -	36	0	0
From St. Patrick's.			
By the Vicars patent, out of their old rent, per annum, - - - - - - -	20	0	0
By the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, per annum, - - - - - - - -	22	0	0
For surplices from four Prebendaries - -	4	0	0
	46	0	0

yearly towards the maintenance of two boys, to be added to the number of four Choristers, who were before that time established; for and in consideration of this grant, a fine of 17*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* was to be paid into the Exchequer.

By a clause, in the act of settlement, the Lord Lieutenant and Council were allowed to appropriate a suitable proportion of the tithes, which had been forfeited by the rebellion, as an additional provision for the better maintenance of the Vicars and Choir-men of the two Cathedrals of the metropolis: of the property thus appropriated, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Deans of the two Cathedrals were appointed Trustees; to those persons, it was for that purpose assigned by two patents, the one dated 16th June, 20th Cha. II. and the other 13th Sept. 23d of the same king: for a more ample account of those possessions,[p] the reader is referred to the History of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

By Inquisitions,[q] made in the thirty-eight year of Henry VIII. we are furnished with ample accounts of the possessions which this college enjoyed at that time.

	£.	s.	d.
By the augment. from the diocess of Dublin -	38	0	0
Total of the Master's income	120	0	0
The Master hath not been paid that out of the rectory of Rathmore, let to Paul Barry, Esq. with other impropriations, ever since he came in which was in 1714 - - - -	6	0	0
He hath also been stopt out of Monktown, for four years past, by the said Mr. Barry -	3	0	0
	9	0	0
So the Master received clear, but	111	0	0

This income was settled on the Master of the song near sixty years ago, and was then as valuable as twice that sum is now, yet the present Master loseth 9*l.* even of that sum: I do therefore recommend it to the Trustees for the augmentation to consider the matter.

Deanry-house, Feb. 4th 1725 6. Jonath. Swift.

This affair was settled by the Trustees, to the satisfaction of the Dean's Vicar, Master of the song.

J. Swift."

[p] This fund is usually known by the name of the Vicars' augmentation estate; whereas that property, which they before possessed, is called the old estate.

	£.	s.	d.
The yearly rent of the old estate of the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral, amounted in 1701, to - - - - - -	348	4	8
The augmentation estate appropriated to the Vicars and Choir-men of both Cathedrals, produced in the same year the yearly rent of	295	0	0
Total amount -	643	4	8

Those rents have encreased considerably since that period; with the renewal fines, they now supply very ample means to the Trustees, to provide persons endowed with suitable talents; and, if we may judge from the effect, this trust has been fulfilled in a very judicious manner, inasmuch as there is not, at this present a Cathedral in Great Britain wherein the Choral service is better performed than in those of St. Patrick and Christ Church, in this metropolis.

[q] An Inquest was held on Monday next before the ascension, 1st Edward IV. when twelve jurors were sworn, who reported the extent and value of all the possessions of this college, which are situated within the city or county of Dublin; an exemplification, by "inspeximus," was granted at the request of the Vicars under the seal of the court of Exchequer, 1st April, 20 Eliz. the extent and value of their possessions in the counties of Meath and Louth were determined by two Inquisitions of the 15th of June in the same year, and each by twelve jurors, which were likewise exemplified with that before-mentioned; the variations are not numerous; such as are at all deserving of attention are noticed in their proper places.

The Vicars have some possessions situated within the county of Dublin, which, although not noticed in those inquisitions, were confirmed to them by the charter of Cha. I. such as lie within the city or in its immediate vicinity, are described in the notes annexed to the third Inquisition here published; the following may deserve to be noticed in this place.

I. The charter mentions two houses and one acre of land in the town-land of Kilmainham; I presume this is the same, with a tract, which they possess near Dolphin's-barn, which was leased for sixty years, from Lady-day 1667, to Anthony Poulter, for 1*l.* 12*s.* per annum; it is described in the lease as follows: "the parcel of land in the possession of Eleanor Baker, widow, containing two acres, three roods near Dolphin's-barn, in the parish of Kilmainham, abutting eastward on the mill that was Mr. Sweeting's, westward on the land of Sir Will. Domville, knt. northward on the land lately Mr. Sweeting's, and southward on the land of John Lambert, Gent." Besides this, the Vicars possess two other small lots in Kilmainham, whereof one was anciently called the Cherry-tree Garden; they are described in a lease, made 1666, as lying on the north side of the road from Dublin to Kilmainham, containing one acre and thirty-four perches.

II. There are two mills, conveyed to the Vicars by the same charter; the one called the Way Mill, near Harold's-cross; of this, Robert Meade had a lease from the Vicars for sixty years, from Michaelmas 1667, at the yearly rent of 13*l.* 10*s.* by the name of "the Way Mill, being erected into two mills, mill-house and appurtenances, being south from the city of Dublin, and near unto the furze park joining to Thomas-court wood; with two parks and plots to the said mills, adjoining on the west to the park thereof, being four acres;" the other, called in the charter "a plot of ground, whereon was lately a water-mill, called Fitzsymon's mill." Chas. Taylor's account, written 1667, informs us it has not been in possession of the Vicars since the restoration of King Cha. II.

III. The tithe hay of Balyeath and the small tithes of Rathbeale, in the parish of Swords, were confirmed to the Vicars by their charter of Cha. I.

Those tithes were demised to Mr. John Hawkshaw, for 21 years, from Michaelmas 1660, for 12*l.* per annum, and are thus described in the lease. The great and small tithes of Rathbeale, Saucerstown, Mooretown, Balleigh, Roganstown, Knockbrin, Balcultry, Balstubbock, Brasspot, Howthesland, and Fieldsland, and half the great and small tithes of Dromin.

From an entry in the Book of Chapter minutes, 17th March 1663, we find that the Vicars claimed those tithes by virtue of a fee-farm grant from the Chapter, they were accordingly ordered to produce their title. See Rathbeale in Chapt. XI.

I. On the 27th of January[r] in that year, an Inquest was held at Dublin, which reported the extent and value of a portion of their possessions as follows:

County of Dublin.

Shanganagh.	In the town-land of Blacke Shanganagh,[s] are lxxx acres of arable land, worth xxvi*s.* viii*d.* per annum, nevertheless demised for x*s.*			
	Amount	xxvi*s.*	viii*d.*	
Tassagard.	In Tassagard[t] is one Castle and xviii acres of arable land worth, besides chief rent, xiii*s.* iv*d.* per annum; also iv acres, valu[e] xvi*d.*			
Eskar and Lucan.	Amount	xiv*s.*	viii*d.*	
	In Eskar[u] is one messuage and xx acres of arable land, and one park, called Ashe-parke, containing half an acre: in Lucan, is one messuage and ii acres, in tenure of Rich. Downe, worth, per annum,	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*	
Swerds.	In Swerdes is one messuage, one acre, one garden, and one orchard, worth, per annum, - - - - - - - -	vi*s.*	viii*d.*	
Cromlyn.	In the town-land of Cromlyn[v] are vi acres of arable land, each worth[w] iii*d.* per annum, besides ix*d.* from each acre, which is paid to our Lord the King, for quit rent; total xviii*d.* likewise one little garden, worth, per annum, xviii*d.*			
	Amount	*	*	*
Adderge demesne.	In the town-lands of Adderge[x] and Marshallrathe is one castle, or mansion, and lx acres of arable land, xii acres of wood and pasture, ii messuages and one park called Roos-croft, worth, per annum, -	iii*l.*	vi*s.*	viii*d.*
tithes.	The tithes are payable out of the town-lands of Adderge, Backewexton, Ffeydanstan, Kelleston, Gallrowtheston, Callaghtowne and Leightowne, worth, per annum xviii*l.* the ii messuages and park called Rooscroft, the alterages of the parish and iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* of issues of said rectory, are assigned to the Curate for his stipend and repair of Chancel.			
	Total value, exclusive of all deductions	xviii*l.*		
Rathcowle.	In this village,[y] is one messuage, one garden, iii acres of land, iii stangs of meadow rendering vi*s.* and ii hens per annum: likewise one other messuage and one acre of land rendering iv*s.* and heriots when they occur; also a certain parcel of tithes of said town with the tithes of the mill, all appertaining to said Vicar's, and worth, per annum, viii*l.* ii*s.*			
	Total value	viii*l.*	xii*s.*	iv*d.*
Dalke.	A free tenant here pays for one messuage to said Vicars - -			xvi*d.*

[r] Seven jurors were sworn upon this occasion.

[s] The lands of Shanganagh are not now enjoyed by the Vicars; they have not, perhaps, been in their possession since the restoration of Charles II. for so it is stated by Charles Taylor, who was steward in 1667. This, however, is not certain, for there is, in a book of Chapter minutes, a petition from the Vicars, dated 27th March 1702, that the Chapter would confirm their lease of these lands, granted for 60 years, to Francis Fforest, at the rent of 10*l.* per annum: some mention of Shanganagh occurs on the early statute rolls, as has been before stated in this Chapter.

[t] This tenement, consisting of one castle and eighteen acres, was demised to Alderman Richard Tigh in 1665; the lease gives a very minute description of the lands; from thence it appears that they were not contiguous, but consisted of nine or ten different parcels, the largest comprising five acres: the Inquisition 1 Edw. VI. takes no notice of the four acres mentioned in that of 38 Hen. VIII. the value is therein reported to be 10*s.*

[u] In a treasurer's account of the manor of Esker, dated 1592, (for Esker was an ancient royal manor,) we find mention made of the Vicar's possessions there in the following terms:

"Vic. Chor. Sti. Patricii, Dub. tenent de jure ecclesiæ suæ, xx ac. arab. et past. et reddunt per ann. xvii*s.* iv*d.*"

The Inquisition, 1st Edw. VI. notices two acres arable in the town and fields of Kishoke and Lucan, worth per annum "ultra reprisas" xiii*s.* iv*d.* There is no mention of the other lands in that record.

Several lands in Lucan, Esker and Kishoke, amounting in the whole to twenty-four acres, were demised by the Vicars to John Forster, to hold for sixty years, from 1668, at the yearly rent of 4*l.*

[v] In 1807, the Vicars, for a fine of 100*l.* renewed a lease of those lands, which had been made in 1754, for sixty years, at the yearly rent of 2*l.* per annum, for twenty-one years at the former rent: the lands are particularly described in the lease: they do not lie together; but consist of nine parcels, amounting in the whole to five acres, three roods and sixteen perches.

[w] Valued by Inquisition, 1st Edw. VI. at 2*s.* 10*d.* per annum.

[x] This parish is sometimes called Adderke, Adderick, Athderg and Addery.

The town-land of Galrostown, in this parish, is specified as a distinct rectory in the Vicar's charter, 16 Charles I.

Castletown and Fadingstown, members of this parish, were leased by the Vicars to Richard Neal, in 1669.

Adamstown and Calestown are the names by which two of the town-lands of this parish are now known; they are situated near the Grand-canal, and when viewed in 1816, by Mr. Jager, one of the Vicars, the extent of the former was estimated at eighty-six acres, and that of the latter at forty-two; Cales-town or Bally-keally is, I apprehend, the same with Kelles-town in the inquisition.

[y] In 1669, the Vicars made a lease for sixty years, to Matt. Barry, of their possessions in Rathcoole, for 7*l.* 10*s.* per annum; the description in the lease is as follows; one messuage and tenement, late in possession of Richard Betagh, and three acres of

Clondalkan.	In this townland, near to the cemetery of the parish church, is one messuage with x acres[z] of arable land, worth, beside ii*s.* vi*d.* per annum, chief rent to the Archbishop of Dublin and vi*d.* paid to the wardens of the parish church of Clondalkan, xii*s.* also Thomas Pursell holds here one messuage with appurtenances for iv*s.* rent: Katharine Scheylle one messuage with appurtenances for yearly rent of iii*s.* iv*d.* and Cornelius Ketaghe, one messuage with appurtenances, for rent of iv*s.* per annum. Total amount	xxiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Tallagh.	The minor Canons have a freehold here containing viii messuages vi gardens, and ** acres of arable land for rent of iii*s.* to the Vicars Chorall. Amount	iii*s.*	
Aug. Friars house.	The Vicars have a chief rent out of the house of the Augustinian Friars near Dublin, of which Walter Tyrrell is tenant, who pays yearly - - - - - - - - - - -	ii*s.*	v*d.*

County of Catherlogh.

Kynnegh.	The third part of the rectory of Kynnegh, belongeth to the Vicars Choral, worth, per annum, - - - - - - - -	lxvi*s.*	viii*d.*

County of Meath.

Hoethtiston.	In Hoethtiston[a] are ii messuages and xl acresarable land, worth, per annum, - - - - - - - - - -	xxvi*s.*	viii*d.*
Wardton.	Martin Blacke holds in Wardton, half that town-land for annual rent of - - - - - - - - - - -	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Mygaddy.	Here is one messuage[b] and xiv acres arable, worth, per annum -	xiii*s.*	iv*d.*
Ratoweth.	In Ratoweth are iii messuages and ii acres of meadow and pasture, worth, per annum, "ultra reprisas" - - - - - -	viii*s.*	vi*d.*
Thornton.	In Thornton[c] are * * * worth, per annum, "ultra reprisas"	x*s.*	
Dewleke.	A messuage and orchard in Dewleke,[d] worth, per annum, - -	ix*s.*	

II. Extent of certain the possessions of the Vicars Choral, situated in the county of Louth, according to an Inquisition held at Athirde, 8th January, 38th Hen. VIII. by verdict of twelve jurors of that county.

Stabanam demesne.	The demesne appertaining to this rectory,[e] consists of one castle and one messuage, worth vi*s.* viii*d.* per annum: also, ii parks of v acres, worth xii*d.* per acre, total v*s.* also, v messuages, one being waste, iv*s.* the tenant of each messuage, renders yearly one hokeday, value ii*d.* total viii*d.* and ii hens, value ii*d.* total viii*d.* and heriots when they occur.[f] Total amount	xxiv*s.*	iv*d.*	
tithes.	The tithes are payable out of the following town-lands; Stabanam, Laleston, Dromgolston, Clyntonstowne, Ballybragan, Dromcashell and Rowyston, worth, per annum, - - - - - -	xxii*l.*	xv*s.*	viii*d.*
Ardee.	In the town-land of Ardee, is one garden, called the hye-garden, worth annually, iv*s.* likewise one messuage and garden, called Buckets-lake, value xiii*s.* iv*d.* per annum: and, in a certain parke called St. George's parke, ii rydges, value each iii*d.* Total amount[g]	xvii*s.*	x*d.*	

land in the same, and one other messuage or tenement with the tithes of the mill of Rathcoole and the small tithes, commonly called the Vicars tithes, of Rathcoole. Vicars regist. and Min. of Chapt.

[z] Seven acres according to Inquisition, 1st Edw. VI.

[a] Hoethtistown, or according to the Vicar's charter, Howestown, called in one of the leases Brayesland; in 1664 it was demised to Thomas Batt, for the yearly rent of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

[b] Magaddy or Aagaddy demised for 3*l.* per annum, for sixty years, from 1665, to Sir George Wentworth, viz. "a house, garden, orchard, and fourteen acres of land, late in tenure of Andrew Ford."

[c] The blank in the Inquisition may be supplied from the Vicar's-charter, which informs us that they had the third part of this village or hamlet. Thornton was demised by the Vicars, in 1670, to Gilbert Nicholson, in trust for the Bishop of Ossory, for a term of sixty years, the rent reserved was 1*l.* per annum: this lease describes it as situated in the parish of Tarah.

[d] Demised, in 1660, for sixty years, to Roger Moore; annual rent 10*s.* viz. "a house, garden and parks thereto belonging."

[e] We find, from the records of Christ-church, that, on 17th of April 1551, the Archbishop of Armagh instituted to the vicarage of Stabanon, John Donylle who had been presented by Oliver Plunket, Lord of Louth, and John Plunket of Bewley, to whom the right of presentation had been granted for that turn by the Vicars' Choral, before the suppression of the Cathedral. Green book of Oeconomy, p. 444. Stabanon or St. Abanon was demised to Margaret Laurence for 40*l.* when the Vicars charter was granted, but I presume that some error has crept into the record, and apprehend we should rather read 4*l.* for it was afterwards demised (in 1662) for 20*l.* to Patrick Tallant for six years; Tallant paid for the lease a fine of 24*l.* and resigned one, in fee-farm, which he had by assignment from Alex. St. Lawrence of Drogheda. Min. of Chapt.

[f] Inquisition, 1 Edw. VI. values the demesne at 16*s.* 8*d.* yearly.

[g] A village or hamlet, called Christianstown, situated in the county of Louth, is mentioned in the charter of Cha. I. it is not noticed in the above Inquisition, neither was it in the possession of the Vicars since the restoration of King Charles II. Taylor's account, dated 1667.

III. Extent of the certain the possessions of the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, according to an Inquisition [h] held at Dublin, 27th January, 38th Henry VIII. by verdict of twenty-one jurors.

City and Suburbs of Dublin.

St. Nicholas without, Patrick-st.	In St. Patrick's-street, is one messuage and appurtenances, in the tenure of John Wyrrall, who pays x*s.* per annum; William Walshe has one house and garden in the same street, for xx*s.* per annum; Thomas Edward, a messuage and garden, for xiii*s.* iv*d.* per annum; Katherine Weysley, * * houses with their appurtenances, for xiv*s.* per annum; William Tallon, one messuage and garden, yearly rent xxi*s.* Thomas Rely, one messuage and garden, for xvi*s.* John Carrall, one messuage and garden, for xvi*s.* John Hely, one messuage and one garden, yearly rent ix*s.* Patrick Fflemynge, one messuage and garden, for xiv*s.* and John Adocke, clerk, one messuage and garden for the yearly rent of xv*s.*			
		Total amount	VII*l.*	VIII*s.* IV*d.*
St. Katherine's, Thomas-street.	In Thomas-strete are certain houses, with their appurtenances, in tenure of John Wyrrall, who pays annually xi*s.* iv*d.* John Rede holds one messuage and garden, for vi*s.* viii*d.* Richard Han, one messuage and garden, for xi*s.* Laghelen Hyan, one messuage and garden, for xiii*s.* iv*d.* John Laghelen, one other messuage and garden, for vi*s.* viii*d.* Thomas Swyftyng, one messuage and garden, for xii*s.* Richard Conyll, one messuage and garden, for xiv*s.* John Mallalle, one messuage and garden, for ix*s.* William Seiche, a messuage and garden, for the yearly rent of vi*s.*			
		Total amount	IV*l.*	X*s.*
Francis-st.	John Roche holds one messuage and garden in Francis-street, yearly rent - - - - - - -			V*s.*
Coombe, "Cumba."	Richard Brady holds one stone house, one messuage and garden here, for the yearly rent of xvii*s.* iv*d.* Thos. Bullen, clerk, one messuage and garden, for xii*s.* John Kelly, one messuage and garden, for x*s.*			
		Total amount	XXXIX*s.*	IV*d.*

[h] To give a more copious description of the several tenements, mentioned in this inquisition, would tend but little to the reader's edification; I presume that given in the charter, 16th Cha. I. will be found sufficiently minute. There are, however, some lots, which, from their considerable extent and comparatively high value may be deemed of sufficient importance to be particularly distinguished; moreover, the descriptions in the leases do sometimes mark the bounds of ancient denominations and the sites of streets and buildings, now quite forgotten; of these I shall therefore notice the following, viz.

I. Two lots which lie between Aungier-street and St. Stephen's-green, included, I presume, among those tenements which are, in the inquisition, said to lie in the parish of St. Kevin; but which should, more properly, be placed within the extinct parish of St. Stephen, which is now, as well as St. Kevin's, united to St. Peter's.

The first of these lots was demised to one of the family of Aungier, to whom the monastery of White Fryars, in this neighbourhood, had been granted, who became afterwards ennobled, and bore for a time the title of Longford: one of that family, Dame Margeret Aungier, held this lot at the time of the Vicars' Charter, wherein it is called a parke near Whitefryars, for which she payed the yearly rent of 33*s.* 4*d.* In a lease, dated 1664, it is described as "three parks lying in the Whitefriars," and containing two acres and an half of land; it was afterwards assigned to Lord Abercorn, whose city residence did immediately adjoin. In a lease, to one of that family, dated 1674, this land is described as comprising "all that parcel of ground, containing three hundred feet to the front of Aungier-street, next adjoining to the new dwelling-house of Sir Robert Reading in the said Aungier-street, and all the ground behind the same, running through Love-lane, and the land now in tenure of Richard Buxton, Gardiner, as far as the lands of the city in St. Stephen's-green; the like number of three hundred feet from the west side of the land in the tenure of the said Buxton: the line shall begin from eighty feet within the level or straight line, drawn from the wall of the Quakers burying-ground." A new lease was granted in 1683, for sixty-one years. It may be necessary to inform the reader that Love-lane is now called Mercer-street, and that the Quakers burying-ground is that lot whereon the College of Surgeons has been, since that time, erected.

The lease, to Lord Abercorn, was renewed on the 2d April 1714, which being done without consent of the Chapter, that body petitioned the government against the Vicars; it is to this ground that Lord Chancellor Phipps alludes in his letter to Swift, written in January 1713-4, where he solicits his consent to the lease, made by the Vicars to Lord Abercorn.

In 1753, Francis Leigh obtained a new lease for sixty years; he was to pay one pepper corn yearly during the first twenty years, being the remainder of Lord Abercorn's term, and 40*l.* per annum for the rest of the term; it is called in this lease, three parks, near Whitefryars, containing two acres of land.

York-street was built before that time, all the houses therein, from the end of the wall of the College of Surgeons to Aungier-street, including part of French-street, Mercer-street and Aungier-street, are built upon this lot; there are in number above sixty dwelling-houses besides out-offices: a few years ago the Vicars disputed the validity of the lease by which this tract was held, but, after incurring very great expence, they were defeated, and the tenant's title was confirmed.

The present value of this ground forms a remarkable contrast with that, at which it was estimated in the beginning of the seventeenth century: in the 16th of Cha. I. it was demised for

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St. Michael's.	William Newman holds, in High-street, one messuage and appurtenance, for yearly rent of - - - - -	XXXIII. IV*d.*
St. Nicholas within.	John Wyrrall holds, in St. Nicholas-street, one messuage and garden, ("ortum") paying yearly xxviii*s.* and Robert Sherman, one messuage and appurtenance, for x*s.* yearly.	
	Total amount	XXXVIII*s.*
St. Brigid's.	Hen. Parkar holds, in St. Bryde's-street, one orchard, ("pomerium") yearly rent iv*s.* James White, clerk, one orchard, for iv*s.* Will. Yong, one orchard, for ii*s.* vi*d.* Thomas Bullen, clerk, one orchard, for iv*s.* and after his death vi*s.* Rich. Umfrey, one orchard, for vi*s.* viii*d.* John Wyrrall, one messuage and garden, ("ortum") for iv*s.* likewise ii gardens, yearly rent viii*s.* Patrick Quyn, ii houses with appurtenances, for viii*s.* Henry Danse holds one messuage and appurtenance, for iv*s.* John Quartermass, one garden, for xii*s.* Patrick Cogley, one messuage and garden, for viii*s.* Janeta Maguyre, one messuage and garden, for the yearly rent of vii*s.*	
	Total amount	LXXIV*s.* II*d.*
St. Peter's.	Richard Nolan, clerk, holds one orchard, ("pomerium") for iv*s.* and Patrick Quyn, one garden, ("ortum") for ii*s.* yearly rent.	
	Total amount	VI*s.*
St. Kevin's.	Christopher More holds one park, yearly rent viii*s.* William Yonge, clerk, one park, for v*s.* per annum; Walter Fforster, one messuage and appurtenance, for x*s.* Henry Haye, one garden, ("ortum") for x*s.* Patrick Quyn, one other garden, for vii*s.* Edmond Wade, one garden, for iii*s.* iv*d.* John Clergenett, one garden, for iii*s.* iv*d.* Laur. White, one garden, for ii*s.* iv*d.* Xtopher More, one orchard, for iv*s.* John Alen, one castle and iii houses, for xl*s.* The Archbishop of Dublin, iii messuages, near the palace of St. Sepulchre's, for xx*s.* William Browne, one park, for vi*s.* viii*d.*	
	Total amount	CXIX*s.* VIII*d.*

33*s.* 4*d.* per annum; in 1810 it was valued, by the foot, at 1809*l.* per annum; the improved value would amount, estimating the houses erected thereon, to five times that sum, yearly; it is now held for the comparatively small rent of 60*l.* per annum.

Another lot, of considerable value, lies next adjoining to the north of that which I have just described; it is probably that which, at the time of the patent, was demised to Michael Dermot: in a lease to John Thornton, for sixty years from Lady-day 1662, it is described as follows, viz. "a parcel of ground near St. Stephen's-green alias Hoggen-green in the parish of St. Stephen; counted on the west, next the land of the Dean and Chapter of Christ's-church, two hundred and forty-two feet; on the north side, next the street, two hundred and twenty-six feet; on the east side, to the said green, two hundred and eighty-nine feet; on the south side next the Vicar's land in possession of Lord Aungier, one hundred and eighty-eight feet." The street to the north is now called King-street; the land to the west belongs to the Dean of Christ church, thro which the street, called Mercer-street, runs; the houses on the western side of Stephen's-green form, at present, the eastern boundary of this lot; so that it appears, that Stephen's-green has been contracted in its dimensions on this side. since the period of time wherein this lease was granted; there are now eleven dwelling-houses and two extensive breweries built upon this lot of ground.

This piece of ground was demised, in 1812, to William Bermingham for sixty years, to commence after the determination of a lease, of which thirty-nine years remained then unexpired; this Bermingham was agent to the Vicars in the suit which they instituted against Synge, whose lease of the tenements in York-street, they endeavoured to set aside, but without success. It must be acknowledged to be a shameful abuse, let it happen how it will, that persons, having a life interest only, should be permitted to alienate the property of their successors for a benefit, which themselves only could enjoy; it was estimated, in 1811, to be of the yearly value of 1,054*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. The Vicars possess several parcels of ground in Bride-street, Golden-lane and Chancery-lane: they were valued in the year 1810 by the foot, and the full improved value of the buildings thereon was likewise estimated; as we have the rates whereat those lots were demised in 1547 and 1641, it may not be deemed uninteresting to give the valuations of 1810 likewise, which were as follows:

Onge's holding at the corner of Chancery-lane and Golden-lane, contains thirteen lots, value by the foot 186*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* improved value estimated at 315*l.*

Hughes's holding, next adjoining, on the north side of Golden-lane, contains twelve lots, value by the foot 133l. 5*s.* 11*d.* improved value estimated at 320*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Dopping's two holdings, the one in Chancery-lane, north of Onge's, the other at the corner of Bride-street and Golden-lane, contain twenty-two lots, worth, by the foot, 435*l.* 7*s.* 7½*d.* estimated to be worth, at the improved value, 951*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* It is remarkable that Anthony Dopping was the Vicar's tenant for some holdings in this street, in 1641, when they obtained their charter.

Shaw's holding in Bride-street, to the north of Dopping's, contains seven lots, value, by the foot, 185*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* improved value estimated at 402*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Blachford's holding to the north of Shaw's and likewise on the other side of Bride-street, was valued, by the foot, at 61*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* the improved value estimated at 106*l.*

Domville's 4 houses on the east side of Bride-street, value of the ground 85*l.* improved value 180*l.*

Kathren's holding in Bride's-alley and west side of Bride's-street, contains eight dwelling-houses, value, by the foot, 112*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* improved value 305*l.*

III. In Kevin-street the Vicars possess several holdings; the value of certain portions here having been ascertained in the years 1810 and 1811, in like manner as those in Bride-street, I have thought fit to insert them likewise.

St. Michael's. Michael Fitzsymon holds, in this parish, one messuage, for viii*s.* per annum; and James Rycheford, one tenement, paying annually xx*d.*

Total amount IX*s.* VIII*d.*

St. Kevin's. Thomas Bullen holds one orchard and pays yearly iv*s.* John Canee, one orchard, for v*s.* annual rent; Xtopher Moreter, one orchard, for vi*s.* Patrick Ultaghe, one messuage and appurtenance, for vi*s.* Henry Barbore, one messuage, for iv*d.* John Roche, one garden, (" ortum") for v*s.* Thomas Coke, one messuage, for vi*s.* Owen Creagh, one messuage, for vi*s.* Thomas Bullen, one garden, for vi*s.* John Claregenett, an orchard, for xx*d.* John Carroll, certain houses and gardens, for xii*s.* Henry Barbore, one messuage and garden, for xiii*s.* iv*d.* Patrick Ryaghe, one messuage, for iii*s.* Richard Fitzsymons, one messuage with appurtenance, for viii*s.* Thomas Coke, myller, one messuage and appurtenance, for the yearly rent of vi*s.*

Total amount IV*l.* IX*s.*

Coombe. William Kelley holds one messuage and garden, yearly rent xx*s.* John Love, one messuage and park, for iii*s.* vi*d.* John Roche, one messuage and garden, iii*s.* vi*d.* Thady Fullam, one messuage and garden, for xx*d.* John Mynyon, one crofte, for vi*d.* Thady Duff, one messuage and garden, for the yearly rent of ix*s.* Total amount XXXVIII*s.*

Shaw's holding in cross and lower Kevin-street, contains thirty-four lots, besides back-holdings, &c. value, by the foot, 505*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* improved value 1,092*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Tighe's holding in the same street, comprises ten lots, besides back-offices, value, by the foot, 210*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* improved value estimated at 461*l.* 11*s.*

Synge's holding on the south side of Kevin-street, opposite Bride-street, through part of which it is projected to lead a new street to Portobello, was valued, by the foot, at 104*l.* 5*s.*

Carrol's holding on the south side of lower Kevin-street, has six subdivisions, value, by the foot, 78*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* improved value estimated at 171*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Beasly's holding on the south side of lower Kevin-street, extending the whole length of the Cathedral or Cabbage-garden-lane, comprises fifteen separate holdings, value, by the foot, 108*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* improved value estimated at 250*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Vicar's estate within the precincts, which lies at the north side of this street and west side of Mitre-alley, containing thirteen separate lots, was valued, by the foot, at 155*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* and the improved value estimated at 304*l.*

IV. Several tenements of the Vicars, in the street called the Coomb, are specified in the charter: of those in the high Coomb I shall notice the tenement, called the Horse-park, which was demised by the patent to Richard Browne; it was built on, at that time, and is described in a lease (granting the same to Thomas Crowe, for sixty years, from 1665,) as containing in front, from east to west, fifty-three yards, and in depth, from north to south, one hundred and sixty-two yards; bounded north to the street, and on the west and south to the lands of the manor of Thomas-courte, and on the east to the lands of the same manor and a piece belonging to the Vicars.

The tenement on the high Coomb demised to Murphy by the patent, appears to be the same demised, in 1644, to Mary Connor, for sixty years, called the Black-house or hall, " abutting east and south to the lands of St. Mary's-abbey, west to the lands of Thomas-court and north to the street, containing in length, from east to west, two hundred and eighty feet, and in breadth, to front, thirty-eight feet."

Besides these in the high Coomb, the Vicars likewise possess some lots in the lesser Coomb, which latter street is nearer to the Poddle.

V. The Vicars have several tenements in New-street, one of which I shall describe from a lease, whereby the same was demised, along with others, to William Williams, for sixty years, in 1662, viz. " a parcel of land lying at the south end of New-street, called Baugon's park, counted in length, from east to west, one hundred and sixteen yards, and in breadth, from north to south, one hundred yards, whereof thirty yards of the said breadth lyeth within New-street-gate, and the other seventy without the gate; mearing in the north to the Vicar's land; in the south to the Archbishop of Dublin's land belonging to St. Patrick's church, and west to the street."

VI. The Vicars have houses on both sides of Patrick-street, they are specified in the charter, but none of the descriptions furnish interest or intelligence.

VII. The Vicars have three tenements in Back-lane; a lease, dated 1664, describes the lot as extending, from east to west, twenty-two yards, and north to south, forty-three yards, bounded north by the street, and south by the city wall; they are described in the charter, under the denomination of " two houses and a garden, in Rochelle-lane."

VIII. The house and garden of Thomas Clarke was situated, as the Vicar's charter informs us, in the parish of St. Peter de Monte; it was afterwards demised to John Linegar, for sixty years, from 1665: this lot has the Castle-garden on the north and St. Stephen's-street on the south, along which it extends, in front, one hundred and six feet. The holding of Jans lay near the Castle-garden wall; those two, together with a holding next adjoining, which is now the corner of St. Stephen's and St. George's-street, being within the parish of St. Peter de Monte, determine the site of that ancient extinct parish. Vic. reg. and Chapt. Min. These lots are now reputed to be within the parish of St. Bride; hence it appears, that the whole of the parish of St. Peter de Monte was not incorporated into the union of St. Peter's, St. Stephens's and St. Kevin's, as the act of council, establishing the vicarage of St. Kevin's, sets forth.

IX. The Vicars possess several tenements in Thomas-street, which are specified in the charter of Cha. I. one of these is described in a lease, for sixty years, dated 1662, as lying on the south side of the street, " abutting east to St. Catherine's church land, south to the Earl of Meath's land belonging to Thomas-court; containing in breadth, from east to west, thirty-five yards; in length, from north to south, twenty-five yards; John Eastwards holding under the Vicars, bounded it to the west side.

Another holding is described in a lease, dated 1670, as containing, in front to Thomas-street, twenty-eight feet, bounded eastward to St. George's land, on the west to a tenement called St. John's land, " containing in length, from the King's highway to Crooker's-lane in the north, eighty-one yards." The other boundaries were irregular, and the description would be too tedious to insert; what has been given may serve to fix the site of some streets and buildings which no longer exist.

CHAPT. XIV.

Of the University in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The honour of first founding an University within this city is undoubtedly to be attributed to Archbishop John Leech, who procured a bull from Pope Clement V. dated 13th of July and seventh year of his pontificate, (1311) acceding to the petition of that most Reverend Prelate and empowering him, with the consent of his suffragans, to establish an University within the city of Dublin, wherein scholars might study in every science and faculty; and, in all such, attain to the degree of Doctor. [1]

The unexpected death of that Archbishop, in 1313, for a time, suspended the progress of this undertaking; however, we find his successor, Alexander de Bicknore, in the year 1320, eagerly pursuing the same design; he established a set of statutes for the government of this seminary, [a] and procured a confirmation of this establishment from John, the 22d Pope of that name.

[1] Vide Append. Num. VII.

[a] His rules for the government of this infant seminary were as follows:

In the name of God, amen, we, Alexander Bykenere, by divine providence, Archbishop of Dublin, will, grant and decree, with consent of our Chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the Masters and Scholars of our University of Dublin, that the actual Regent Masters of the said University may chuse a Chancellor, being a doctor in divinity or in the canon law: provided however, "ita quod," that if in either of our Cathedral Churches there be any one in the said faculties qualified, he be chosen before any other, and if there be (which God forbid) any discord in the election of the same, then the election of the greater part in number of the said Regents shall stand; and if the Chancellor of the said University shall give up his office or depart this life, another shall be chosen within fifteen days and be presented to us or our successors, or to our Vicars in our absence, the see being full, but if vacant, to the guardian of the spiritualities, to obtain confirmation; and that within fifteen days from the time of the election.

It is our pleasure, moreover, that two Proctors, actually Regent, shall, in like manner, be chosen when there shall be a competent number of masters, who shall, in the vacancy of the Chancellorship, supply that office; and, if the election of the Chancellor shall not be celebrated within fifteen days, then the jurisdiction shall devolve to the official of the ecclesiastical court at Dublin, if the see be full, but if vacant, to the guardian of the spiritualities, until the Chancellor elect shall be confirmed, or such canonical obstacles as impede his confirmation be removed.

We further grant, that the Chancellor shall have spiritual jurisdiction over the Masters and Scholars, in case that the plaintiff and defendant, "actor et reus," are of the said university and over their servants; he shall have the approbation and reprobation of testaments of the Masters, Scholars and their servants, as also the disposition of their goods if they die intestate; to the intent, that all fines imposed on delinquents, or emoluments arising from said jurisdiction, be deposited in a certain chest, to be converted to the common profit of the university, according to the disposal of the Chancellor and Masters: to this chest the Proctors shall have each of them a key, and a person named by the Chancellor, a third: and the Proctors shall be bound to render an account of its contents, twice every year, before the Chancellor and Regent Masters; or before such as shall be deputed by them: we, moreover, declare, that we, in no wise, renounce the jurisdiction, which, either we or the Dean of St. Patrick's have over our servants, or over the Canons of the aforesaid church, or their servants residing upon the prebendal glebes.

It is provided also, that honourable maintenance for the support of the Chancellor, and to bear his charge as occasion may require and the ability of the university can afford, be honourably appointed.

If the Chancellor shall think fit to substitute one or more to take cognizance of causes specially or universally, we do hereby grant him authority in that behalf; and, if an appeal shall be made from those Commissioners, it shall be made, in the first place, to the Chancellor and Regents, who may take cognizance of the matter of appeal by themselves or by others; from them, if in the second place an appeal be made, it shall be laid before us, or the official of our court, or the guardian aforesaid.

Moreover, such, as are to be licentiated bachelors in any faculty, shall be presented to the aforesaid Chancellor and Regent Masters; who, if they can obtain a sufficient number of Masters (which number is to be settled from time to time by themselves) in the same faculty, to testify concerning their learning, and in the same or in other faculties to depose concerning their behaviour, (to whom we desire credit shall be given, if they sware to their firm belief of what they depose,) then they shall be licentiated, notwithstanding the opposition of the lesser party in number; otherwise, they may pass by the grace of the University; and whosoever shall object any thing against such as are to be licentiated and shall fail to prove it in form of law, he shall be, therefore, reputed as a malicious opponent, and be condemned in costs and damages, and shall be deprived of the privileges of the University, for a certain time or perpetually, according as to the Chancellor and Regents shall seem meet, they having regard to the quality of the matter objected and the condition of each person respectively.

We grant, also, for ourselves and our successors, that the Chancellor, with the advice of the Masters, Regent and Non-regent, may make statutes, if such be required, for the honor and peace of the University or for removal of scandal, which may, possibly, creep in; such statutes must, however, be presented to us or our successors, to be confirmed.

We ordain, also, that we and our successors may chuse a secular Regent in Divinity, of any order of worship or religion whatever, "de quacunque religione," who may actually read lectures on the Bible, "legat in sacra pagina," in our church of St. Patrick, without any contradiction or calumny from any person whatsoever; and, in the absence of us or our successors, the Chancellor may do this in the place of us and our successors; notwithstanding that we have decreed the schools of the Fryars

At the opening of this University, William Rodyard, at that time Dean of this Cathedral, was appointed Chancellor, and took his degree of Doctor in the Canon Law; William Hardite, of the order of St. Dominick, Henry Cogry of the Friars Minor and Edward Kermerdyn, a Dominican, were admitted to the degree of Doctors in Divinity. [2]

About thirty-eight years afterwards, Edward III. granted his protection to all students resorting to this University. The Clergy and Scholars of Ireland had represented to his Majesty, that through want of means, and by reason of the great peril they sustained in passing the seas, they were deterred from proceeding to foreign parts for the acquisition of learning; and, therefore, were desirous to continue within the city of Dublin, reading and hearing divinity, the civil and canon laws, and other clerical sciences, and under the favour of GOD, there to exercise those studies. His Majesty, "conscious," as he expresses it, "of the benefits arising from such studies, and especially as thereby virtue was propagated and peace maintained," issued letters patent, dated 14th August, 32d of his reign, declaring all such as should resort hither, for those purposes, to be under his special protection and granting safe conduct to them, their servants and attendants, whether English or Irish, and of whatsoever degree, together with all their goods and habiliments, both going to and coming from the University, and during their residence there: he, likewise, commanded all magistrates to aid and protect all such upon all lawful occasions. [3]

In the year 1361, Lionell, Duke of Clarence, granted to the Dean and Chapter an acre of land at Stachallane, and the advowson of the church, to pay therefrom ten marks per annum to a person of the order of St. Augustine, to preach a divinity lecture in the robing-room [b] of this Cathedral: to the appropriation of this church King Edward III. granted his consent by letters patent. [c]

In the year 1496, at a provincial synod, held in the church of the Holy Trinity, by Walter Fitzsymon, Archbishop of Dublin, there was an annual contribution settled by the clergy of the province, for seven years, to provide salaries for the lecturers of this University: upon this occasion, the Archbishop, his Chapters and Clergy, contributed 10*l.* a year; the Bishop of Ossory, his Chapter and Clergy, 5*l.* a year; the Bishop of Ferns, his Chapter and Clergy, the like; and the two other diocesses five marks per annum, each. [4]

From the documents [d] here quoted, there appears sufficient proof that an University did exist within this Cathedral, which continued, although not in a flourishing state, until the time of its dissolution by Hen. VIII. The want of a special endowment appears to be the most probable cause of its decay; the Canons of the Cathedral were, in all probability, the only Officers of this University; neither do their collegiate and clerical duties appear to have been sufficiently distinguished from each other. The charter of Philip and Mary, which re-established the Cathe-

[2] Loftus's Annals. [3] Rot. Pat. 32 Edw. III. [4] Al. reg. fol. 105.

Preachers and Fryars Minor to be canonical, "duximus canonizandas," and, we further ordain, that the Chancellor elected, and to be confirmed by us and our successors shall swear fealty to us and our successors. In testimony whereof we have caused our seal, together with the seals of our Chapters, to be annexed to those presents. Given at Dublin this 10th of February, in the fourth year of our consecration and of our Lord 1320. See the original in Append. Numb. VII.

[b] "In domo stolarum," it might be, "scolarum."

[c] By a parliament which was convened at Drogheda, in Nov. 1465, by Thomas Earl of Desmond, an University was founded in that town, and endowed with like privileges with the University of Oxford. Stat. Roll, 5 Edw. IV. Not being, however, endowed with sufficient revenues, the scheme did not take effect.

[d] Amongst the archives of the church of the Holy Trinity there is a lease, dated the 14th Rich. II. which may serve to point out the site of the ancient buildings, which had been, at some remote period, appropriated to the scholars. The Mayor and Commons of Dublin thereby demised to Thomas Mareward, "messuagium cum pertinentiis, extra portam S. Patricii, extendens se in longitudine ex parte orientali a cornerio muri lapidei extra eandem portam juxta regiam stratam, usque ad archas antiquarum scolarum ibidem; et in longitudine a prædicta strata ultra rivulum aquæ, decurrentis ad molendinum del Poll, usque ad terram scolarum prædictarum."

dral, evidently alludes to this University; where it mentions, as the most deplorable evil, which had arisen from its suppression, that the youthful members of society were thereby deprived of that education, to which they had been accustomed [e]; and the record itself declares, that the consideration of this matter was one of the principal motives which urged their majesties to the restoration of this Cathedral; "that the youth of the nation might thereby be instructed in civility and the rules of moral virtue." [f]

It does not appear, however, that it ever revived again within the walls of this Cathedral, although we find that many attempts were made, early in the succeeding reign, towards its re-establishment; and, in 1563, while Thomas, Earl of Sussex, was Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Worth and Sir Nicholas Arnold were sent over for that purpose by the Queen: we also find, that in a parliament which assembled in Dublin, in the 11th of Elizabeth, when Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Deputy, a treaty was set on foot for reviving this University; the Vicegerent offered 20*l.* per annum in land and 100*l.* in money towards the undertaking, and many other persons promised to contribute in proportion to their estates; Sir Henry's scheme did not, however, take effect; but from what cause does not appear.

The speeches of Stanihurst, Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Lord Deputy, upon dissolution of the parliament held in that year, are recorded by Campion, who was present; the former makes mention of the bountiful offer of Sir Henry, and from the reply of the latter it appears probable that it was rather through fault of the Houses of Parliament than of the Governor, that the establishment did not take effect. The Vicegerent's words were as follows:

"Had your opinions matched with mine, concerning the University which M. Speaker remembreth, no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have bin a spurre to these erections, as nurses for babes to suck in, till they might repaire thither to be wained: but, I trust, your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate: What though certaine imperfections cannot as yet be salved? What, though the summe arise not to make a muster of Colledges at the first day? What, though the place be not also commodious? What, though other circumstances inferre a feeble and rawe foundation? These are, indeede, objections of the multitude, whose backewardnesse breedeth an unnecessary stoppe in this, our purpose; but your wisedomes can easily consider that time must ripen a weake beginning; that other Universities began with lesse, that all experience telleth us so. Shall wee be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us, but all in all? all absolute? all excellent? all furnished? all beautiful? all fortified in the prime and infancie thereof? I remember a tale of Apuleius asse, who being indifferently placed between two bottles of hay, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both; let us not so doe, but content ourselves by little and little, to bee fedde as the case requireth." [g]

In the year 1584, after Jones's promotion to the Bishoprick of Meath, it was designed that the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral should be converted to the endowment of a new University, and Sir John Perrot, who came over Lord Deputy, had it in his instructions "to consider how a college might be erected, and that St. Patrick's church and the revenue thereof might be appropriated thereunto, and

[e] The words are "verum etiam, quod dolendum majis est, pueritiam solitam educationem non habuisse." This cannot allude to the dissolution of any school which might possibly have been maintained by this body; on the contrary, Edward the sixth established a school upon the ruins of the Cathedral, which did not before exist: it can therefore allude, solely, to that sort of instruction which youth of maturer years, derive from the establishment of an University.

[f] "Hujus regni nostri Hiberniæ pueritia in morum civilitate et virtute erudietur."

[g] Camp. Hist. pag. 133.

every diocess, by act of parliament, be made contributary out of the leases of impropriations." Into this scheme the Lord Deputy entered with great eagerness, and that in opposition to the council of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, who was very adverse to the measure, [h] as it is said from interested motives; nor is it improbable that the tempers of both those men had more influence over their actions than the good of society; the Archbishop, by grants and alienations to his friends and several members of his family, had a deep interest in the funds of this Cathedral; the Vicegerent was a person of such violent temper as could scarcely be controlled even by sovereign power; notwithstanding his instructions he received a harsh reproof from his royal Mistress for his intemperate zeal; this he resented in language at once indecent and offensive, so that his more politic adversary obtained higher credit from opposing the will of their common sovereign, than this intemperate advocate by his endeavour to carry it into effect; and, although vested with less authority, prevailed over his more powerful but less wily opponent, whose intentions were perhaps the more pure, as they were certainly more disinterested: having to relate at length, in another part of this work, the particulars of this contest; I shall not dwell any longer upon the matter, but subjoin a portion of the Lord Deputy's letter to the Lord Treasurer of England, because it somewhat developes his scheme so far as it related to this Cathedral.

"The church, "he writes," may be converted to these uses following: First, whereas there is no place for the law, save onlye an old hall in the Castle of Dublin (as I am sure your Lordship knoweth) and the same very dangerously placed over the munition and powder, where a desperate fellow, by dropping down a match, may marre all; this church, which is spatious and large, would sufficientlie serve the turne for all the several courts, though the law should be, as I hope, in time, by good government it may, and shall be farre better frequented than it is: beside this good use of the church, whereas there is here great want of a store-house for grain, and other provision, and noe place fit for it, whereby the waste and loss in victualling is the more; the Cannon's houses that inviron the church about, would very aptly serve for an Inns of Court to bestow the Judges and Lawyers in; and that house which they now have for their Inns of Court, lying commodiously for loading and unloading, over the river here, hard by the bridge, would as aptly serve for a store-house and granary, the church and buildings annexed being converted to these good uses."

He estimates the revenue of this Cathedral to have been then about four thousand marks per annum, "and this," says he, "would serve to begin the foundation of two Universities, and endow a couple of Colleges in them with 1000*l.* per annum, a piece." [i]

He then proposes, that the rest of the income shall be appointed for the reparation of the said church and houses, and be annexed also to Christ Church by way of augmentation to the choir.

Such a remembrance was retained of the ancient establishment, that even after the foundation of the present University, or College of the Holy Trinity, there was always esteemed to subsist a close connexion between it and this church; here the more solemn commencements [k] were held, and processions were made to

[h] After all, the opposition made by Loftus must be considered as quite reasonable; had the scheme taken effect there would scarcely have remained a single benefice in the gift of the Archbishop; the crown presented to all the Dignities in the other Cathedral, and the Chapter to all the Prebends. Archbishop King's letters, written nearly two centuries after, are filled with complaints of the smallness of his patronage, he being scarce able to provide fit ministers for the service of the cures in the several parishes in his diocess, notwithstanding that in some parts eight or ten parishes were united to encrease the means.

[i] He designed to have settled six masters in each of the two colleges, and one hundred scholars to be instructed in learning, civility and loyalty. The six masters were to be chosen out of the most learned residentiary members of the Cathedral, who, in their turns, three and three of each college, were to reside and keep hospitality in the several prebends whereunto the cure of souls was annexed.

this Cathedral upon particular occasions, until so late a period as the year 1732,[l] when they were allowed to be discontinued by the Lords Justices, as they tended to promote tumult, and had ceased to contribute to any good or useful purpose.[m]

[k] Dr. Dudley Loftus gives the following account of a commencement held here in 1614; it is to be found, likewise, in a work entitled "Certain Chroniculary Discourses for the years of our Lord 1612, 13, 14 and 15, gathered, by William Farmer, Chirurgeon." This tract is published in the Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, Vol. I. pag. 316, &c.

"The 18th of August there was a great commencement holden in the University at Dublin; but, because the rooms in Trinity College were very small, they held their acts of disputation in the high choir of St. Patrick's church, and there proceeded that day five doctors in theology, viz.

Tho. Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chanc. } by grace.
Edward King, Bishop of Elphin, }
James Usher, }
John Richardson, } in public disputation.
Abel Walsh, }

Bachelors of Divinity, 3.
Masters of the Arts, 15. Incorporated, 2.
Bachelors of the Arts, 17.

The whole number of graduates at this commencement, 37; besides three that were incorporated.

"The manner of commencement was accomplished in this order: first, Dr. Hampton, Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, who, having many years before proceeded Doctor in theology at the University in Cambridge, was now, at this commencement, incorporated into the University of Dublin, and was the senior "Doctor Cathedræ" and Moderator of theological acts in this commencement; so upon the day appointed, viz. the 18th day of August, the said Doctor Hampton, Lord Primate, together with the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the house, passed from the college through the city of Dublin in very stately order; for the Lord Primate and other ancient Doctors, and also those that were to proceed Doctors, were every one attired in scarlet robes, with their Doctor's hoods; also the Bachelors of Divinity, the Masters and Bachelors of the Arts were attired in other scholar-like attire as appertained, which made a very beautiful show to the sight of all men; and they were further most highly graced with the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Ridgway, Vice-treasurer and Treasurer at war, with divers others of the Council, who followed after them and sat in St. Patrick's church to hear their disputation and discourses, which were performed as here doth follow:

"First, when they were entered the choir of St. Patrick's church, the Masters and Bachelors of the Arts sat down in their places appointed for them, every one according to his degree; likewise Dr. Dun, a Doctor in the civil law, and Vice-chancellor of the University, took his place, which was appointed for him in the choir; and then Mr. Ant. Martin, a gentleman born in Galway, Proctor for the college, ascended up into one of the pulpits, as moderator of the philosophical acts. And the Lord Primate, who was father for that day of the theological art, with those three which were to proceed by public disputations, as also two which were to proceed Bachelors of Divinity, did ascend up to their places appointed for them on the right side of the choir. And when the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Council were set, and all things in good order, Dr. Dun, the Vice-chancellor of the University, began an oration in latin, being as a general introduction into all the acts of that day's disputation, which he performed learnedly; and when he ended his oration, the Lord Primate began another oration in latin concerning the act of divinity, and those that were to proceed Doctors.

"This oration contained a long discourse, wherein he administered five academical ceremonies as here do follow in order:

1. He set those, which were to proceed Drs. in his own chair.
2. He gave to each of them a square cap.
3. He delivered each of them, severally, the Bible.
4. He put, severally, rings upon their fingers.
5. He gave to each of them a kiss.

"These ceremonies were ministered severally to each of them, first to Dr. Usher, then to Dr. Richardson, and lastly to Dr. Walsh; and the Lord Primate expounded to them the signification of each ceremony. This manner of commencement was never seen in Ireland before this time.

"Now all things being thus performed by the Lord Primate, as is said, Dr. Usher went down into the choir, and ascended up into one of the pulpits, where he made a sermon-like oration upon the text, *Hoc est corpus meum;* and after a long discourse thereon, the other two Doctors, viz. Dr. Richardson and Dr. Walsh, disputed with Doctor Usher upon the same point; in which disputation the Lord Primate, who was the father of this theological act, was also moderator in their disputation, and so, finishing the act, they arose up and returned back to the Trinity College, where a stately dinner was provided for the Lord Deputy and Council. And thus were all things concerning the commencement in the University of Dublin performed, to their high commendations and credit."

[l] This appears from a memorial of the Provost, Fellows, &c. to the Lords Justices, and their Excellencies' answer, which were as follows:

To their Excellencies, the Lords Justices of Ireland.
The Memorial of the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin.

Humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialist and all the members of the society, are obliged, by the statutes of the College, to repair to the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, every Sunday in the afternoon during the season of lent, and there to attend divine service; your Memorialists further shew, that several tumults have happened, and insults were offered to the Scholars on occasion of your Memorialists' public procession to the said church, upon which your Excellencies and his Grace the Lord Lieutenant were formerly pleased to approve of their staying at home. Your Memorialists, being apprehensive that the like disturbances may happen again, humbly pray that your Excellencies will be graciously pleased to approve of their staying at home this next ensuing lent.

February 2d, 1732-3.

By the Lords Justices General and General Governors of Ireland.

Hu. Armach. Wyndham, C. Ralph Gore.

Upon consideration of the within memorial of the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, we are pleased, as far as in us lyes, to consent to, and approve of their not going to St. Patrick's Church this next ensuing lent. Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 5th day of February 1732.

By their Excellencies command,
Thomas Tickell.

[m] Dean Swift, who appears to have had considerable knowledge of the antiquities of his Cathedral, imagined that the right of conferring degrees still existed in the Chapter. I have copied from the book of Chapter-minutes the following order, of 17th March 1736, but have searched in vain for any other particulars relating to this matter.

"Resolved, that the Dean and Dignitaries, the Proctor, Dr. Rogers and Mr. King, be a committee appointed to examine the rights of the Dean and Chapter to confer degrees, according to the custom of other Universities; and that the Proctor have power, by direction of the committee, to disburse any sums of money that shall be necessary to examine ancient records for that purpose." And it was afterwards further resolved, "that every member of the Chapter that attends, shall have a voice in said committee, of which the Dean to be always one."

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Collegiate and Cathedral Church

OF

ST. PATRICK.

BOOK II.

Chapt. I.

Annals of the Cathedral, from the establishment of the Deanery in 1219, *to the election of Dean Norris, in* 1457.

Sect. I. William Fitz-Guido, *Dean.*

1219—William Fitz-Guy or Guido, or, as Archbishop Alan calls him, "De London," was nominated: by the charter of Archbishop Henry De Loundres, the first Dean of this church,[a] which, in addition to its peculiar privileges already described, enjoyed, as a Cathedral, equal dignity and power with that of the Holy Trinity; saving only to the latter, the rank of seniority, to which pre-eminence it was entitled by reason of the greater antiquity of its establishment.[1]

The Canons of St. Patrick's were early engaged in two disputes with the Prior and Canons of Lanthony, near Gloucester; the first[2] was concerning the right of burial at Graghelaghe, which the former claimed as belonging to their Prebend of Clonmethan, the latter as appertaining to the church of Hollywood, of which they were Rectors; the second[3] dispute was about a similar right to the burials in the chapel of St. James of Palmerstown, near Greenock, which the Canons of St. Patrick's claimed as an appendage of the Prebend of Clonmethan, and the Prior of Lanthony as appertaining to the church of Oggary-bluets-town, now called Garristown. Both these affairs were submitted to the Archbishop's arbitration, who determined, in the former case, that the burials of the chapel of Grahelah should belong to the mother church of Holywood, but that the Vicar should pay four shillings per annum to the Prebendary of Clonmethan: in the latter, he decided, that the chapel

[1] Repert. Virid. [2] Al. Reg. 196. [3] Al. Reg. fol. 196.

[a] It appears, from the charter of Henry de Loundres, that Fitzguy was Prebendary of Clondalkin before the establishment of this dignity; he probably accompanied that Prelate to Ireland, when he was promoted to the see of Dublin.

of Palmerstown, with its burials, should belong to the church of Oggary-bluets-town, but that the Prior and Convent of Lantony should pay, to the Vicar of that chapel, four marks yearly; the Vicar was, moreover, to pay a pension of five shillings yearly, at the feast of St. Michael, to the Prebendary of Clonmethan, as a full compensation for any right he might have to the said burials.

1222—About the 24th of February, the Archbishop granted, to this Cathedral, 10*s*. per annum in perpetuity, and a like pension to the church of the Holy Trinity, upon the following occasion: during the Archbishop's absence at a general council, the Citizens of Dublin enclosed and tilled a parcel of ground belonging to him, which had been used by his tenants of St. Sepulchre's and St. Kevin's as a common pasture; the suit was terminated by a composition on the part of the Citizens under their common seal, ratifying to the Archbishop the above-mentioned pension. [4]

1223—This year Ralph de Bristol, the first Treasurer of this Cathedral, was consecrated Bishop of Kildare, he was succeeded in his treasurership by Robert Luttrel; about this time Lawrence, the Rector of Tavelagh, resigned that church to the Dean, the possession of which, together with that of the churches of Clonwanwyr and Kilberry, was confirmed to him by a grant witnessed by several members of the Chapter. [5]

1225—The Archbishop granted the church of Mone to the oeconomy. About this time William, Prior and the Convent of Malvern the lesser, [b] granted for ever to the uses of the oeconomy, half the tithes of the parish of Castleknock, of which Rob. Luttrel had a lease for his life; they agreed that the Archbishop, [c] after the death of Luttrel, might apply the said tithes in any manner to the use of this church; they reserved, however, to themselves, the great tithes of the land which Robert Blachford held in Castleknock; they also resigned to the Archbshop all right to the vicarage of Castleknock, with its small tithes and offerings, in order to provide better for the service of the cure; they resigned also, six acres of land near their mill on the Avon-liffey, for the use of the chapel lately built and consecrated by the Archbishop in the church-yard of Castleknock, and ordered half a mark to be paid yearly, by Robert Luttrel, to the Vicar of said parish; to themselves they reserved, moreover, the lands and tithes conferred on St. Bridget's church at Castleknock, which was the church of the Cell, founded by the Prior and Convent of little Malvern after their endowment by Henry de Loundres. [6]

Some little time after, this priory or cell of Castleknock, contested with the Canons of St. Patrick's, the tithes of the land lying between the water called Tolehan or Tulghen and the farm of Finglass, which they alledged belonged to the parish of Castleknock; the matter was compromised by means of the Archbishop and with consent of the Priory of little Malvern, upon which this cell was dependant. [7]

1227—On 26th April, King Hen. III. committed to Ralph de Norwich, a Canon of this Cathedral, the custody of the temporalities of the see of Emly, of which he had charge, until the year following, when John Cottingham was nominated thereto by papal provision.

The number, order and value of the prebends, in this Cathedral, is clearly displayed by a voluntary taxation which the Canons entered into this year, in order to

[4] Cr. mihi, fol. 93. [5] Al. reg. fol. 1. [6] Dign. Dec. from fol. 22 to 38. [7] Dign. Dec. from fol. 22 to 38.

[b] Malvern the lesser was a priory of Benedictines in Worcestershire, about three miles distant from great Malvern at Worcester, and was built, by some austere monks of that priory, in the wilderness of Malvern. Henry de Loundres, in 1221, granted to them the great tithes of Castleknock, on condition, that within three years they shonld add five monks to their number. Dign. Dec. from fol. 22 to fol. 38.

[c] Accordingly the Archbishop, soon after, confirmed this moiety to the oeconomy, and to the monks of Malvern their portion as here described. Al. reg. fol. 197.

punish non-residents, and to augment the common fund by the profits of the fines; the penalty was one fifth of each prebend, to be applied to the common use of those resident. [d] This document is published in the Appendix to this volume, (Numb. V.)

In the same year Gregory IX. by his bull, dated Lateran, xv. kal. Jan. first year of his pontificate, confirmed the Archbishop's grant of Taulaght, Clonwanwyr and Kilberry to the Dean. [8]

1230—After the death of Archbishop Henry, the Chapter petitioned the papal see for a confirmation of their new establishment; Pope Gregory accordingly issued a bull [9] to that effect, dated Perusium, xviii. kal. Decemb. third year of his pontificate; on the same day he confirmed to the Dean, the Archbishop's grant of the church of Telachmagory. [10]

King Henry III. by letters patent dated Winchester, 14th of April, confirmed to Luke, then Archbishop elect, and his successors for ever, the prebend of Stamuthan (Timothan,) near Tallagh, which prebend had been given by King John to Henry de Loundres, in recompence for the losses which the see of Dublin had suffered and the expenses he had incurred, in fortifying the castle of Dublin [11]; although granted at this time, it was not established a prebend until the eve of ascension day, in 1247.

Wido de Cornwall granted, this year, to the Chapter, a void space of ground which adjoined next to the houses of the Canons, for which they were to pay to him and his heirs, the yearly rent of six pence, in lieu of all services. [12]

Archbishop Luke, shortly after his consecration, confirmed to the Dean, the churches of Tallaght, Clonwanwyr and Clonardmagory. [c] About the same time the Dean and Chapter granted the patronage of Donoughmore or Yago, to the Earl Marshall.

1231—Archbishop Luke gave Derlassar and Harpstown to the Chancellor, in lieu of Killachegar; he likewise, this year, granted the church of Kilmesantan to the oeconomy.

1232—John de Taunton, one of the Canons, was this year made Bishop of Kildare, and Richard de Corner, likewise, was elevated to the Bishoprick of Meath, from a canonry in this church; he gave to the oeconomy, in augmentation of their means, some houses which he held from the Archbishop, and the court thereto adjoining; in the same year, Geoffry de Turville, Archdeacon of Dublin, entered on the office of Chancellor of Ireland, for Ralph Neville, Bishop of Winchester, who resided in England.

1235—On the festival of St. Vincentius, the Martyr, (22d Jan.) Archbishop Luke dedicated the altar in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, to the service of which he granted the church of Athdeere [13]; likewise, by his grant, dated Clontarreuf iii. id. August. and seventh year of his consecration, confirmed the privileges which the Chapter enjoyed, according to the usage of the church of Sarum,

[8] See pag. 26, note b.
[9] Dign. Dec. pag. 13.
[10] Dign. Dec. pag. 193.
[11] Al. reg. fol. 57.
[12] Dign. Dec. pag. 174.
[13] Vide Append. Num. XIX.

[d] "Ut de altari vivant, qui altari deserviunt." The church of St. Michael that occurs in this list should, I apprehend, be that of St. Nicholas, which is not mentioned; Stagonil is not mentioned by name, although it was appropriated to this college by the bull of Pope Celestine III. it might, however, be one of the last two.

[c] This grant is dated Finglas, xi. kal. Novemb. first year of his pontificate. Dign. Dec. pag. 193.

There is another deed in the same register, pag. 195, whereby this Archbishop confirmed to the Dean, the possessions which had been appropriated to that dignity by his predecessor, viz. the prebend of Clondolkan and its appurtenances, the church of Taulach and its appurtenances, the lands of Clonwanwyr and Kilberri, with all their free customs; likewise the churches of Clonwanwyr and Kilberri, and the church of Clonard with its chapels, when they should become vacant; this grant has the following clause, which I have seldom observed to have been used, but by the supreme Pontiff's: "Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei, ausu temerario, contraire; si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Dei Omnipotentis se noverit incursurum."

which he further extended, by giving to the Dean jurisdiction in the prebends of such as were absent without leave of the Archbishop or of the Dean and Chapter. [14]

1239—The privilege of jurisdiction within their respective parishes, was confirmed to the Canons by Pope Gregory IX. twelfth year of his pontificate. [15]

Sect. II. RICHARD GARDINER, *Dean.*

1240—The exact period of the death of Fitz-Guido, or the election of Richard Gardiner or de Gardino, cannot be now determined; the former occurs as witness to a deed with Archbishop Luke, in 1235; Gardiner, in like manner, witnesses a grant made by the same Archbishop, to the Convent of the Holy Trinity, about the year 1240, which latter record is still extant among the archives of that church. Soon after his election Gardiner obtained, from the Archbishop, a confirmation of the grants which had been made to the Dean and Chapter.

1242—The Archbishop, with consent of the Dean and Chapter, laid an impost on the houses of the Dignitaries and Canons, in order thereby, to raise a sum for the benefit of the common fund; this tax every new member of the Chapter was required to pay, before he obtained possession of the manse of his predecessors. [f] It was likewise ordered, that the third part of this tax should be appropriated to the support of the ministers officiating at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, to the intent that divine service should be performed there with greater solemnity. [1]

Ellena de Waville granted, in frankalmoigne, to the Canons of St. Patrick's Cathedral, an orchard and area of ground, whereon certain houses, belonging to the Canons, were built, situated opposite to that of the Chancellor; for which ground she used to receive seven silllings and six pence yearly; she also granted to them, her right to a mill on the river Dodder, near Rathfarnham. [g]

1243—About the latter end of January, the Abbot and Convent of St. Thomas entered into a covenant with the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, about the tithes of their mills; they agreed to pay, by way of composition, half a mark yearly for the same. [2]

1244—The Archbishop, with the Dean and Chapter, at the instance of Warin de Ffisacre Canon of St. Patrick's, granted to the Vicars a space of ground, at that time held by Warin from the oeconomy, for the purpose of building houses [h] thereon, that they might, with more ease, attend the offices of the church; this tenement was to be held by them from the Chapter, for ever, free from all secular service. The Vicars, of their own free will, bound themselves to celebrate one mass in the church every day, for the souls of the fathers and mothers of the Archbishop and of said Warin, and likewise for their souls when they should die; and, that on their anniversaries they would celebrate mass in a solemn manner [i]: the Vicars consented, that if in process of time they should neglect to perform this office, the Dean, at that time being, should have power, without appeal, to deprive them of

[14] Dign. Dec. pag. 40. [15] Dign. Dec. pag. 14. [1] Al. reg. fol. 202. [2] Trin. Col. MSS. F. 113.

[f] This document is in Alan's register, fol. 202; the proportions were as follows, viz.
The houses of Dean Richard, twenty marks.
——— Thomas de Craville, Chancellor, twenty marks.
——— Eugo, the Precentor, ten marks.
——— Hugh, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, ten marks.
——— John de Merlebergg, five marks.
——— Peter, the Chaplain, five marks.
——— Warin de Ffissacre, one hundred shillings.
——— the Prebendary of Swords, ten marks.
——— Eustacius, five marks.
——— Robert Lutterel, Treasurer, twenty marks.
The houses of William de Culna, five marks.
——— John de Chippenhame, five marks.
——— Hasculph, five marks.
Archbishop Alan informs us, in a note, that the manse of Eugo, the Precentor, became afterwards appropriated to the Vicars and that of Ffissacre to the Precentor.

[g] Al. reg. fol. 193. See Book I. Chapt. 11. note d, in this volume.

[h] Nota Alani—"Ecce domus Vicariorum, jam translata a mansa precentoris, cujus limites sunt contiguæ finibus civitatis." See this deed in Append. Numb. XIX.

[i] Before which "Classicum solemne facient pulsari."

their benefices until they should perform the same. In this year Geoffry de Turville, Archdeacon of Dublin, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Ossory.

About this time Hugh, son of Richard Tirrell of Castleknock, granted to St. Patrick's church and to the Archbishop of Dublin, all the land which William of Spain, alias William de Mariscis, lately held in the cantred of O'Konagh, in Munster, which had escheated to him by the forfeiture of said William; the form of this grant was afterwards altered, whereby a portion of this cantred was conveyed to the Archbishop, and a duty of twenty pounds of wax, yearly, was reserved to each of the Cathedrals. [3]

1247—On the eve of the Ascension Archbishop Luke, at the instance of the Dean and Chapter, made an act for the purpose of enforcing residence, to the following effect: that every Canon, within a year after the day of his appointment, should repair, in person, to St. Patrick's church and swear canonical obedience to the Archbishop, his successors and to the Chapter of St. Patrick's; also, to observe the customs and approved rules of the church; which, if he should fail to do, he was to be deprived of his prebend, his institution and instalment were to be null and void, and the prebend, thus vacated, might be conferred on whomsoever the Archbishop should think fit. [4]

1248—On the 12th of October, the Archbishop, with consent of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Baron of Offaly, made the church of Lathredbrune (Maynooth) a prebend of this cathedral, accordingly the Rector there, Richard de Carren, was installed in the choir; the perpetual right of presentation was reserved to the Baron and his heirs, and the prebendary was bound to provide a Vicar to serve in the choir, who was to enjoy similar benefits with the others of that degree. [5]

1249—After the death of Robert Luttrel, the Chapter, with the consent and approbation of the Archbishop, signed an instrument of partition, whereby the tithes of Castleknock were divided between them and the Convent of Malvern the lesser. [6]

Sect. III. RICHARD DE ST. MARTIN, *Dean.*

1250—Richard de St. Martin, or de Sancto Martino, appears to have been elected Dean about the year 1250; ten years before he, with other members of the chapter, witnessed a grant of Archbishop Luke's, to the Prior and Convent of Lantony.

Richard de St. Martin, probably, accompanied Archbishop Luke, who had been Dean of St. Martin's, to Ireland; he was likewise sent, by that prelate, along with Will. de Kilkenny, [k] his Proctor, furnished with recommendations from the Bishops of Chester, Ross and London, to Gregory IX. to procure that Pontiff's consent and confirmation of his election. In 1240, the same Archbishop presented him to the vicarage of Turvey or Dunabate; the rectory of that parish had been previously granted to the Nuns of Grane, who leased to him the rectorial tithes and glebe, whereon he erected several improvements. [l]

King Henry III. on the 4th of Feb. granted, in frankalmoigne, to the church of the Holy Trinity, three carucates, eighty-nine acres and a mill in Balscaddan;

[3] Al. reg. fol. 11 & 296. [4] Al. reg. fol. 108. Dign. Dec. 50 & Cr. mihi, 103. [5] Al. Reg. fol. 196.
[6] Dign. Dec. pag. 31. [l] Al. Reg, fol. 70, & Cr. mihi, 103.

[k] A person named William de Kilkenny was elected Bishop of Ely, in 1254; "Willielmus de Kilkenni, sic enim sepius dicitur," are the words of Wharton, Anglia sacra, pag. 636. It is difficult to imagine how this name could be attributed to any but a native of Ireland, and the correspondence, in point of time, seems to identify him with the person here mentioned. William de Kilkenny, Bishop of Ely, was likewise King's Chancellor in England, and Matthew Paris bears testimony to his admirable virtues; he calls him "Virum discretum et modestum et jurisperitum," and again he says of him, that he was "Elegans corpore et sermone compositus." Mat. Paris Hist. Maj. pag. 768. He enjoyed his episcopal honours only one year, for he died at Sugho, in Spain, in 1256, whither he had been sent in the quality of an Embassador by the King of England. There is a monument erected to him in the north isle of the choir of Ely Cathedral.

also, the homage and service due by Robert and Andrew Passelewe and William Fitzmilo, from their tenements in the same village; one carucate and twelve acres which Walter le Blund held in farm, during pleasure; a carucate which Will. Fitz-Gillekeran held in farm; four acres which Mat. Cristin held there, during pleasure; the contents of this tract of land was estimated at thirty librates, and was granted to the convent, upon condition they should pay, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, half the profits every year[2]; the Prior and Convent, after they had obtained possession, refused to fulfil the condition, whereof complaint being made, Archbishop Luke, with advice of John de Taunton, Bishop of Kildare, and others, made an order that the manor should still continue in possession of the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity, but that they should assign therefrom, fifteen librates to the Dean and Chapter.[b]

Although this decree obtained the assent of both Chapters, the Prior and Convent delayed to put the Dean and Chapter in possession, whereupon the Archbishop signified, that if they did not speedily satisfy the latter, he would be under the necessity of compelling them to do justice.

1251—Hugh de Mapilton, or de Glindelach, Archdeacon of Dublin, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory about the end of May, and in the month following he was made Treasurer of Ireland.

1253—Pope Innocent IV. on the 19th of May, tenth year of his pontificate, sent an order to Gilbert, Bishop of Emly; to Robert Neal, Bishop, and Thomas Woodford, Dean of Limerick, to determine a matter of complaint made by the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity against the Dean and Chapter, to whom they would not allow the privilege of voting at the election of an Archbishop[c]; Archbishop Luke had, previously, determined this cause in favor of the latter, and it is probable that those delegates determined in like manner, as we find the Dean and Chapter continued ever after to enjoy this privilege.

1259—Nicholas de Balimeni, Rector of Clonard, died, and although this church with its chapels had been granted to the Dean, the Archbishop conferred the benefice upon Peter de Clif; upon the Dean's representation, however, he decreed that the church and its appendages should then, and from thenceforth, be annexed to the deanery, but the Dean was obliged to pay P. de Clif, fifteen marks per annum, during his life; after his death, however, he was to be freed from any such charge: this agreement was finally confirmed by annexing the seals of the Archbishop and both Chapters; it is dated, Swerdys, xvi. kal. Jul. 1259.[3]

1261—This year the Dean and Chapter represented to Pope Alexander IV. how much their income, as well as that of the Vicars, was diminished by reason of a bull granted to the Archbishop, exempting from payment of tithe, all such of his lands as should be cultivated by himself or grazed by his own cattle, the Canons and Vicars being thereby deprived of their usual support; upon consideration of this matter the bull was, by papal authority, revoked, so far as related to this church.[4]

[2] Al. reg. fol. 107 & Cr. mihi, 89. [3] Dign. Dec. pag. 194. [4] Al. reg. fol. 11.

[b] Dign. Dec. pag. 177. Alan informs us, that the Chapter of St. Patrick's obtained, in lieu of their portion, two carucates of land at Ballyogan, and one at Rathsalcan. See Book I. Chapt. 11, note q.

[c] In this instrument, which is extant among the records of Christ church, we find the Prior and Convent taxing the Archbishop with premeditated injustice, "voluntatis sequens arbitrium, non judicium rationis;" they asserted, that the Chapter had no right, "consuetudine vel jure." It further appears that the Archbishop had, previous to his decision, bound the parties, by an oath, to abide his determination, as the Pope orders his commission to be executed "arbitrio, pœna et juramento prædicti, nihil obstantibus:" from Lib. Alb. St. Trin. we learn that he bound the Chapter of St. Patrick in a sum of two hundred pounds, to observe the rules established by him in the election of an Archbishop.

The informality in his own election and the evils subsequent thereto, made these regulations necessary; notwithstanding all his precautions, those disputes were again renewed upon his death, which took place on the 13th December 1255.

1266—Pope Clement IV. at the request of the Dean and Chapter, confirmed to them all their privileges and likewise their exemption from secular services. [5]

1267—About this time Archbishop Fulco de Sandford erected the church of Killusky into a prebend, and annexed it to the Archdeaconry of Glendaloch for ever, in right of which prebend that Dignitary was to enjoy a stall in the choir and voice in the chapter-house, and all other privileges of a Canon; to John de Notingham, the incumbent, was reserved an income of twenty marks sterling, per annum, for life, to be paid by the Archdeacon [6]: in the same year Will. Godman gave to the Chapter, an annual rent of three shillings per annum, bequeathed to him by his Uncle Will. de Notyngham, for wax lights, to be used in St. Mary's chapel. [7]

The church of Donoughmore in Omayle, with its appendages, was this year appropriated to the oeconomy by Archbishop Fulco, who ordained that the treasurer of the cathedral should receive all the profits of the same, and pay to each of the Canons, [n] who, at that time, enjoyed the prebends thereof, twenty-four marks sterling per annum, during life or incumbency; that upon the death of each of them, a new Canon should be nominated, who was to enjoy a stall in the choir and a voice in the chapter; they were, each, to receive one hundred shillings yearly, out of the oeconomy fund, without the charge of a Vicar, and likewise their commons, until the Archbishop should assign to them an equivalent thereto, in some fixed place: this Archbishop, further, established a perpetual vicarage in the church of Donoughmore, and assigned a carucate of land, of the yearly value of fifteen marks, for the use of the Vicar, to whom the treasurer of St. Patrick's was to pay whatever it should produce short of that value; the treasurer was, also, to pay to Will. Monachus ten marks, and Will. Barbedor six marks, yearly, during their lives, in remuneration of the sums they used to receive out of a chapel depending on the mother church of Donoughmore. If, however, the Dean and Chapter should fail in performing their part of this contract, the Archbishop was to have power, in future, to nominate two prebendaries, in like manner as Haureberg and Gibeoun had been appointed. [8]

Sect. IV. JOHN DE SAUNFORD, *Dean.* [a]

1269—About this time John de Saunford, [b] brother to the Archbishop, was elected Dean; he was of the order of Franciscans, and highly esteemed for his learning and wisdom.

He came to Ireland, probably, to be Vicar-General to his brother, of whose affairs we find him entrusted with the absolute management, in 1266. [c]

In 1272 he was appointed Escheator of Ireland, by King Henry III. instead of William de Bakepur; that King died on the 16th of November, in the same year, while his son, Edward, was in the Holy-land, labouring under a wound which he received, by a poisoned knife, from a messenger of the Soldan of Babylon; he

[5] Dign. Dec. pag. 15. [6] Al. reg. fol. 157. [7] Dign. Dec. pag. 174.
[8] Vide Al. reg. fol. 154 & 155; Cr. mihi, fol. 100.

[d] Rich. Haureberg and Anselm Gubeoun "qui, in Ecclesia, nomine prebendarum, quasdam portiones receperunt."

[a] The Reader will find a more ample account of Saunford in the History of the Archbishops of Dublin.

[b] John de Saunford was rector of Maynooth, having been presented thereto by the Baroness of Naas, as we learn from the ancient account of this diocess in the Crede mihi.

[c] He acted as attorney for his brother, in the dispute between the Archbishop and the Citizens of Dublin, A. D. 1268; in the year following he settled a dispute with the Prior of Kilmainham, relative to the Archbishop's visitorial power over the church of Stafythenane; he is denominated Vicar-General of the diocess, in some records of this latter year. In 1270, John de Saunford appointed R. Fitz-Richere, guardian to Thomas de Ladewiche, a minor, the wardship of whom belonged to the Archbishop; the said guardian was to have custodium of the lands, rendering to the Archbishop and his assigns, for the wardship, the sum of nine marks yearly, at the church of St. Patrick of Derneskill, together with forty shillings yearly rent: to the Archbishop were reserved all wardships, marriages, reliefs or escheats which should happen before the ward should become of age; his brother, Archbishop Fulco de Saunford, died in May the next following year. Al. regist. fol. 139.

did not come to England till 25th July 1274; however, soon after the King's death, a letter was sent by the English Council, and signed by Chancellor Merton, dated 7th December, notifying the King's death and joining Dean Saunford, the King's Escheator, in a commission with Maurice Fitz-Maurice, Lord Justice, and Hugh Taghmon, Bishop of Meath, who were thereby, jointly and severally, empowered to administer the oath of allegiance and receive the fealty of all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Clergy, Nobles, and others the King's subjects of Ireland. [1]

In 1274, the King presented to two prebends of this cathedral [d]; and on the 6th of January following, conferred the Archdeaconry of Dublin upon William de Salinis. [e]

It appears that the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity objected to the form of the King's mandate for installing this Archdeacon, insisting that it ought to be directed to them and not to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's; the Archdeacon, they argued, enjoyed, during the vacancy of the see, the jurisdiction of the spiritualities throughout the province, which jurisdiction he could receive only from them and ought to be presented to them for that end: they prayed the King, therefore, to alter the form of the aforesaid mandate [f]: both parties were accordingly summoned to appear before the King, with their evidences concerning this matter, who appointed commissioners [g] to decide the cause; the Prior and Convent were not, however, able to produce any precedents for what they alledged; but they declared, that thro respect to the King, they would always respect William de Salinis as Archdeacon, the King, accordingly, sent an order to the Lord Justice, to put him in possession of his dignity.

1275—By an act of Eudo, the Precentor, and the Chapter, on the 11th Oct. this year, they granted to Roger Oweyn, Citizen of Dublin, the yearly pension of forty shillings, for affording them his advice in spiritual and temporal matters relating to the church. [2]

1277—The see still continuing vacant, the King presented Iterius de Brochard to the prebend of Swords, and the prebend, which became void by this promotion, he gave to Adam de Wadonhall. [3]

[1] Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 118. [2] Cr. mihi, fol. 103, [3] Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 196.

[d] On the 7th of July, second year of his reign, the King granted to Henry de Wodestok, "clerico suo," that prebend with its appurtenances, which Master Roger le Dru, late deceased, held in the church of Dublin, and which was in the King's nomination, by reason of the vacancy of that see; he likewise granted to Anthony Bek, the prebend which had become vacant by death of Michael de Roymull. Prynne, vol. III. pag. 136. Likewise, on the 3d of December, third year of his reign, he nominated Iterius Brochard to the prebend which Galfrid de Insula held. Prynne, vol. III. pag. 173.

[e] "Rex dedit et concessit dilecto clerico suo, Willielmo de Salinis, Archidiaconatum Dublin. cum præbenda eidem annexa, quem Magister Willielmus de Northfeld, defunctus, habuit in predicta Ecclesia Dublin. &c." he likewise ordered the Dean and Chapter of Dublin, to assign him a stall in the choir and voice in the chapter, according to custom. Marleburg, 6th January. Prynne, vol. III. pag. 173.

[f] Prynne, in his appendix, pag. 1207, has given us an account of this matter; the Prior and Convent (with whom were joined in this opposition, the Chapters of Kildare and Lecblin) alledged, that although the King could confer the prebends during the vacancy of the see, he could not confer the spiritualities. "Apud omnes sit notorium, quod ad Archidiaconatum Dublin. sede vacante, jurisdictio et omnimoda spiritualitas totius Archiepiscopatus, suffraganeorum et aliorum omnium subditorum, a tempore cujus memoria non existit, spectare consuevit;" these privileges, all predecessors of the Archdeacon did possess; they, therefore, opposed the King's collation of William de Salinis, disregarded his excommunication, and held the keys of the church from him for forty days; whereupon he appealed to the King, requiring advice from his officers how to proceed, and demanding the aid of secular power in defence of the King's authority.

[g] Thomas Bek and Robert de Scardeburg were nominated to adjudge this cause. "Coram quibus" says the record, "cum fuisset inter partes, per plures dies, super quæstione hujusmodi altercatum, tandem quæsitum fuit a parte dictorum, prioris et conventus: utrum haberent aliquam præsentationem sibi factam super ipso Archidiaconatu a Regibus Angliæ, temporibus retroactis? vel aliqnid aliud per quod possent de jure suo, vel possessione sua, nostram conscientiam super hoc infirmare? quibus respondentibus, se præ manibus non habere; quæsitum fuit ulterius: utrum videtur eisdem justum vel æquum, an quod nos, propter nudam eorum assertionem, deberemus mandatum quod faceremus pro prædicto Gulielmo dictis, Decano et Capitulo, revocare? ad quod directe taliter responderunt, quod volebant, pro bono pacis et ob reverentiam regiam, prædictum Gulielmum tenere pro Archidiacono, de cætero, et habere. Quare vobis mandamus, quatinus prædictum Archidiaconum faciatis in omnibus, secundum quod prædecessores sui usi sunt, pacifica dicti Archidiaconatus possessione guadere; non permittentes eundem super prædictis a prædictis, priore et conventu, aliqualiter impediri: provideatis tamen, quod ipsi, prior et conventus, per ipsum Archidiaconum vel ipsius offic. indebite non graventur. Teste Rege, apud Wynton, 8 Die Decembris." Prynne Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. pag. 184.

1278—The Archdeaconry being vacant by the death of William de Salinis, the King presented Geoffry de Aspel thereto and sent an order to the Dean and Chapter to install him. [4]

1279—It appears that Dean Saunford was, this year, a Justice of the King's Bench; having, in that capacity, decided a cause at Clonmell, wherein Margaret de Blund was plaintiff and David Mac-Carwayl, Archbishop of Cashel, defendant.

1280—About this time Richard de Dukesworth, Rector of the church of Kilbele, in the diocess of Dublin, granted his lands and tenements, in the lordship of Kilberry, for the use of the perpetual Vicars officiating at divine service at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in St. Patrick's church, and for the better supplying it with lights. The Dean and Chapter petitioned Pope Nicholas III. and obtained the sanction of the apostolic see to this grant. [5]

1282—On the 2d of October, the King wrote to Dean Saunford, his Escheator, and to Thomas de Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, to raise money by loan from the clergy and laity, for the King's use, to be employed in the necessities of the state, on account of the insurrection of the Welsh. [6]

1283—This year the King, by letters patent, dated 28th August, confirmed to Dean Saunford and his heirs, a tenure of lands called *Wastes*, lying in Connaught, for which he was to pay into the treasury at Dublin, thirty-four pounds per annum; the King, likewise, enjoined that, over and above the rent, Saunford should perform the service of half a knight's fee and make suit at the court in the county of Roscommon. [h]

1284—On the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Dean and Chapter, and the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity entered into a mutual agreement to maintain, at their joint expense, their right to chuse an official, during the vacancy of the see. [7]

Sect. V. THOMAS DE CHADDESWORTH, *Dean.*

1284—Upon demise of John de Derlington, the Chapters of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity obtained the King's license to elect an Archbishop in his room; John de Saunford was, upon this occasion, elevated to that dignity by the united suffrages of both Chapter's, and the deanery becoming vacant by his promotion, Thomas de Chaddesworth, Chancellor of this Cathedral, was elected, some time in the month of May, [a] in this year.

Chaddesworth was Chancellor of St. Patrick's during part of the time that R. de St. Martin was Dean; they both occur as witnesses to the same deed, under those titles: in 1272 he was appointed keeper, to the King's use, of the temporalities of the Archbishoprick of Dublin, [b] the profits of the see having been appropriated by King Henry III. toward defraying his son Prince Edward's expenses in the Holy-land.

[4] Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 219. [5] See pag. 69, note k. [6] Rymer, Vol. II. pag. 220. [7] Al. reg. fol. 174.

[h] The names of these lands were as follows:

"In Theodo" de Cloconewy, on both sides of the water, the towns of Drumemore, Thachte, Macconhirethe, Dromneynethe, Deynsleves, Crerring, Rosmoylan, Swynarnane, Collkeydulte, Clonconussethe, Donnathmegane, Clonysmony, Ballybrogane, Ballidwoley, Ballymetranane, Ymelach, Hotheth, Clonyhalgane, Reynbatan, and Killenatigg; except one carucate of land which William Fitzwarren held in fee; these towns contained twenty-four carucates and fifty-nine acres. Without the same, "extra idem Theodum," the towns of Loghderke, Clonerduff, Rathytherthe, Dromethe, Leyderge, Leymore, Ymekethelassin, Balliclawye, Fferath and Ballymacthethe, containing eleven carucates and forty acres. Al. regist. fol. 30.

[a] The Congé d' elire for election of an Archbishop was dated 5th May 1284, and Walter Scamnel, who obtained restitution of the temporalities of the see of Sarum on the 24th of that month, was Dean of Sarum, when the answer was returned to Chaddesworth's requisition for a copy of statutes of that church. Vide Append. Num. III. Sect. 3. Le Neve Fasti, pag. 257.

[b] In 1276 the King wrote to the Barons of the Exchequer, to pay unto Thomas Chaddesworth, for the time he had been guardian of the temporalities, forty marks per annum, and likewise to continue to pay him the like salary during the time he should continue in charge. Prynne, Papal Usurpations, Vol. III. pag. 184.

Chaddesworth had, before his resignation of the Chancellorship, commenced a suit in the Consistory court, at that time held in St. Patrick's church, against Will. de Meones, Clerk, executor of the last will of John de Derlington, late Archbishop; John de Rencombe, official during the vacancy, was judge of that court. [c] Chaddesworth set forth, that by command of the Archbishop, he had gone from Dublin to London, and had encountered great personal danger both by sea and land, being commissioned to proceed to Rome, for the purpose of defending the right of the see of Dublin to the Primacy, against the Archbishop of Armagh; afterwards the Archbishop changed his purpose, but had made no satisfaction to Chaddesworth for his trouble and expense; he claimed for his losses, sustained in this service, the sum of sixty pounds. [1]

As soon as Chaddesworth was elected Dean, he and his Chapter wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, for a copy of the statutes of that church [d]; the cathedral of Sarum had been forty years re-building, and was, in 1258, consecrated with great solemnity, perhaps at that time their statutes had been new modelled; Walter Scamnell was, at that time, Dean of Sarum, he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury 22d October 1284, and had been a Canon of St. Patrick's. [2]

Soon after that Chaddesworth was made Dean, he granted to the Vicars, half a messuage and mill in St. Patrick-street, formerly Robert de Wavill's, whereof he was infeoffed by John Hatch, jun. this tenement was assigned to them in perpetuity, paying to the Archbishop the rent and service due to him therefrom and celebrating the anniversaries of Chaddesworth, his father and mother, and his brother Nicholas. [3]

On the 22d of October the King wrote to the Dean and Chapter to install James de Ispania, nephew of his consort, Queen Eleanor; who was sister to the King of Spain, in the canonry of St. Patrick's, which had been lately possessed by Walter Scamnell, Dean of Sarum, who was promoted to the bishoprick of Sarum. [e]

1289--Pope Nicholas IV. invested Thomas St. Leger, Bishop of Meath, with power to recover, for the cathedral of St. Patrick, such of their lands, tithes and other revenues, as had been unjustly alienated, either for term of life or years, or for ever; notwithstanding the leases might have been confirmed by the apostolic see; and enjoined him to cause the property thus detained to be restored and to force all that should resist by ecclesiastical censures without appeal. [f]

About the same time, the Dean and Chapter represented to the Pope their having lost, through ignorance of the law, [g] some privileges and indulgences which had been granted to them, by his predecessors, in the papal see; they obtained a bull, dated iii. non. August. renewing all former privileges, except such as they had lost by prescription or had been otherwise legally dispossessed of. [4]

On the 31st of October this year, Stephen de Brogan, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, was elected Archbishop of Cashel by the Dean and Chapter of that church, who sent him to England to the King to receive his approbation of their choice and ratification of his election.

[1] Nov. reg. S. Trin. pag. 277. [2] Dign. Dec. pag. 17. [3] Al. regist. fol. 1. [4] Dign. Dec. pag. 16.

[c] It appears, from the preface to this document, that Rencombe derived his authority from the Dean and Chapter and the Prior and Convent; the words are "J. de Rencombe officialis Dub. datus seu constitutus a Capitulis Ecclesiarum Cathedralium Stæ. Trinitatis et Sti Patricii Dub. sede vacante, discreto viro, Decano Christianitatis Dublin. Salutem, &c."

[d] The letter of Dean Chaddesworth, and the answer of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, are published in the Appendix, Numb. III. Sect. 3.

[e] Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. pag. 329. It appears, from an ancient taxation, that this prebend was one moiety of Luske. See Book I. Chapt. 6.

[f] This bull is dated xiii. kal. May, second year of his pontificate. Al. regist. fol. 14.

[g] "Propter simplicitatem et juris ignorantiam."

1291—Pope Nicholas IV. wrote to the Bishop of Meath and the Dean of Dublin, to collect, for his own use, the tithe of ecclesiastical revenues, which had been granted for six years to King Edward, towards his expedition to the Holy-land.[5]

1294—This year the Chapters met at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and chose Adam de Furneis, a Canon of the Holy Trinity and Vicar of Kylkolyn, official of the diocess during the vacancy of the see.[6]

1295—The see having become vacant by the death of John de Saunford, Dean Chaddesworth was chosen Archbishop by the suffrages of both Chapters; they certified the object of their choice to the King by a letter, dated iv. kal. May.[h] but the election having been proceeded on before the King's licence was obtained, he was sent back to a new election, which being, by these delays, protracted beyond the time allowed, the Pope found an excuse for not confirming it. After the death of Hothum, whom the Pope nominated upon this occasion, Chaddesworth was again elected in the same irregular way; but the Chapter of St. Patrick's, fearful of punishment for contempt, did not concur with the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity on this second occasion; they nominated, however, three of their body to be present, least, in future, their right to elect might be impeached; it does not appear that even Chaddesworth himself consented to this last election; he was, in all likelihood, deterred by the same motives which influenced the other members of this Chapter: neither were their fears without foundation, for the parties were all summoned to appear and answer before the King, at Westminster, in the year 1305.[i]

1296—The Dean, together with the Prior of the Holy Trinity, preferred a complaint to Bonifice VIII. of encroachments made by Rich. de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, upon their right to exercise the jurisdiction of the Archbishop during the vacancy of the see of Dublin, whereupon the Pope referred the matter to the Prior of All Saints, Dublin, who was authorised to enquire into the ground of complaint and to see justice done.[7]

Dean Chaddesworth was, at this time, a Justice of the King's Bench; Thomas de Sueterbye, a Canon of this church, and John de Ponte, were his assistants; he continued, probably, in this office during the remainder of his life, for we find him determining causes in the year 1303[8]: he occurs as Justice so early as the eighteenth of Edw. I. and in the twenty-second year of that King's reign, we find him joined in commission with William de Devenishe, and determining, as Judge of Assize, a cause relating to Ardmacrenan.

1299—Archbishop Richard de Feringes, after his consecration, had appointed the Dean his Vicar-General; but, soon after, some persons, ill inclined to him, having suggested that he was unable to discharge that trust by reason of his great age, the Archbishop wrote to the Chapter to provide a fit person; he wrote, also, to the Dean himself, a letter, wherein he seems to urge him to relinquish his office and to recommend a suitable person.[k] We find him, however, exercising that office in a remarkable manner during the contest which took place in the next following year, between this Chapter and the Convent of the Holy Trinity, of which an account is given in the annals of that cathedral: Chaddesworth was, moreover, chosen Vicar-General by Havering, the successor of Richard de Feringes; and, so late as the year 1310, we find him exercising that office.

[5] Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 868. [6] Nov. reg. ex Lib. Alb. fol. 14, et Dign. Dec. pag. 45.
[7] Dign. Dec. pag. 58. Orig. among Christ church records. [8] Christ church records.

[h] In their recommendation of him to the King, the Chapter applied the following eulogium to Dean Chaddesworth, "virum utique meritis preclarum, prudenti probitate circumspectum, vitæ, morum honestate, ac convenienti literarum scientia affluentem, Regno vestro necessarium et perutilem." Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. pag. 638.

[i] Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. pag. 1061.

[k] Both these letters are published by Prynne, vol. III. pag. 943, "ex bundela Brevium 29 et 30 Edw. I." The Archbishop, in his letter to the Dean, speaks highly of his former services and leaves it to his choice whether he will continue to serve or retire.

1300—In this year a dispute between the two cathedrals, was, in some measure, settled by the authority of Archbishop Richard de Ferringes; that Prelate's decision on their respective claims is given in the appendix, (Numb. VI.) but a more particular account of this contest, as likewise of many others which subsisted between those churches, may be found in the history of the cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

Nicholas le Clerc, Archdeacon of Dublin, preferred a complaint to the papal see, against the Dean for installing the Prior of the Holy Trinity, which, he insisted, was his right to perform, as was likewise that of installing every Prior of the diocess; hereupon the Pope issued his bull, dated 3d October 1301, directed to the Archdeacon of Armagh, who was authorised to try and adjudge this matter; however, the proctors of both parties found means to accommodate the business, [9] and the Archdeacon dropped the prosecution. [10]

1303—On the 31st of August, Archbishop Ferings made the churches of Stagonyl and Tipperkevin prebends of this cathedral; this was done in the chapter-house upon the Archbishop's primary visitation. Since the time of John de Saunford, who died in 1294, the cathedral had not been visited; hence, the church suffered many intolerable oppressions and became miserably loaded with debts; therefore, as the record states, for its present relief, future advancement and the glory of GOD, the Archbishop added the church of Stagonyl as a new prebend, and ordered that the prebendary should pay ten marks sterling, per annum, to the oeconomy, and thereto bind himself, upon his installation, by oath; although, by custom of the church, he might be compelled by ecclesiastical censure: he likewise added the church of Tipperkevin with its appurtenances, to be divided into two portions, for the support of two Canons more, who were to swear, likewise, at their admission, to pay eight marks sterling, per annum, each to the oeconomy; in these appointments he reserved to the Archdeacon, his right as to visitations and proxies from those churches, which was to be enjoyed by him in as full a manner as before they were made prebendal; and, for the better support of divine service in St. Patrick's church, he ordered that each of the said prebendaries should pay stall wages to a Vicar, in the cathedral, out of the income of their prebends, who should attend divine service for them in their absence; he further added a caution, that the cure of souls be not neglected in those prebendal churches. [11]

1304—The Archbishop, by his grant, dated Swords, Friday next after the feast of St. James, renewed the privileges granted, by his predecessors, to the Dean and Chapter, and particularly the exemption of their prebendal churches and the churches of the oeconomy from visitations of the Archdeacon or Dean. The Dean and Chapter were required to appoint some one of the Canons or other Priest, to examine into the condition of the chancels of those churches and into the conduct of the ministers officiating there, and report to the Chapter if any thing should be wanting in the necessary repairs of buildings, ornaments or books, or defective in the ministers; and the Dean and Chapter were to reform the same: the expenses of the visiting Canon were to be paid out of the common fund; he further enacted, that fines might be levied for defects, they were, however, to be appropriated solely to sustentation of the fabrick of the cathedral: he likewise ordained, that the Archbishop might, in person, visit the Chapter through the Dean and make salutary regulations, the punishments inflicted, if of a pecuniary nature, were to be applied to the fabric of the Cathedral; and, that this visitation might not be exercised for the sake of mere temporal gain, the proxies to be paid were fixed at ten marks, for the cathedral, the prebendal churches and those appropriated to the oeconomy. [1]

[9] Nov. reg. ex orig. [10] Christ church records. [11] Al. regist. fol. 185.

1305—The King having made William de Hothum prebendary of Swords, and John de Wyke, collector's of the tenths for three years, from ecclesiastical benefices; he issued, on the 17th of June, writs under his great seal, to those collectors, urging them speedily to bring in all arrears, which he ordered them to levy, as well by interdicts, suspensions, excommunications and other ecclesiastical censures, as by process from the Exchequer; and further desired them to pay, out of the moneys so collected, one thousand marks, which he had borrowed from the Italian merchants, towards defraying the expenses of Walter de Wynterbourne, his chaplain, made a Roman cardinal; the Archbishops and Bishops were likewise called upon to lend their assistance to the collectors. On the 7th of November, the exertions of the above-named being insufficient for the purpose, he joined William de Moens a canon of this church, and John le Marischal a canon of Kildare, to the commission. [12]

In Michaelmas term, this year, both chapters were attached and prosecuted at Westminster before the parliament, at the King's suit, for having proceeded, before they had obtained the King's license, to elect a new archbishop in the place of Will. de Hothum, who deceased in 1298; notwithstanding all their pleas and excuses, the temporalities of the Prior and Convent were seized into the King's hands: the Dean and Chapter, however, alledged that they went to election only to preserve their right of being present, lest their absence might, in after times, be cited as a precedent against them, they likewise pleaded that they had required the election to be postponed until the arrival of the license; accordingly they were pardoned the contempt. [m]

1306 [n]—On the festival of St. Petronille, the Dean and Chapter entered into a solemn association, sealed with the chapter-seal, and confirmed with the oaths of all present, viz. the Dean, Treasurer and ten Canons; they bound themselves thereby, to support the liberties and privileges of the church which had been much neglected, and to restore it to its pristine dignity, and pledged themselves to oppose any person whatsoever who should endeavour to subvert their rights. [13]

Upon the election which, this year, took place for an Archbishop, the Chapter chose their precentor, Richard Havering; the Prior and Convent elected a canon of their own, Nicholas le Botiler.

1309—The Dean was, this year, joined with others in a commission to examine the Templers, by inquisition, in the castle of Dublin, upon certain articles set forth in a bull from the see of Rome. [14]

1310—Richard de Havering, Archbishop elect, erected the church of Adderk into a prebend and conferred it on Adam de Stratton, by authority of letters directed to the Dean, his Vicar-General: at this time Alexander de Bicknore, Preb. of Maynooth, was appointed Vice-dean, on account of the infirmities of Chaddesworth, [15] who died some time between the 4th of September this year, and 1312.

1311—In this year Archbishop John Lech procured a bull from Pope Clement V. confirming his establishment of an university within this cathedral. [16]

[12] Prynne, vol. III. pag.1087. [13] Dign. Dec. pag. 144. [14] Rymer, Vol. III. pag. 180.
[15] Alan's notes, regist. T. C. D. fol. 450. [16] See Book I. Chapt. 14.

[l] See this deed in the Appendix to this volume, Numb. III. Sect. 6: besides the places there referred to, it may be found in Al. regist. fol. 130.

[m] See more of this matter in the History of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

[n] The prebends of this cathedral were valued in this year, for the purpose of their being taxed one tenth, which proportion was to be levied on all ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom: this valuation is to be found in the tables annexed to the notes, at the end of this volume.

Sect. VI. WILLIAM RODYARD, *Dean.*

1312—About this time William Rodyard was elected Dean; in the beginning of the preceding year he had been constituted Vicar-General by John Lech, which commission the Archbishop, however, revoked on the 1st of October in the following year; he was treasurer of St. Patrick's at the time of his election to the deanery.

1313—About the latter end of this year, at an election of an Archbishop in the room of John Lech, the Chapters were much divided. Walter Thornbury, Precentor of St. Patrick's and Chancellor of Ireland, was chosen by some, whilst Alexander de Bykenore, Prebendary of Maynooth and Treasurer of Ireland, was elected by others; at the same time some of the Canons dissented from both and gave their voices to Dean Rodyard, who declined, however, to take on himself the charge, unwilling perhaps to oppose the two above-named members of his own chapter. Thornbury set sail for Rome, to be consecrated by the Pope, but was, the night after he sailed, drowned with one hundred and fifty-six other persons, in the harbour of Dublin; by this mishap, Bykenore, deprived of a competitor, was elected by unanimous suffrage. Soon after his consecration he confirmed to the Dean and Chapter, all their former privileges, and particularly that, whereby the prebendaries were granted the pleas and perquisites of their respective churches, which, by this charter, was vested in the Dean if they should absent themselves without the Archbishop's licence; the preamble mentions the decay of the church, and, that by reason of the frequent inroads of the neighbouring tribes, the livings of the dignitaries and prebendaries had been rendered insufficient for their support. [1]

1313—The prebend of Cullen was ordered to be sequestered, on account of three years tithes due by the late Archbishop to the Pope, which William Lech, treasurer to the Archbishop, had neglected to pay. [2]

1315—The Dean and Chapter were summoned, in this year, to attend a parliament; for this purpose King Edward issued letters to them to meet with the prelates and noblemen of Ireland, to consult with Edward le Botiler, Lord Justice, Richard de Bereford, chancellor, and Walter de Islep, treasurer, concerning weighty matters relating to the kingdom, to be delivered, "viva voce," by the aforesaid persons, to the estates of the nation. [3] This assembly was looked on as the most considerable for rank and quality that had ever met in the kingdom; there were present, four Archbishops, ten Bishops, the Abbot of St. Thomas, Prior of Kilmainham, the Dean and Chapter of Dublin, almost all the Nobility of English extraction, and many Irish Lords, as O'Hanlon, Chief "Dux" of Orry, (Orier,) O'Donnell, Chief of Tyrconnell, O'Neil, Chief of Tyrone, and many others. [4]

1316—This year a violent tempest overwhelmed several houses and likewise destroyed the spire of this cathedral.

On the 23d of February, the church was set on fire by the Mayor and Commons of the city of Dublin, who destroyed the suburbs of the city on account of the approach of Edward Bruce, brother to the Scottish King, whose army lay, at that time, encamped at Castleknock: this invasion was suggested by the policy of Robert Bruce, who proposed thereby to keep alive the embers of rebellion and thus form a diversion for the forces of King Edward II. until he should get himself firmly fixed in his throne. [5]

The ravages made by the Citizens fell nothing short of the desolation of war itself; they set fire to Thomas-street, St. John's church, the chapel of St. Mary Magdelene,

[1] Dign. Dec. pag. 42. [2] Orig. Archives Cath. St. Trin. [3] Rymer, Vol. III. pag. 510. [4] Cox, pag. 120. [5] Loftus's annals.

St. Mary's-abbey, (where they took the Earl of Ulster prisoner and confined him in the castle of Dublin;) in short, all the suburbs, in order to secure their own property and deprive the enemy of their expected prey; and in this they succeeded to their wish; for the enemy, finding all effects removed within the walls and the city well fortified, turned their arms another way: some rogues, however, taking advantage of the confusion, robbed this cathedral of its treasures and ornaments. In the year following, the Mayor and Commons represented to the King the necessity they lay under of committing this waste, who thereupon wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, Roger de Mortimer, that the Citizens should not be proceeded against, but, that restitution should be made to the inhabitants of the suburbs; this order is dated 10th December, 11 Edward II. [6]

1317—Pope John XXII. wrote to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel and the Dean of Dublin, to excommunicate Robert Bruce and his followers and likewise Edward his brother, if they did not render satisfaction and make restitution for the ravages, murders, robberies and burnings of churches, committed throughout the kingdom by their adherents. [7]

The same Pope, on the 10th of April, issued his mandate to the Dean and the other persons before-mentioned, to proceed, by inquisition, against the orders of mendicants and all who had presumed to alienate the affections of the people of Ireland from King Edward, or should by open preaching or private cabals dispute the right of the crown of England over the subjects of this kingdom. [8]

Among the subsidies granted by the clergy, we find the Canons of this cathedral cessed, for their proportions, the sum of twenty-two pounds, nine shillings and ten pence half-penny; the temporalities of the Archbishop were not rated, the see being at that time vacant. [9]

1318—On the festival of St. Vincent the Martyr, an agreement was made between the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's and Roger Outlaw, the Prior of Kilmainham, to the strict observance of which, he had bound himself and his successors in the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, before Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, at that time Lord Justice: the intent of this contract was, that he should permit the Archbishop, or during the vacancy of the see, the Chapter, to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, and the Archdeacon his archidiaconal rights, as they were anciently used, in Rathmore and the neighbouring churches; but, if the prior and brethern, or their successors, should, at any time thenceforward, make use of any privilege or exception against such jurisdiction, then the Dean and Chapter were to have power to raise that sum out of the goods, chattels, lands or tenements of the priory. [10]

Some little time after, the same prior and his brethern bound themselves to pay to the Chapter, ten pounds of wax, yearly on St. Patrick's day, by way of pension for the church of Rathmore; in case of failure in the payment of which, the Chapters were empowered to sequester the tithes of that parish. [11]

1319—The Prior and Convent of St. Wolstans bound themselves by a voluntary contract, sealed with their conventual seal and dated xviii. kal. May, to pay to this church five pounds of wax, yearly on St. Patrick's-day, by way of pension for the church of Stathcomney, and if they failed in payment thereof, subjected the fruits of that church to sequestration and themselves to ecclesiastical censures. [12]

1320—The first commencement of which we have any account, was celebrated in the university of this cathedral, this year; Dean Rodyard was chosen Chancellor, and took his degree as Doctor in the canon law.

[6] Rymer, Vol. III. pag.682. [7] Rymer, Vol. III. pag. 620. [8] Rymer, Vol. III. pag. 630. [9] Rot. Pipæ.
[10] Dign. Dec. pag. 53. [11] Dign. Dec. pag. 55. [12] Dign. Dec. pag. 172.

1322—By an act of the Archbishop, which bears date 29th of August in this year, the church of Incheboyne or Innisbohin was made a prebend of this cathedral, no new member was introduced into the Chapter thereby[a]; and the change was to take place after the death of the Rector, John de Kingston.

Pope John XXII. imposed upon the Clergy of Ireland, two years tenths from all ecclesiastical benefices, for the use of King Edward II, and commanded the Dean and Chapter to levy them; to this tax much opposition was given by the Prelates and Clergy.[b]

1325—The Dean was appointed, in this year, to hear the cause of the Lady Alice Kettle, whom Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, accused of sorcery; the story is related by Campion,[c] in the following terms.

"At this time lived in the diocesse of Ossorye, the Lady Alice Kettle, whom the Bishop ascited to purge the fame of inchaunting and witch-craft objected to her, and to Petronilla, and Basill her complices." They charged her mightily to have carnall conference with a spirit called Robin Artison, to whom shee sacrifized in the high way nine redde cockes, and nine peacockes eyes, shee swept the streetes of Kilkenny betweene compline and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of her sonne William Outlawe, murmuring these wordes,

To the house of William my sonne,
Hye all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.

At the first conviction they abjured and accepted pennance, but were very shortly found in relapse, and then Petronilla was burned at Kilkenny, the other twayne could not be had: shee at the houre of her death, accused the said William as privy to their sorceryes, whom the Bishop held in durance nine weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or drink with him, or to speake with him more than once in the day; by procurement

[a] See Al. regist. pag. ** Alan says "creatur prebenda absque canonia," the rights of the Archbishop and Archdeacon were to remain unaltered.

[b] The account of Dean Rodyard and his Chapter, as Subcollector's, appears upon a pipe roll of 5th Edw. III. the proportions paid were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Province of Dublin - -	259	9	1½
——— of Armagh - -	145	10	7½
——— of Cashel - -	105	9	5½
——— of Tuam - -	17	2	4

[c] Campion's Historie of Ireland, printed at Dublin, in folio, 1632, pag. 85. This story is copied by Stanihurst, into his history. See Holingshed Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 251, quarto edit. The Annals at the end of Camden contain some circumstances not to be found in Campion's Narrative; they are comprised in the following words:

"These things being notorious, Alice was cited again to appear at Dublin, before the Dean of St. Patrick's church, having some hopes of greater favour given her: she made her appearance and craved a day to answer, having given sufficient bail, as it was thought; however, she was not to be found, for by the counsel of her son and others unknown, she hid herself in a certain village till the wind would serve for England, and then she sailed over; but it could never be known where she went. William Utlaw being found, by the trial and confession of Pernil, (who was condemned to be burn't) to have been consenting to his mother in her sorcery and witchcraft; the Bishop caused him to be arrested by the King's writ, and put in prison; yet, he was set at liberty again by the intercession of some great lords, upon condition that he should cover St. Mary's church, in Kilkenny, with lead, and do other acts of charity within a certain day; and that if he did not perform them punctually, he should be in the same state as he was when first taken by the King's writ."

The story is resumed by the same Annalist, under the year 1328, who relates, that, "about the feast of St. Catherine the Virgin, the Bishop of Ossory certified to the King's council, that sir Arnold Poer was, upon divers articles, convicted before him of heresy: whereupon, at the Bishop's suit, sir Arnold Poer, by virtue of the King's writ, was arrested, and confined in the castle of Dublin; and a day was appointed for the Bishop's coming to Dublin, in order to prosecute him; but he excused himself, because his enemies had way-laid him for his life, so that the King's council could not put an end to the business; wherefore sir Arnold was kept prisoner in the castle of Dublin till the following parliament, which was in mid-lent, where all the Irish nobility were present. The same year friar Roger Outlaw, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, Lord Justice and Chancellor of Ireland, was scandalized, by the said Bishop, for favouring heresies, and for advising and abetting sir Arnold in his heretical practice. Wherefore, the friar, finding himself so unworthily defamed, petitioned the King's council, that he might have leave to clear himself; which, upon consultation, they granted, and caused it to be proclaimed for three days together, that if there were any person who could inform against the said friar, he should come in and prosecute him; but nobody came: upon which, friar Roger procured the King's writ to summon the principal men of Ireland, the Bishops, Abbots, Priors and the Mayors of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Drogheda; also, the Sheriffs and Seneschals, together with the Knights of the Shires and the better sort of Free-holders, to repair to Dublin; out of whom six were chosen to examine the matter: M. Will. Rodyard, Dean of the cathedral church of St. Patrick in Dublin, the Abbot of St. Thomas, the Abbot of St. Mary, the Prior of the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, M. Elias Lawless, and Mr. Peter Willebey, who convened those who were cited, and examined them all severally; who deposed upon their oaths that he was a very honest, faithful and zealous embracer of the christian faith, and would, if occasion offered, lay down his life for it; and, because his vindication was so solemn, he made a noble entertainment for all who would come. The same year, in lent, died, sir Arnold Power, in the castle of Dublin, and lay a long time unburied in the house of the friars preachers. Cambden's Britannia, Vol. III. pag. 682 and 3.

of Arnold le Power, [d] then senischall of Kilkenny, hee was delivered, and corrupted the senischall to vexe the Bishop, which he did, thrusting him into prison for three moneths. In ryfling the closet of Alice, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, having the devils name stamped thereon, instead of JESUS, and a pype of oyntment, wherewith shee greased a staffe, [e] whereon shee ambled through thicke and thinne, when and how shee listed. This businesse troubled all the cleargy [f] of Ireland, the rather for that the lady was supported by noblemen, and lastly, conveyed into England, since which time no man wotteth what became of her." [g]

It appears pretty manifest that this matter originated in a contest for power between the clergy, led on by the ambitious Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, on the one hand, and the civil government on the other; how high that factious Prelate raised his arm, will appear from perusing what is further related concerning this matter by Edmund Campion, in his History of Ireland.

In 1328, "Roger Outlaw, Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, at Kilmainam, became Lord Justice: great variance arising between the Geraldines, Butlers and Berminghams on the one side, and the Powers and Burkes on the other side, for tearming the Earle of Kildare a Rymer. The Lord Justice summoned a parliament to accord them, wherein he himselfe was faine to cleare the slaunder of heresie

[d] Arnold le Power is called, by Stanihurst, Lord of Donnoil, perhaps Dunhill castle, about four miles from Curraghmore.

[e] "A Cowltre." Annals at the end of Cambden.

[f] Stanihurst alters this sentence and writes, "all the people of Ireland;" for which change, which is not immaterial, he has no sufficient warrant.

[g] Friar Clynne, who was an eye-witness of this transaction, saith, boastingly, that these persons were the first who suffered death for heresy in Ireland: it is the opinion, however, of a more modern writer of the same communion with Clynne, that the crime of their accuser requires compurgation, rather than that of the accused; the manner in which it is related by this lively and enthusiastic writer will justify my inserting here, his continuation of Stanihurst's or rather Campions narrative.

"Nothing was more natural than that the lady Alice's son, Outlaw, should express indignation and abhorrence of this cruel monster of Ossory: in consequence of the utterance he gave to his anger, he was apprehended as an accomplice, and committed to the episcopal dungeon, with strict orders to the keeper, on pain of excommunication, not to speak to him, or see him more than once a day.

"There lived, at this time, in Kilkenny, one honest man, his name was Arnold le Powre; I mention him with those feelings of admiration and respect, and I trust, with a sincere and upright spirit towards GOD and my Country, that must ever attach to the name of every man, who dares to be good in the worst of times, and if ever the fine arts will lend their bewitching aid to embellish the pages of Irish History, as well as of English and Scotch, I humbly beg leave to put out a suppliant hand, that one niche may be reserved for Arnold le Powre in the temple of immortality.

"This generous man was seneschal of Kilkenny; he knew that the whole of these proceedings originated in spiritual pride; he remonstrated; nine weeks elapsed, during which no redress could be obtained for Outlaw. He dared to enter the dark and noisome dungeon of the oppressed, in defiance of excommunication, he soothed the sorrows of the afflicted, administered to his wants; promised aid; and, in the mean time, exhorted him to be calm.—

"Having, thus, performed one of the most heavenly of the christian virtues, he withdrew from the scene of affliction, after he had poured balm into the heart of Outlaw, having restored his drooping spirits, and replenished the lamp of life.

"But he had not been long returned from his visits when the Bishop's holy pride, roused by this intollerable presumption, demanded to be appeased by a new victim, and this was the seneschal himself."—"Powre soon found that the Bishop was irresistible. He fled; he absconded; he disguised himself; but the curse of Kehama was after him. He was soon taken and lodged in the castle of Dublin."

"Luckily for him, Roger Outlaw, one of the lady Alice's relatives, was then Prior of Kilmainham, and Chief Justice of Ireland. This man had influence enough to procure the King's writ for a parliament, to inquire into this business, which, says Holingshead, "troubled all the state of Ireland at this time."

"After a complicated inquiry, the parliament pronounced the Bishop's proceedings unjust; but before the sentence of Powre's acquittal was published, he died in confinement; and notwithstanding that acquittal, since he had died under sentence of excommunication, his remains were left a long time uninterred!

"Defeated and disgraced in the civil court, the highest of his country, the Bishop now protested against its competency, alledging that no power on earth, except the Pope's, could interfere with his spiritual jurisdiction. He, therefore, appealed to Rome; accused his metropolitan Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, as a favourer of heresy; and by throwing himself for protection on Rome, and flattering the pride of the Cardinals, he obtained a rescript, with a letter from Pope Benedict XII. to King Edw. III. to maintain his cause against his heretical subjects in Ireland!

"King Edward's reply may be seen in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. IV. pag. 393, anno 1320 (more properly 1329); he informs the Pope that Ledred evaded justice, and fled the kingdom without his leave; but the state of Europe, and especially of Scotland, rendered it political, on his part, to keep well with the Holy See, at that time; and therefore, and be it well remembered, he does not use the strong language which the occasion required. Ledred soon after obtained a rescript, exempting Ossory from the jurisdiction of Dublin, and he was restored to his see in 1347." Columbanus, No. VII. pag. 96, &c.

Ledred fled to Rome in 1329, because he himself had been convicted of heresy before his metropolitan the Archbishop, and his temporalities were seized into the King's hands; he lived nine years in banishment, and when he returned, became as factious as ever. See more of him in the next Sect. A. D. 1349. He passed the latter end of his life better than the beginning, and greatly beautified his cathedral at Kilkenny; it was this Bishop that constructed the celebrated eastern window, for which the Pope's Nuncio offered, in 1645, the sum of seven hundred pounds: this magnificent work was afterwards destroyed in the rebellion.

fathered upon him by Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory. The Bishoppe had given a declaration against Arnold le Power, convented and convict in his consistory of certaine hereticall opinions; but, because the beginning of Power's accusations concerned the Justice's kinsman, and the Bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man, rather then the fault; a day was limited for the justifying of the bill, the party being apprehended and respited thereunto: this dealing, the Bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkenny, to prosecute his accusation,) reputed partiall; and when, by meanes thereof, the matter hanged in suspence, hee infamed the said Prior, as an abbettour and favourer of Arnold's heresie. The Prior submitted himselfe to the tryall, and three severall proclamations were cryed in court, that any man might lawfully come in and indict, accuse or say evidence against the Justice: none came: then passed the councell a decree, commanding to appeare at Divelin, all bishops, abbots, pryors, the majors of Divelin, Corke, Limericke, Waterford, Droghedah, the sheriffs, knights, and senischalls of every shire: out of them all they sorted sixe inquisitours, which, in secrecie, examined the Bishoppes and persons aforesaid one by one, who, with universall consent, deposed for the Pryor, [h] that to their judgements hee was a zealous and faithfull childe of the catholique church. The meane while deceased Le Power prisoner in the castle, and because he stood unpurged, long he laye unburyed."

1328—On the 12th of June, the Archbishop being then abroad, Dean Rodyard, as Vicar-General, held an inquisition relative to the right of presentation to the church of Adderke.

1329—A commission was sent by the Pope's Penetentiary General to the Dean of St. Patrick's, empowering him to hear the Archbishop's confession of certain crimes. The Penetentiarie's letter is dated Avignon, vii. id. May, and thirteenth year of the pontificate of John XXII. from the tenor of which it appears that this authority was delegated at the request of the Archbishop himself: the Dean was thereby empowered to remit all the sins the Archbishop might confess, except contempt of papal authority; due care was likewise taken that all wrongs against ecclesiastical persons should be recompensed at least two fold. [13]

1331—Rodyard was, this year, one of the Judges of the court of Common Pleas; in the same year that Roger Outlaw was made Lord Justice he was constituted a Judge of the King's Bench, in which capacity he occurs so late as the year 1335; how long he lived after is uncertain.

Sect. VII. WILLIAM DE BROMLEY, *Dean.*

1349—About this time William de Bromley, treasurer of St. Patrick's, was elected Dean: in 1344, he was chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1350, keeper of the great seal; and, in 1354 we find him, as treasurer of Ireland, nominating John de Balscot his deputy, and Nicholas, Bishop of Meath, on the 10th July in the following year. [1]

About this time the Archbishop granted the manor of Coulmine to the oeconomy; he appropriated, likewise, to the same fund, certain houses, gardens and curtilages, lying in the parish of St. Kevin, opposite to the palace of St. Sepulchre's; all which had formerly been applied to the uses of hospitality and receiving of strangers. [2]

The Dean and Chapter petitioned for an exemplification of a brief, filed in Chancery and directed to the Chief Governor and Chancellor of Ireland, which

[13] Dign. Dec. pag. 199. [1] Cloch. MSS. T. C. D. [2] Dign. Dec. pag. 172.

h "The Lord Justice, "saith Cox," made appear that the Bishop's proceedings were partial and unjust, in favor of a kinsman of the Bishop's who began the quarrel with Poer; and that, therefore, he only supported the cause of the oppressed." Vol. I. pag. 108.

directed, that, without the King's special mandate under the privy seal, they should not admit any person to the enjoyment of any dignity or prebend whatever: this writ was first issued in 1342, at a time when the parliament of England made an act against papal provisions, and granting English benefices to strangers: and this exemplification was probably petitioned for by the Dean and Chapter, on account of some encroachments made by the see of Rome in granting, to the prejudice of this cathedral, prebends to cardinals or other minions of that court, who did not reside according to the constitutions of the church. From the history of this reign it appears that these encroachments, of the papal see, had become more frequent at that period than in preceding times.[3]

Whilst Dean Bromley, in the execution of his office of treasurer, was employed collecting the King's revenue at Kilkenny, he was maliciously excommunicated by Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, and thereby incapacitated from receiving the King's dues, by which conduct the King lost one thousand pounds, and being highly provoked at the indignity offered to himself in the person of his officer, he ordered that the temporalities of that see should be seized on; the Bishop, however, on making submission, obtained a pardon for this and other seditious acts; but, the King soon found he had been imposed on, he, therefore, in 1351, revoked the pardon and left this factious prelate liable to the penalties which, by his crimes, he had incurred.[4]

1357—The Archbishop John de St. Paul petitioned the King, and represented the evils which arose from the dignitaries and prebendaries of St. Patrick's cathedral not residing in their respective parishes, they being obliged to give their attendance at the cathedral; the King thereupon granted him authority to constitute perpetual Vicars, who should be bound to continual residence in those prebendal churches, and empowered him to allocate, at his pleasure, a portion of the tithes or other profits for their maintenance: the King's letters patent to this effect, dated Westminster, 18th October, exhibit a remarkable instance of the exercise of regal power at that time in ecclesiastical matters.[5]

1359—On the 11th of October, the Archbishop attempted to hold a visitation of the chapter; this measure the Canons unanimously protested against, as destructive of a valuable privilege, namely, that the Archbishop may not visit the Canons, but the Dean only; nor inflict any punishment, but by judgement of the Chapter; upon this occasion every member of the Chapter was present either in person or by proxy, except the Dean, who was then resident in England, on account of his ill state of health. The Archbishop does not appear to have had any intention to invade their privileges[6]: by an instrument, dated the same day, he admitted the justice of their claim, acknowledged that he had no right to visit but in default of the Dean, except in case of appeal, or that the crimes objected were of such a nature as the Dean could not punish or correct.[7]

1361—This year the King directed letters, dated Westminster, 15th of March, to William de Bromle; Hugo, Preb. de Ballimore; Griffin de Cherleton, Preb. of Dunlovan, and several other persons possessing lands and ecclesiastical benefices, requiring them to repair, on a certain day, to Westminster; in person if they could conveniently, if not by proxy; there to consult and treat of matters relating to Ireland. It appears that, being persons of credit and at that time resident in England, the King wished to advise and confer with them, relative to the raising of forces for defence of that kingdom, and perhaps was anxious that they should accompany his son Lionel, whom he had nominated to the Lieutenancy of Ireland;

[3] Dign. Dec. pag. 48. [4] King's Collect. [5] Prynne, 4th instit. pag. 295.
[6] Dign. Dec. fol. 61 & 178. [7] Dign. Dec. pag. 61 & 178.

some writs, bearing the same date, expressly intimate this latter intention and testify the depressed state of the English power in that kingdom. [8]

1362—The church was much damaged in the month of April this year, by an accidental fire which originated in the house of one John Sextain, contiguous to the cathedral; the injury was great, nor was it thoroughly repaired until Archbishop Minot set about it in 1370. [9]

1363—On Palm-sunday, this year, Thomas Minot, Prebendary of Malahidert, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin; he was at that time Treasurer of Ireland.

1364—King Edward III. by his letters patent, granted to his son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, at that time Lord Lieutenant, licence to appropriate to the Dean and Chapter for ever, an acre of land, held of the King in capite, in Staghcallane, [a] county Meath, lying in a field, called Stephen's Lye, together with the advowson of the church there: this was granted on condition that the Dean and Chapter should perform aniversaries for the souls of the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, their ancestors and posterity, and that they should provide an eremite of the order of St. Augustine to preach a divinity lecture in the robing-room at St. Patrick's; for support of said reader, they were to pay to the Prior and Convent of that order, in Dublin, the sum of ten marks per annum. [10]

From another record, in the register of Archbishop Alan, it appears that this trust was abused; for soon after, Elias de Assebourne, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, obtained this land and advowson, from one John Plunket, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, contrary to an ordinance and statute made by the King's Council in England, which provided that no officer of the crown should acquire lands, within the bounds of his office, without special license from the King, under pain of forfeiture: having thus reverted to the crown, King Henry IV. in the tenth year of his reign, gave it to John Fitzadam, Chief Justice of the King's Bench and his heirs, in consideration of his faithful services, for which he was to render the yearly service of a rose at the feast of St. John the Baptist. [11]

1366—About this time Archbishop Minot united the church of Kilmatalway to the precentorship, and conferred that dignity upon William de Gaslee, doctor of laws; he reserved to himself and his successors two marks, for proxies at the visitation, and half a mark pension to the Dean of Dublin, and required that service should be performed there, by a sufficient curate: the Archbishop, in his preamble to this grant, sets forth, that this was done in consequence of the poverty of the precentorship; "the estate, originally sufficient, had been in latter times greatly impoverished by the invasion of enemies, whose possessions it was supposed they would utterly lay waste, being now come upon them;" this addition was for the purpose of enabling him to live hospitably, give alms, and answer the expenses and charges of his dignity. [12]

1367—The King, by letters patent under the great seal of England, dispensed with the statute of Mortmain in favour of the Dean and Chapter, and empowered Richard de St. Leger, Archdeacon of Dublin, and three other Canons to settle, for ever, on the Dean and Chapter and their successors, for the support of certain chantries of ancient foundation in the church, one messuage and appurtenances belonging to the late Archbishop, lying within the liberties of the city, held of the

[8] Rymer, Vol. VI. pag. 320. Prynne, 4th instit. pag. 298.
[9] Grace's Annals.
[10] Al. regist. fol. 41.
[11] Al. regist. fol. 40.
[12] Al. regist. fol. 201.

[a] In Alan's register, folio 177, there is a deed, whereby Simon Luttrel granted to John de St. Paul, Archbishop of Dublin, John de Troy and Peter Granet, clerk, one acre in Stacallan, with the advowson of the church, rendering to the lord of the fee the accustomed service; this Lord was Simon Fleming, Baron of Slane, who granted his licence of alienation, to the intent that it should be appropriated in the way which I have mentioned in the text.

King in free burgage without any service; likewise one messuage and one carucate of land in Coolmine.

1374—The Dean being very old and infirm, granted letters of attorney to Will. Lawless and Nicholas Bromley, authorising them to prosecute his affairs at Rome or elsewhere; he, probably, died soon after, but the exact time of his decease cannot be certainly known.

Sect. VIII. JOHN COLTON, *Dean.*

1374—John Colton succeeded Bromley in the deanery. He was born at Terrington, in the county of Norfolk, was chaplain to William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, was, in 1348, appointed first master of Gonville-hall (now Caiu's college,) by Edmund Gonville, who began this foundation with one master and four fellows; his intention was to add twenty scholarships, but, dying in 1350, he left Bishop Bateman his executor, to whom he bequeathed a large sum of money to carry into effect this establishment: Edmund Gonville was the younger son of Sir Nicholas Gonville, knt. and obtained letters patent under the seal of England, dated 28th January 1347, to found this hall; he was, at that time, Rector of Tirrington, to which living the Bishop promoted Colton on his decease.[1] In 1348, Colton took his degree of doctor of canon law; how long he continued in his station at the university of Cambridge, does not appear: his name occurs, in 1377, among the prebendaries[a] of Bugthorp, in the diocess of York.[2] In 1373 he was Treasurer[b] of Ireland and was, probably, Dean of this cathedral before the end of 1374; on the 9th of April in that year, he appointed Robert Caddell and Richard de la More his attornies, to sue in his name in all courts, and on the 20th of August following, being about to go abroad to foreign parts, he appointed the same Caddell and Will. Lawless clerk, to transact his business during his absence.[3]

[1] Le Neve Fasti, &c. [2] Willis Cath. Vol. I. pag. 126. [3] Rot. Pat. Berm. Tur. 48 Edw. III.

[a] Certain MSS. of Dudley Loftus make him Vicar of St. Molruan of Taulaght before his elevation to this deanery.

[b] This office he relinquished in 1375, when Thomas Scurlog, Abbot of St. Thomas, was appointed his successor; he was in Ireland in 1372, as appears from the following note which mentions his services when Sir Robert de Asheton was in the government.

On the 20th of August 1374, the King, by his letters patent, directed that John Colton, Treasurer of Ireland, (whom he stiles, "Dilectus Clericus noster") should receive a donation of forty pounds sterling in recompence for various services which he had performed and injuries which he sustained from the Irish Rebels; those services are there set forth and were reported to his Majesty by the Governor and Council of Ireland; they exhibit a proof that the Clergy of those days did not confine their attention solely to ecclesiastical matters, and that this reverend prelate was as considerable a personage in the field as in the cabinet or the choir. The record sets forth, that whilst the late Lieutenant was in Munster, O'Morch of Leys and others of the King's rebels and enemies, attacked the town of Athy, which, as well as the priory, they pillaged and burnt nearly to the ground; John Colton, however, levied at his sole cost, a force of twenty-six knights and other inhabitants of the marches and adjacent towns, by them the enemy was put to flight and many of them slain; moreover, the country was preserved by his remaining there for twelve days. They reported, likewise, that after the retirement of Robert de Asheton, (late justiciary,) O'Brynne, another rebel, appeared at Carrickmayne with numerous followers; Colton marched out to meet him with a considerable force besides his own retinue, and remained there, at one time for eight days, and at another for the space of a month, at vast expense to himself; and underwent likewise much personal labour; moreover, when Newcastle M'Kenegan was taken and burnt by the same O'Brynnes, although there was no money in the treasury, Colton pawned his own goods, and with the cash thereby obtained, he and Nicholas Sergeaunt, citizen of Dublin, together with thirty-five of their associates, held the same for five days, maintaining themselves at their own cost, although there was no person at that time who could be prevailed upon to take charge of that fortress; for all which, and because, when he retired from this latter place, he had lost a horse worth twenty marks, which was killed by the enemy, the King commanded that he should receive the gratuity above-mentioned. Rot. Pat. 48 Edw. III. copied into Harris's collect. Vol. III. pag. 158. It is to be observed, that in the record above-mentioned, he is not stiled Dean of St. Patrick's; but is designated with that title, as well as that of treasurer, in a liberate directed to the Exchequer, dated 25th of October following; this last was for the sum of forty marks, to bear his expenses to England, (being sent thither by the Governor and Council of Ireland, then sitting at Castledermot,) about diverse matters of great importance to the realm "versus partes Angliæ "propter diversa ardua negotia, nos ac statum terræ nostræ "Hiberniæ specialiter concernantia, profecturus existit." This record, likewise, mentions his former services, and adds the words, "concessimus ei, &c. habendas, de dono nostro, nomine "rewardi." Rot. Pat. 48 Edw. III. Harris's Col. Vol. III. pag. 170.

Upon a patent roll 5th Richard II. p. 2, we meet with the following liberates to John Colton, viz.

24th Sept. to John Colton, Dean of St. Patrick's and Chanc. as part of his fee, ten pounds.

22d July, to the same, that the necessary expenses of the men at arms, whom he retains, should be defrayed.

14th Jan. to the same, that he should receive ten shillings per diem above his fee as Chancellor and on account of his singular services.

20th Jan. to the same, as part of his fee, ten pounds.

In 1374 the Archbishop obtained letters patent, dated 12th August, for erecting the church of Rathsallagh into a prebend, with consent of the Dean and Chapter; the right of presenting thereto was reserved to the Archbishop. [4]

1377—An order issued forth, to the Archbishop of Dublin as Chancellor, to direct that the Dean and Chapter should chuse sufficient proxies to appear for them at a parliament which was summoned to meet at Tristledermot. [5]

1379—This year Dean Colton was made Chancellor of Ireland and continued in that office until 26th November 1381, when William Tany, Prior of Kilmainham, was appointed his successor, to whom he resigned the seals on the 19th February following, at the cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny; the Bishop of Ossory, at that time Treasurer, and others the King's Council being prerent; his fee, as Chancellor, appears to have been forty pounds per annum; liberates for the half yearly payment of which are to be found upon the rolls.

1380—On the 11th of September an order was issued to the Archbishop, to cite the Dean and Chapter and his other clergy to appear at a parliament, to be held in Dublin on Saturday, the eve of all souls. [6]

Dean Colton attended Mortimer, Earl of March, this year, in his progress to Munster, upon which expedition he kept, in his train, four men armed at all points, and eight archers on horseback, over and above his familiar servants and clerks, for which state he was afterward made an allowance of twelve pence a day for each man at arms, and six pence for each archer; he, likewise, kept many men at arms for defence of the county of Cork, a service for which he was ordered, on the 19th of January, the sum of forty pounds from the Exchequer.

The Lord Lieutenant having died on the 26th of December, at the house of the friars preachers at Cork, the Chancellor and John Keppok, Justice of the King's Bench, sent letters to several of the spiritual and temporal Lords of that province, signifying to them the death of the Earl, and requiring their presence to chuse a Lord Justice in his place.

On the 2d of January the family of the late Lord Lieutenant, with a large retinue of armed men, retired from the city of Cork to the county of Meath; this caused the Chancellor and the Justice to apprehend an invasion of that city by the Barrets or other neighbouring clans: they accordingly summoned the peers, prelates and commons of that and the adjoining counties, to appear, personally, on the Thursday next after the feast of Epiphany, at St. Peter's church in that city; the council or parliament thus convened, required the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, who were present severally, to accept the office of Lord Justice; but, those peers excused themselves, alledging that they had sufficient occupation in defending their own marches; on the second day of meeting, they required Dean Colton to accept of that office, from which he endeavoured to excuse himself, but acquiesced, on condition that the Earls of Ormond, Desmond and the other peers and prelates there present, would promise to assist him in the discharge of his duty; and, that in the next parliament, he should have leave to exonerate himself from the charge; these matters being acceded to, he was sworn into office, and we find that letters patent passed the great seal on the 20th of January following, constituting him Lord Justice, with an annual fee of five hundred pounds [c]: in addition to this fee, he was shortly after-

[4] Al. regist. fol. 206.

19th Jan. to the same, as a reward for his services, forty pounds.

From the same roll we learn, that on the 19th of Feb. 5th Rich. II. he delivered the great seal to William Tany, Prior of Kilmainham, who was nominated his successor.

[5] Rolls.

2d March, to John Colton, Dean of St. Patrick's and late Chancellor a liberate for eight pounds, sixteen shillings, part of his fee.

[6] Rolls.

[c] This account is taken from the following memorandum, on the roll of 5th Richard II.

wards ordered, by the King, ten shillings a day, on account of his singular services, and chiefly his great hospitality: this office he held but for a short time, [d] although some writers say he continued to act until the arrival of Philip de Courtney, who was constituted Lord Lieutenant, in 1383. [e]

Memorandum. That upon the death of Edmund, Earl of March and Ulster, Lord Lieutenant, who died in the house of the preaching friars at Cork; the next morning, on the feast of St. John, John Colton, Chanc. and John Keppok, Justice of the King's Bench, sent letters to the Bishop of Ossory, treasurer of Ireland, to James le Bottiller, Earl of Ormond, and Gerald Fitzmorice, Earl of Desmond, to signify to them the death of the said Lord Lieutenant; and further requiring, in the King's name, that they would provide in the best manner possible for the security of the marches, and come to Cork with all convenient speed to consult about constituting a Lord Justice for the kingdom, and whatever else should be thought necessary for the better government of the same; and, because, in the mean time, before the arrival of the said Lords, the Bishop and the two Earls, on the 2d of January, the family of the said Lord Lieutenant, together with his whole retinue of armed men and archers, had retired from Cork to go into the Co. of Meath, in Leinster; the Lord Chancellor and Justice above-named, fearing as well for the city of Cork and parts adjacent an irruption from the clan of the Barretts and other rebels and Irish enemies, as well as the terrors of a war hanging over all parts of the kingdom: the said Chancellor, with advice and consent of the Justice afore-named and others of the King's Council then being at Cork, directed the King's writ to the Prelates, Peers and Commons hereafter-named, that they might personally appear on the Thursday next after the feast of Epiphany, in St. Peter's church, at Cork: that is, the Bishop of Ossory, Lord Treasurer; Gerald, Bishop of Cork; Richard, Bishop of Cloyne, who appeared personally; and Thomas, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, by his proxy the Bishop of Ossory; and Peter, Bishop of Limerick by his proxy; as also, to James le Bottiller, Earl of Ormond; and Gerald Fitzmorice, Earl of Desmond; William Sygyn, Mayor of Cork; John Pomfreide and Thomas Lawelyn, citizens, returned for the said city; and David Fitzthomas Roche and Milo Staunton, knights, returned for the county of Cork; Roger Lenfaunt and Adam Lenfaunt, knights, for the county Limerick, and many other nobles and commons appearing in the said church, according to the tenor of the said writ. It, was proposed to chose a Lord Justice immediately, because that by the sudden departure of the late Lord Lieutenant's retinue and guards, those parts of Munster were much exposed to the Irish enemy, and divers English now hardened in rebellion; so that unless a remedy were speedily applied, more enemies would be up in arms, as O'Brien of Thomond, and M'Brien of Conaught, and many others who had already shewed themselves; which required an active and able governor to quell or stop these insurrections: upon which, the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer and Justice of King's bench and others requested, in the name of the King, that the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, being men very powerful and sufficient for this trust, should agree between themselves which should serve in this office; from which they both strongly intreated to be excused, because they had full enough to do in defending their own marches, and that in taking this post, they must leave their own countries open to the rapine of the enemy that hovered on every side of them; then the Bishop of Cloyn observed, that Ireland could not be governed so well by a native of the kingdom as by a man of valour and experienced soldier from England, to which the Council readily agreed: the Bishop then further said, that Lord Thomas de Mortimer would be a very fit person for Lord Justice, both on account of his personal bravery, as also, because he believed the forces belonging to the retinue of the late Lord Lieutenant would rather continue with and be under his command than any other; but, the Council being ignorant of Lord Thomas's mind in this matter, or whether he would stay in Ireland upon this account, the Bishop was desired by the Chancellor to declare to the Council what he knew of Lord Thomas's opinion on this affair; to which, the Bishop replied, that he had good reason to believe that if the kingdom would maintain, at the public charge, a certain retinue of men in arms and archers, that Lord Thomas would stay in the kingdom and take on him the office of Lord Justice; and at the same time the Bishop exhibited a schedule of the following import: to which the Bishop of Ossory, Lord Treasurer, was required to make answer; to which he said, that the King's Exchequer, since the time that he had been treasurer, by the course of payments for some years past, was not able to answer any further charge than the necessary expense of maintaining the King's garrisons and paying the usual fees or salary of officers.

A question was then put to the Prelates and Peers, if they would engage for this new charge of the retinue above-mentioned, for one year or part of a year; upon which, it being near sunset, the Lords and Commons desired a further time to consider of this, namely, the next morning; on which day, that is, the 10th of January, they all met in council at the same place, and reported upon the motion made the day before, that they had maturely considered the matter, and that neither they nor their constituents, for whom they appeared, were able to answer so great a charge either for one year or any part thereof; but, if it be found necessary to support such an expense, it ought to be laid upon the whole kingdom, which could not be done without a general convention, and this could not be had without great delays and difficulties, so that the kingdom would suffer considerable damage by a discontinuance of all jurisdiction for want of a regal authority, and in many other respects.

Upon which consideration it was unanimously agreed, that a Governor must be immediately chosen: and it was again requested, of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, that one of them should take this office upon them, but they both declined it for the reasons before given: the Chancellor and the rest of the King's Council then asked the Lord Treasurer to take it upon him; but he prayed to be excused on account of his bodily infirmities and for several other reasons; and desired that Dean Colton, the Lord Chancellor, should be chosen Justice; from which he would have excused himself by pleading his want of abilities and the unfitness of his station for such a dignified post. However, after several altercations between the Lord Chancellor and Treasurer concerning the matter, at length the King's Council brought them to agree, that whomsoever the Peers, Lords and Commons there assembled did agree to have as Justice, the same should serve; and they approving rather of the Treasurer's reasons for declining this office than the Chancellor's, unanimously elected Dean Colton Lord Justice. In which choice the Dean acquiesced on these conditions: that the Earls of Ormond and Desmond chiefly, and all other Peers and Commons there present should faithfully promise, that they would assist the said John Colton, their Lord Justice, in the government of the land, to the best of their power, against all Irish enemies or English rebels, and give him faithful and good advice; that in the next parliament it should be lawful for the said John Colton to exonerate himself of the said office; and, that in the mean time, the Lord Treasurer should treat with Lord Thomas de Mortimer and his retinue for staying within the kingdom until the meeting of the next parliament, in order that their further continuance in Ireland might be provided for in a parliamentary way.

Upon which conditions and promises, admitted by every one then present, and the Earls of Ormond and Desmond having solemnly engaged to do as they were required by the new Lord Justice, Dean Colton was sworn into that office in the usual form.

[d] Prynne (4th instit. pag. 309) cites a writ, dated 29th March 1382, directing Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Lord Lieutenant to call a parliament, "magnum parliamentum." Philip de Courtnay, the King's cousin, was made Lord Lieutenant the next ensuing year.

1381—Milo Sweetman, Archbishop of Armagh, died on the 11th August 1380; it is probable that the Dean was then nominated keeper of the temporalities of that see, [f] as there is a King's letter enrolled, dated 1st April 1381, calling on him to account to the Exchequer for the issues of the same: in the same year he obtained the primacy, being promoted thereto by Pope Urban VI. and on the 11th of March had restitution of the temporalities. [g]

The other events of Colton's life will be related in that part of this work which treats of the Primates of Armagh; it is sufficient to observe here, that he died on the 27th April 1404; having, a little before his death, resigned his Archbishoprick; he was buried in the church of St. Peter, at Drogheda. [7]

He was a Prelate of high reputation for virtue and learning, dear to all ranks of people on the score of his affability and sweetness of temper. [8]

There are extant, some provincial constitutions promulgated by him; and Bale mentions two works of his upon the subject of the long schism in the Popedom, between Urban VI. and Clement VII. which happened in his time, viz.

De Causis Schismatis, Lib. I.

De Remediis ejusdem, Lib. I. [h]

Sect. IX. Deanery sequestered.

1388—We do not meet with any Dean of this Cathedral for several years after the promotion of Colton to the primacy: it appears, from a fragment of a roll, [a] lately discovered in Bermingham tower, that Randulph, a Deacon Cardinal of the title, "Sti Nicholai de carcere Tulliano," obtained a papal provision for the same on the 2d of June 1387, [b] but this title was disputed; and, on the 13th of July 1388, John de Karlell clerc. was appointed custodee of the issues and profits of the deanery, which were seized into the King's hands. [1] On the 2d of December following, an order was issued, that the Archbishop should not intermeddle with the profits of the deanery under pretence of a mandate for that purpose. John de Karlell obtained a license of absence on the 8th March, in the same year, to go to England, and leave was given to him, to commit the receipt of all such money as should arise

7 Ware de Presulibus. 8 Harris's Ware, Vol. I. pag. 322. 1 Rot. Pat. 12 Rich. II.

According to Harris, in his edition of Ware, the patent nominating Colton Lord Justice, was signed on the 20th January, and that which appointed Roger, Earl of Marche, on the 24th of the same month; to this last Sir Thomas Mortimer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was, by reason of his minority, given as a Deputy, on the 3d March 1381; Colton probably continued to act as Lord Justice or Deputy Governor until the latter period.

e See Cox's Hist. Anglic. Vol. I. pag. 135.

f A mandate appears upon the rolls directed to John Colton, Dean of Dublin, late farmer of the temporalities of the archbishoprick of Armagh, ordering him not to intermeddle therewith; this order is dated 1st April, nevertheless, on the 5d of April he was appointed "Custos" as before. Rot. Pat. Canc. Hib. His report of what he had received during the time he had custody of the temporalities, appears on the Pipe Roll of 6 Richard II. he is therein stiled, John Archbishop of Armagh, late Dean of Dublin: this account was rendered in consequence of a King's writ directed to him, and dated 7th April, 6th Rich. II. It appears from this that he had received, from the death of Milo to the 9th March, 5th Richard II. the sum of three hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and ten pence, of which he had paid into the Exchequer three hundred and sixty pounds, six pence; the residue, which was ten marks, was expended on the Archbishop's manors of Tarfeghyn and Dromeskyn. Rot. Pipæ, 6 Rich. II.

g From the tenor of this letter of restitution it appears, that he had previously abjured all such clauses contained in the bull of provision, as might be judged prejudicial to the King's regal authority.

h Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware "de Script. Hib." mentions a work, extant in the library of Merton College, Oxford, entitled, "Sententiæ Joannis Armachani," which he thinks might possibly be written by Colton: if he had no other proof but the similarity of the christian names, it was but slight evidence.

a This roll is supposed to be a patent roll of 12th Rich. II. it is so mutilated that its contents cannot be accurately ascertained; but we can clearly discover that the deanery had been demised to William Chambre, Archdeacon of Dublin, for one hundred marks per annum; two thirds of the issues were claimed by the Crown, the incumbent of the deanery being found to be absent from the kingdom without licence: William Chambre is, in this article, stiled, sometimes Archdeacon and sometimes Dean; the latter title is given to him, probably, because he had a custodium grant of the issues and profits of that dignity, which grant was, however, superceded by the sequestration and Chambre discharged from payment of the sum above mentioned.

b The document here alluded to, is dated 6th September and attested by Alexander, Bishop of Meath, who, according to Harris, was Lord Justice for part only of the year 1387; it

from the deanery or chancellorship of St. Patrick's, or from any of the wardships which he held, to such assignee as he should think fit to appoint; he was, likewise, to enjoy or dispose of the profits according to his pleasure.[2] In 1389, this same John de Karlell,[c] chancellor of St. Patrick's, was appointed second baron of the Exchequer.

It is not certain how long Karlell continued to hold this charge; but we find Robert, Archbishop of Dublin, in the nineteenth year of Rich. II.[d] rendering account of eighty marks per annum, issues from the spiritualities of the deanery, which, from the amount of the arrear, it appears he had been several years in charge of: William Chambre, Archdeacon of Dublin, appears, likewise, upon the same roll, rendering account of one hundred marks per annum, issues from the Deanery, which he had held for at least three years: I know of no way whereby these matters can be reconciled, but by supposing the accounts relate to different periods of time.

It is not unlikely that the right of presentation was disputed during the whole of this long interval of time; the Pope had, it appears, endeavoured to intrude, and by bull of provision,[e] to bestow the deanery in like manner as he had conferred the primacy, a matter which was finally determined in the King's courts against him; but it does not appear whether he nominated any person immediately after Colton's promotion to the Archbishoprick of Armagh.

1395—On the 8th of April this year, the Archbishop, Robert Walby, granted the church of Athderg to the college of Vicars Choral.

[2] Rot. Pat. 12 Rich. II.

mentions that the Cardinal had obtained the deanery upon the 2d of June preceding, it likewise mentions that the deanery was, at that time, under sequestration.

[c] A person named William de Karlell was a Baron of the Exchequer in 1374. Rot. Pat. 48 Edw. III.

[d] This is noted in the office as a pipe roll of 18th Rich. II. but there are accounts entered thereon, of the following and many preceding years: the article here alluded to, is statedto be an account for one year, (commencing 18th May, 18th. and ending 12th May, 19th Rich. II.) of the spiritualities of the deanery, "Decanatus Archiepiscopatus." The Archbishop rendered account of forty marks for that term and forty for the term preceding, the whole being, annually, 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the arrears for several years preceding are stated to amount to 373*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which, at the rate above-mentioned, is for the space of seven years; the sequestration of the deanery is therein stated to have taken place on the 14th July, 12th Richard II.

On the same membrane is the account of Maur. Fitz-Eustace, sheriff of the county of Dublin, for the temporalities of the deanery, from Tuesday next before the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, 14 Rich. II. viz. 104*s.* 3*d.* for easter term and a like sum for the term preceding (being at the rate of 10*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* per annum) and likewise for 15*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* arrears of preceding years; this relates, I presume, to some part of the Dean's possessions which lay within his bailiwick, and were not supposed to be included in the other demises. Richard Abbot, his successor, accounts likewise, on another membrane of the same roll, for the like sum; it is probable the latter did not pay any sum into the Exchequer, for he mentions that the fruits of the deanery had been demised, 10th June, 14 Rich. II. to William Chambre, Archdeacon.

The Archbishop (Robert de Walby) was, about this period, translated to Sarum; and we find, upon the same membrane with the two accounts first above-mentioned, that of William Chambre, Archdeacon, and Thomas Wafre, Clerk, custodees of the spiritualities of the Archbishoprick, "sede vacante," rendering account of the spiritualities of the deanery of Dublin (which is mentioned to have been sequestered, and in the King's hands); fifty marks is accounted for by those persons for easter term, and fifty more for the term preceding, viz. 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and likewise 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* arrears of preceding years.

The same Chambre appears by another article, on the same roll, to account for one hundred marks per annum, for which sum the deanery was demised to him; he appears to have paid, on that score, two several sums of 41*l.* 8*l.* 6*d.* each; the deanery is said to have been seized on the 10th June, 14 Rich. II. and he appears to have held the fruits by demise from the crown, at least for three years, during the reign of Rich. II.

I confess I am unable to reconcile these matters, so seemingly contradictory, otherwise, than by supposing that they allude to different periods of time, and that Chambre, the original lessee, had not uninterrupted possession, but held the deanery during intervals, but at the original rent; possibly some of the accounts are the same with others, and that the strict rules of the court might make it necessary that every person who could, by any implication, be held liable, should obtain a discharge, that their other possessions might be freed from any demand. That the Archbishop should account for forty marks only, when Chambre, at a subsequent period, accounted for fifty, might, perhaps, be accounted for by supposing that the Sheriff of Dublin held, during the former period, part of the possessions of the deanery. It is remarkable, that three of the four accounts are contained on the same membrane.

That the spiritualities were held by the Archbishop, and the temporalities by Chambre, is a thought that naturally suggests itself, but I fear it will not, after a comparison, be found satisfactory.

[e] It is mere matter of conjecture, why the person, nominated by the Pope, was not confirmed in the deanery; that prelate founded his claim, generally, upon one or other of the following grounds, viz. informality of election, or lapse of time; and it rarely occurs that his right of nomination, upon these grounds, was disputed; it might be, however, that the objection arose, in this case, from the Pope's nominee being an absentee; or, as the great schism in the Popedom happened at this time, Randulph might have been nominated by Clement VII. whose title, although recognised by many nations on the continent, was not acknowledged in England; or, perhaps, the King of England then claimed that privilege, which he now possesses without dispute, of nominating, for that turn, to whatever benefice is vacated by promotion to the episcopal bench.

Sect. IX. Thomas de Everdon, *Dean.*

1396—Cardinal Randulph, who had intruded himself into the deanery, under pretence of a papal provision, was evicted after a trial upon a writ of "quare impedit" in the court of King's bench [a]: the spiritualities and temporalities, which had been sequestered, continued in the King's hands until this year, when Thomas de Everdon was appointed Dean, and an order for "amoveas manus" from the profits of the deanery, issued on the 6th of June to the Vicar General of the diocess of Dublin. [1]

Thomas de Everdon, like his predecessor Colton, combined civil and military occupations with his clerical duties; he appears, moreover, to have served in a great variety of capacities; his name occurs so frequently on the rolls and during so long a period of time that it is scarce credible they could all have reference to the same person; we meet with it so early as the year 1343, and so late as 1411; in the King's letters he is often stiled "Clericus noster dilectus," which alludes either to his being in holy orders, or has reference to an office which we find him frequently exercising, but which does not exactly correspond with any that exists in modern times [b]; it consisted, chiefly, in keeping account of moneys expended upon military expeditions, and seems to have included, moreover, that of hiring men upon such occasions; but, besides this, Thomas de Everdon filled many other

[1] 19 Rich. II.

[a] MS. by Dr. John Lyon, who probably derived his information from the rolls.

[b] He is stil d "Clericus Regis ad vadia et rewarda hominibus ad arma, &c. in obsequio Regis super guerris, &c." and his accounts of money, expended upon various military expeditions, are entered on the pipe rolls of this reign. There are, likewise, many liberates to him for money, in consideration of services rendered and losses sustained by him; some of these mark so characteristically the manners of the times, that they will not, perhaps, be deemed unworthy of insertion.

From grants in the reign of Edw. III. I select the following:

In 1343, (1st July, 17 Edw. III.) Thomas de Everdon, "Clericus noster dilectus," having lately, in Westmeath, paid 20*l.* by recommendation of the deputy Lieutenant, for taking two of the M'Goighans; his Majesty ordered the treasurer and chamberlain of his Exchequer, to remunerate him.

The O'Brynnes having purchased the King's peace for 20*l.* Everdon appears to have pledged himself for 18*l.* for horses received from them, (perhaps they paid the fine in this manner) which being too dear, the King, in consideration of his services and expenses in this and various other expeditions and businesses, gave orders that he should be remitted 8*l.* of the said sum: this order was dated 28th June, in the same year.

During the reign of Rich. II. we meet the following grants of wardships, custodiums and liberates to Thomas de Everdon:

On the roll, 1st Richard II. is a King's order, dated 23d December, that he should have new tallies for 100*s.* in lieu of his old ones, in reign of Edward III. being part of his salary which remained unpaid. On the 28th of December, the parliament or council at Tristledermot, ordered that he should be paid 7*l.* 7*s.* for the service of three men at arms and fourteen archers, who had served in the retinue of the Lord Justice, during fifteen days: on the 22d January the treasurer was ordered, by the King, to pay him five marks for his expenses and labours, as clerk in chancery, in attending James, Earl of Ormond, Lord Justice, in the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipper and Kilkenny, to Michaelmas preceding; and since that, to the arrival of Richard, Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, in counties of Kildare, Carlow and Dublin. On the 26th there was an order to pay him 30*l.* for his fees, for three men at arms, besides archers, horsemen and footmen, in the retinue of the Lord Justice. On 23d March, a liberate for 50*s.* being his arrears as Clerk of Chancery, for one quarter, due from 20th March, 51 Edward III. to June following. On the 10th April he had an order for 200*l.* for men at arms, hobellers, &c. in retinue of the Lord Lieutenant, during wars with the Irish; and, on 29th May, 100*l.* more was ordered for the same use.

On a roll, 5th Richard II. there occurs a grant to him and Walter de Brugge, dated 1st April, of the custody of the lands of Moylagh, county Meath, the estate of Roger, Earl of Mortimer, son of Edmond, late Earl, which were in the King's hands by reason of the minority of said Roger; from this custodium a rent was reserved to the King, of twenty-four marks yearly. It appears, from the same roll, that on the 26th Feb. preceding he had been commissioned to collect debts due to the late Earl, and on the 16th March he was appointed Deputy Chancellor of the liberties of Meath, under William Tany, Chancellor of Ireland, who could not personally attend that office.

On a roll, 9th Richard II. there is a grant to him, John Cruys, John Brehenden and Robert Evere, of the custody of all the lands of John Fitzmathew, county Meath; in recompense for the great expenses they had incurred by maintaining the King's cause in the Irish wars; they were, however, to account to the Exchequer for the profits, which they were to hold, until their demands were fully satisfied: they were given the custody of the lands of Thomas Chambers and Thomas Nugent, deceased, in the same county, for one hundred marks, lent by them, for the King's business, to John Bykley, clerk of the Hanaper: they had, also, the custody of the lands of Will. Lynham, curate; about the same time Everdon had a custodium grant of the land of Richard Braynock and Roger Gommon, in county Tipperary, for his laudable services; and, on the 23d of July, the goods and salary due to John Ryneaux, clerk, treasurer of the King in Ulster, late deceased, were put into the hands of Robert Sutton and Thomas de Everdon, in order to satisfy his debts to the crown.

On a roll, 13 Richard II. a grant, dated 10th October, commits to Thomas de Everdon and Thomas Boding, custody of the land and tenement of Kynsaly, county Dublin, in the manucaption of Rich. White, prior of St. John of Jerusalem.

On a roll, 17th Rich. II. there is an order that he should be discharged from paying eight marks, "pro dolio vini," which had been delivered to him, it being intended as a reward for his services; he is stiled here, "Dilectus clericus noster, Tho. de Everdon, nuper clericus noster ad vadia, &c."

stations, as well civil as ecclesiastical. In the year 1345, he was presented to the church of Ardkeen, in the diocess of Down, at that time in the King's gift on account of the minority of the heir of Will. de Burgo, Earl of Ulster[2]: in 1374 he was a canon of St. Patrick's, when that body petitioned the King for license to elect an Archbishop[c]: on the 12th January, 9 Rich. II. we find him officiating as Vice-chancellor; and, on the 20th, when the Chancellor left Dublin, he had custody of the great seal[d]: on the 15th of the same month he was nominated keeper of the rolls of chancery, with a fee of twenty pounds per annum[e]: he was in the same office in 1401, and he occurs as Vice-chancellor in Nov. 1402, having been appointed thereto by reason of the indisposition of Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin, at that time Lord Chancellor[3]: he appears to have held many other offices[f] and preferments, both before his appointment to the deanery and after the resignation which, it is said, he made of the same, into the Pope's hands, in favor of John Prene.

Upon his resignation of the deanery, Thomas de Everdon obtained the prebend of Clonmethan, which was confirmed to him by letters patent, dated 14th February 1402; he must have lived to a great age, for, in 1411, he resigned the church of St. Mary, of Kildalk, in the diocess of Meath, to James Fitzsymon, who was nominated thereto by the King.

Sect. X. JOHN PRENE, *Dean.*

1399—John Prene, one of the auditors of causes tried at the court of Rome, was promoted to the deanery by Pope Boniface IX. in contempt of the statute of provisors and contrary to the chapter's undoubted privilege of election, which had been confirmed by the court of Rome itself. King Henry III. however, granted a pardon to all persons concerned in this affair[a]; and in that document he acknowleges the Chapter's right to elect a Dean, calling this dignity, "beneficium electivum."

1415—The Dean obtained the King's licence of absence.[1] On the 25th of August, in the following year, Robert Fitzhugh, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, was unanimously elected Archbishop of Armagh by the Dean and Chapter of that see; he was remarkable for his learning and virtue, and was strongly recommended to the council of Constance, that he might obtain confirmation from that assembly, the the see of Rome being at that time vacant; it is, however, certain that he was not consecrated, but for what reason he came to be set aside, does not appear.[2]

1423—King Henry VI. on the 9th of May, this year, presented Brande, Cardinal of Placentia, to the prebend of Swords, which he accompanied with a man-

[2] Rot. Pat. 20 Edw. III. [3] Rot. Pat. Birm. Tur. 4 Hen. IV. [1] Rot. 3 Hen. V. [2] Swayn's regist.

[c] On the 13th October, 9th Rich. II. he was presented, by the King, to the church of Killalon, in Meath diocess; the letters patent were directed to Adam del Naas, Archdeacon of Kells, Custodee of that diocess.

[d] On the 19th June, 18th Rich. II. Thomas de Everdon and John Kirkby were appointed keepers of the great seal; on the 6th of July they were commanded to deliver it up to Alexander, Bishop of Meath, which they accordingly did, on the 6th of August, in the great hall of the Archbishop, at St. Sepulchre's. Rot. Pat. 18 Rich. II.

[e] Robert Sutton, who was his predecessor in this office, delivered the rolls to him on the 22d. Everdon being sworn into office at St. Nicholas church, on the 20th, before Alex. Bishop of Ossory, Chancellor, and John Penrip, Ch. Justice of the Common Pleas. Rolls, 9 Rich. II.

[f] He was joined with John Lumbard in a commission, issued first Richard II. to collect all the Kings debts, as well as those of his predecessor King Edward III. in the counties of Kilkenny, Weys, Waterford, Tipper, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry.

On the 14th April, 9th Richard II. the King signified that Everdon was so much employed in his business in several parts of the kingdom, as to be unable to follow his other affairs in counties of Louth and Meath; consent was, therefore, given, that he should employ attornies for himself in those counties. Roll, 9th Rich. II.

[a] This pardon bears date the 9th March, 2d Hen. IV. and was enrolled 5th Hen. IV. Rot. Pat. Berm. Tur.

Besides the admission contained in the former part of this remarkable record, viz. that the deanery was an elective benefice, the clause, confirming Prene in the deanery, deserves attention inasmuch as the words, "quantum in nobis est," manifestly insinuate, that the crown had not the exclusive patronage.
See this article in Append. Numb. IX.

date to the Dean and Chapter, to install him; he wrote, likewise, to Archbishop Talbot, to take care that he should be admitted to the canonry of Swords in the usual form.[3]

1431—On the 4th day of February, this year, Archbishop Talbot divided the rich prebend of Swords into three parts, one portion he assigned to the prebendary, another to the vicar, the third he granted to the oeconomy of this cathedral, for the maintenance of six Petit Canons and six Choristers.[4] This prelate had, previously, obtained the King's license, which was granted by letters patent, dated 1st April.[5]

1434—On the 4th of March, this year, the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin were obliged to perform penance in a public manner, by proceeding bare-footed to this cathedral, to the church of the Holy Trinity and to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin; begging pardon for the offences which they had committed in those churches.[a]

1437—A commission was, this year, issued to enquire into the obstruction of the course of water near the church of Dublin.[6]

1439—John Prene was, about the close of November, this year, consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, he was promoted to that see by Pope Eugenius IV.

Besides the deanery of this cathedral, he enjoyed other promotions in the church: about 1420 he was Archdeacon of Armagh[b]; he had, also, the vicarage of Termonfeichan[c]; and, in Michaelmas 1437, as patron of the church of St. James of Athboy, he presented to the vicarage, then worth six marks per annum.

He died in June 1443, at his manor of Termonfeichin, and was buried in the chancel of St. Feichin's church.[7]

Sect. XI. NICHOLAS HILL, *Dean.*

1439—Prene being promoted to the primacy, Nicholas Hill, Archdeacon of Dublin, succeeded him in the deanery: in 1409 he was vicar of Balruddery, as appears from a licence of absence for three years, extant on the rolls.[1]

1443—Pope Eugenius IV. by his bull, dated the twelfth year of his pontificate, confirmed the establishment of minor Canons and Choristers in this cathedral.[2]

The Dean and Chapter represented to John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, their wish to erect a large bell in their cathedral; that they might be enabled to perform this and to execute certain repairs and add sundry ornaments, the Archbishop, on the 19th of November, granted an indulgence of forty days to all persons who should contribute to these good works.[3]

1449—Michael Tregury, elected Archbishop of Dublin, was this year consecrated in St. Patrick's church.[a]

[3] Rymer, Vol. X. pag. 282. [4] Dign. Dec. pag. 64. [5] Dign. Dec. pag. 68. [6] Rot. Pat. 15 Hen. VI.
[7] Ware de Presul. [1] 11 Hen. IV. Rot. Pat. [2] Dign. Dec. pag. 72. [3] Mey reg. fol. 25.

[a] The crimes objected against them were those following:
1. They had endeavoured to murder their mayor.
2. They had laid hands, in an hostile manner, upon the Earl of Ormond, and likewise committed homicide.
3. They had furiously assaulted and broke the gates of St. Mary's-abbey, and entering that monastery, had drawn therefrom the Abbot, Stephen Lawless, bearing him up, some by the feet and others by the hands and arms.

[b] In 1427 he was perpetual Vicar of the churches of Kepock, Drumcarre and Stabanon. Harris's Ware, pag. 86, with MS. additions by Mr. John Lodge.

[c] A writ was issued, from the Exchequer, 27th May, 16th Hen. VI. (1437,) commanding the bailiff of Uriel to distrain the land and cattle of John Prene, "Rector of the parish church of Terfeghan," by reason of his being absent from Ireland, contrary to the statute of Richard II. He was sent to the Pope by the Primate, in 1428; and, in the following year, exercised an office in that diocess, relating to administration of wills, being called "Curator Testamentorum, &c." he was about the same time official of the diocess of Armagh, "officialis curiæ."

[a] The Congé d'elire was directed to Nicholas Hill, Dean of St. Patrick's, and William Denys, Prior of the Holy Trinity; it is extant among the records of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and bears date at Drogheda, 22d Aug. 27 Hen. VI. (1449.)

CHAPT. II.

Annals of the Cathedral, from the election of Dean Norris in 1457, to the period of its suppression, by King Henry VIII. in 1546.

Sect. I. PHILIP NORRIS, *Dean.* [a]

1457—This year Philip Norreys, (Norris) Prebendary of Yago, was elected Dean. He was born in Ireland, and on the 29th of July 1427, was presented by John Blakeney, Esq. [b] to the vicarage of St. Nicholas church at Dundalke; on the same day John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh, granted him institution at his manor of Termonfeichan, and ordered Richard Rowe, Archdeacon of Armagh, to induct him: shortly after the Archbishop granted him license to go abroad, for seven years, in order to pursue his studies. [c]

Upon his return to England Norris continued at university college, Oxford, until he obtained his degree of doctor in divinity; and, when he had finished his studies in the great hall of this college, he became president of the little hall, where he continued during 1429, and the two following years. [2] Bale says that he was famed for his acquirements in philosophy and theology, very learned in the canon and civil law, and a great master of rhetoric [3]: he, likewise, tells us, that in his public discourses, he used many sarcastic speeches against the orders of mendicant friars; saying, that like the Gabaonites who circumvented Joshua with falsehood and slander, they were sent from their Antiochus, the Pope, to speak terms of peace with guile in their hearts; he maintained that they were a more noxious sect to the christian community than the Arians, Pelagians or any other hereticks, and that they should be driven out from all congregations of christians. [d]

Thus, did Norris follow the steps of the celebrated Richard Fitz-Ralph, who had been Chancellor of Oxford and Archbishop of Armagh; from the latter dignity he obtained the title of "Armachanus," by which he is generally known; the sermons and discourses of both were directed against the irregularities of the mendicant orders, and Norris had even the hardihood to maintain, that it was scandalous in a christian priest to beg [e]: by this conduct he drew down on himself the indignation of the whole body of regulars, from whose fury, however, he appears to have been sheltered by the interposing hand of the university. [f] Fitz-Ralph was a native of Dundalk, in which town Norris obtained his first promotion; he was, probably, a com-patriot of the Archbishop's.

Irritated by the invectives of Norris, Thomas Hore, a dominican, preferred, to Pope Eugenius IV. at that time just entering into the papacy, a complaint in behalf

[1] Swayn's regist. [2] Wood, Hist. Oxon. pag. 62. [3] Bale, Brit. script. Cent. XIV. Num. 99.

[a] It appears from certain loose manuscripts in the registry, that Norris was Dean in 1457, although Anthony a Wood places his promotion under the year 1460. Hist. Oxon.

[b] The right of patronage was disputed at the time of Norris's presentation; Sir John Bellew and Lord Roch had nominated, on the 30th of June, one Thomas Hussey, but the cause was decided in favor of Blakeney. Swain's register.

[c] Archbishop Swayn's register. It appears he staid beyond his time, for, in the year 1435, a prosecution was instituted against him, and the profits of his benefice at Dundalk were destrained by an order of the Court of Exchequer, two thirds thereof being forfeited to the Crown by reason of his absence, (Swayn's register) according to an act of parliament passed in the reign of Rich. II. against Irish absentees; a law which we find was rigorously enforced by Henry VI. who published two proclamations against absentees, in the year 1431. Cotton MSS.

[d] Per scripturas, antichristos eos vocabat, lupos, latrones, fures, traditores, porcos voraces, hæreticos, Mahumeti discipulos, pessimos nebulones, atque diabolo ipso pejores." Bale seems to have indulged his own spleen in copying out this catalogue of opprobious names.

[e] "Addiditque, ex Richardo Armachano, damnabile esse Christianis, quum non indigeant, mendicare." Bale. Norris is accused by Pope Eugenius IV. in his bull of excommunication, of having declared, "quod nullus sacerdos, sive religiosus sive non, deberet quovismodo mendicare," an opinion which his holiness declares to be, "ab fide penitus aliena." Norris had been, before this time, accused of heresy: so early as 1423 there was a writ issued, "de heretico capiendo." Cotton MSS.

[f] And likewise, as Bale insinuates, he was upheld by some Bishops; "sunt qui hunc credant, per quosdam episcopos ad id incitatum."

of himself and the four orders of friars mendicant; accordingly that pontiff, in the same year, (1431,) issued a bull to the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, requiring them to call Norris to account for certain positions advanced by him against the friars; and it appears that certain bulls and processes were read against him, at the high cross in Dublin, by the Archbishop. [g]

Norris had, about the year 1440, another adversary to encounter in the person of William Muselwyke, an augustine friar, who, being urged thereto by some of his brethren, preferred at Rome an accusation against Norris, of publickly expressing opinions heretical in their tendency and prejudicial to the four orders of mendicant friars, and procured from the hand of Eugenius the Pope, an anathema against him. It appears from the bull, which is given at full by Wadding, [h] in his annals of the friars minor, that the matter had been referred to the deacon cardinal, "Dominicus Stæ Mariæ in via lata," to examine and report the matter to himself at the secret consistory in Rome; the cardinal's sentence was confirmed by the Pope, at Florence, on the iii. non. Aug. tenth year of his pontificate, (A. D. 1440.)

The same pontiff directed his bull, [i] dated ix. kal. Sept. in the same year, to the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, against Philip Norris, of the diocess of Dublin [k]; he therein recites several opprobrious expressions, uttered by him against the mendicant friars, [l] which he pronounced blasphemous and scandalous and containing manifest heresy; he, therefore, denounced Philip and all his associates, as heretics, and if he should presume to oppugn, publickly or privately, this sentence, or should refuse to recant his errors, he declared him excommunicate and incapable of being absolved from that sentence, except "in articulo mortis," by any but the

[g] This account of the prosecution instituted against Norris, in 1431, is extracted from Harris's additions to Ware, "de Script. Hib." Wadding, who treats fully of the subsequent prosecution commenced in 1440, is altogether silent upon the subject of this previous one, but it can hardly be supposed that Harris was mistaken, for he quotes a letter of privy seal dated 9th Hen. VI. requiring one Walsh to appear before the King and Council, in England, to answer to certain matters objected against him, inasmuch as he had impeded the Archbishop of Dublin's promulgating the processes and apostolick bulls issued in behalf of the friars against Norris, and likewise quotes a petition of the same Walsh to the Lord Deputy and Council, that the Archbishop might be interrogated as to the truth of this fact: he relates too, pretty circumstantially, the Archbishops confession that he had not been impeded by Walsh, but had quietly and peaceably read the said bulls and processes without any molestation. But, if Wadding was silent upon the subject of the first, Harris is equally so upon the last prosecution, which he seems to have been ignorant of, nor does he appear to have consulted that writer in the account he has given of Norris, and yet he was not unacquainted with his works.

[h] Wadding, Annales Minorum, &c. Vol. XI. pag. 104. Roma 1734.

[i] Wadding, Vol. XI. pag. 105.

[k] Probably as prebendary of Yago.

[l] The propositions which this "filius iniquitatis" (as he is stiled by Pope Eugenius) maintained against the friars are classed by Burgh (Hib. Dom. pag. 68) under seventeen heads, they are extracted from the bull itself which is published by Wadding; the former writer prefaces the introduction of them by the following words, "eas quidem recensere pudet, præsertim de concive meo, verum historiæ leges ad id me plane cogunt."

The propositions were as follows:

"1. Sicut muri Jerusalem erant destructi per quatuor diversos principes, sic, Ecclesia Dei erit destructa per fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium."

"2. Sicut Princeps Tributorum, missus ab Antiocho in civitatem Jerusalem, locutus est ei verba pacifica in dolo, sic fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium venerunt in Ecclesiam cum dolo, ut destruerent eam pro eorum conatu et posse."

"3. Sicut Princeps Tributornm venit in Civitatem Jerusalem cum turba multa, et turba dicitur a turbo, turbas; sic fratres intraverunt Ecclesiam, et sunt in ea quasi turba, quia perturbant Ecclesiam."

"4. Sicut Gabaonitæ venerunt ad ducem Josue cum mendaciis, sic fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium intraverunt ecclesiam cum mendaciis."

"5. Fuerunt quatuor concilia generalia celebrata, in quibus diversi hæretici fuerunt condemnati, et tamen, fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt pejores heretici quam ipsi fuerunt."

"6. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt ribaldi pessimi."

"7. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt fures, et latrones, et spoliant sanctam ecclesiam."

"8. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt pejores Juda Traditore."

"9. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt lupi rapaces."

"10. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt Antichristi, et directe contra Christum."

"11. Fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium sunt discipuli Mahometi."

"12. Nullus parochianorum cujuscumque parochiæ potest accedere ad aliquem fratrem admissum in forma juris, secundum capitulum, "*Dudum*," gratia confessionis faciendæ, sine licentia proprii sacerdotis, sive curati parochialis."

"13. Confessi fratribus admissis secundum formam capituli, "*Dudum*," tenentur iterato quolibet anno omnia peccata sua, ac eadem peccata in numero confiteri suo proprio sacerdoti, scilicet, parochiali curato."

"14. Dixit firmiter, se credere nullum bonum hominem esse inter fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium."

"15. Dubitavit aliquos fratres quatuor ordinum mendicantium esse sacerdotes, aut habere sacrum ordinem presbyteratus."

"16. Dixit aperte, quod ipsemet noluit stare judicio domini Papæ, sed judicio concilii generalis."

"17. Nullus sacerdos, sive religiosus sive non, deberet quovis modo mendicare." Hib. Dom. pag. 68.

Pope himself or those by him specially appointed; and, likewise, incapable of being restored but by the same authority, to any benefices or honors he might possess; he further decreed that he should pay the expenses of this suit, which amounted to two hundred and fifty florins of gold.

This complaint being made, and censure passed without having first obtained leave from the Chancellor of Oxford, Musselwyke, and all his abettors were suspended for having carried a cause to be tried abroad, which was under the jurisdiction of the court of the university. [4]

Wadding relates that none of the denunciations of Eugenius had the effect required; Norris continued to set at defiance all the mendicant orders, refusing to make satisfaction for alledged injuries, or to pay the fine [m]; that, for two years he continued his appeal before the council at Basil [n]; that finally Pope Nicholas V. directed his bull [o] to the Archbishops of Dublin, Canterbury and London, dated Rome, xv. kal. Aug. and second year of his pontificate, (1448) ordering them to declare Norris, in the most formal manner, excommunicate, unless he should recant his errors and satisfy the friars' demands to their full extent.

But, neither the virulent prosecutions of the mendicant orders, nor the denunciations of the see of Rome, seem to have impeded the ecclesiastical promotion of Norris; all the benefices which he is recorded to have obtained, were subsequent in date to the first accusation which we find was urged against him for heresy, and his promotion to the deanery, the most considerable to which he ever attained, was later than any of those above enumerated; it is not unlikely, that to expose the irregularities of those friars, might, even in that time, have been a popular measure: The approbation which the conduct of Richard Armachanus had obtained, is well known, and within the diocess of Dublin itself, near a century before the period of Norris's elevation to the deanery, Archbishop Alexander de Bykenore is said to have preached in the church of the Holy Trinity against the idleness of those orders; it is recorded that he argued so forcibly against the sin of sloth, shewing how the curse of GOD would light on all such idle persons as do nothing and live on the labour of others, and exhibited its ill effects by so striking examples, quoted from the holy scriptures, that the Mayor of Dublin would not suffer an idle person to beg within his liberties, but only those who spun and knitted as they went to and fro; which kind of exercise the begging friars were obliged to imitate, for fear of the Archbishop's or the Mayor's censures. [5]

During the incumbency of Norris, a dispute took place between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter, relative to the right of visitation; the matter was, by common consent, referred to the arbitration of John White, abbot of St. Mary's near Dublin, master Thomas Walsh and master Richard Rowe, who decided in favor of the Dean and Chapter. [6]

1465—Norris died, after an illness of near seven years, some time in the year 1465; after his death, his successor, John Alleyn, commenced an action against Rowland Eustace, Lord Portlester and Sir Robert Dowdall, knight, his executors; for dilapidations in the residentiary house; his will was made near three years previous to his decease, nevertheless, an act of parliament in the 7th Edw. IV. declared that he could not make a will by reason of his infirmity. [7]

[4] Hist. Oxon. Lib. I. pag. 216. [5] MS. Collect. of Rob. Ware. [6] Act of Parl. 14th Edw. IV. [7] Stat. Roll.

[m] "Sed omnia ille floccipendens, neque injurias revocavit, neque expensas solvit, neque judicibus commissariis voluit obedire."

[n] "Adhæsit Basileensibus, et demum appellavit a Pontificis sententia ad Sedem Apostolicam:" he adhered to this council after it had declared against the Pope, who convened another at Ferrara.

[o] Wadding Annales Minorum, &c. Roma 1735. Tom. XII. pag. 8. Where the bull of Pope Nicholas is published at full length.

Norris was the author, as we learn from Bale, of the following works:
Declamationes quædem, lib. I.
Lecturæ scripturarum, lib. I.
Sermones ad populum, lib. I.
Contra mendicitatem validam, lib. I. and some other pieces.

Sect. II. JOHN ALLEYNE, *Dean.*

1465—After the death of Philip Norris, John Alleyne, batchelor of canon law and precentor of St. Patrick's, was elected Dean, as is expressly affirmed in an act of parliament of the 8th Edw. IV. [a]

1467—By letters patent, dated 8th February 1467, he obtained licence to sue at the court of Rome, either in person or by his proctor, for any benefices with or without cure (except bishopricks or abbeys,) and to enjoy such as he should obtain peaceably, notwithstanding the statute of provisors; those letters were soon after confirmed by parliament, 7th Edw. IV. [1]

He, this year, [b] obtained an act of parliament against the executors of his predecessor, Dean Norris, for dilapidations, to the amount of eighty pounds, twelve shillings, being the sum at which the damage had been estimated by the Canons and Vicars, by order of the Archbishop, according to the usage of the church. [2]

This year King Edw. IV. confirmed, by letters patent, the establishment of three new prebends in this cathedral, viz. Kilmactalway; the church of St. Audoen in Dublin; and St. Patrick in Wicklow; he, likewise, confirmed that arrangement, whereby one portion of Luske was appropriated to the precentor and the other to the treasurer, and the rectory of Newcastle of Lyons to the Archdeacon of Glendaloch: the reason alledged for this change was, that the benefices of those dignitaries had been destroyed by rebels and enemies, insomuch that they had not sufficient means wherewith to support their dignities nor exercise hospitality; this arrangement did not, however, alter the number of Canons in the chapter [c]: it was further confirmed, this year, by act of parliament. [d]

1468—There is extant, among the manuscripts in Trinity College, [3] an account of a visitation held in the chapter-house, on the 26th April 1468, by Michael Tregury, Archbishop: three of the Chapter only are mentioned as appearing, viz. John Alleyne, Dean; Robert Warren, Precentor and Official of the Diocess; and John Leche. The general articles of visitation being read according to the custom of the cathedral, the Dean reported that he had visited the canons, petit canons and vicars choral; that all the prebends were visited except Tipperkevin, Tipper, Ballimore, Dunlavan, Yago, Donoughmore in Omayle, Stagonil and Monmahenock, which lay in the Irish territory, or on the marches of the Pale, so that he dared not to visit them on account of the war in those parts; and, except, also, Howth and Malahiderd. He reported, moreover, that they were corrected by his visitation, were corrigible and obedient; then, after some questions asked, relative to the hospitality of the Dean and Canons, the visitation was adjourned.

[1] Stat. Roll; also, Dign. Dec. pag. 185. [2] Dign. Dec. pag. 187. from Stat. Roll. [3] B. 52.

[a] The statute has the following words, "Pour ceo que ledit Johan ore tarde apres le mort del benoit memorie meistier Philip Norris, jadits Deane del dit esglis, fuit loialement eslue, confirme et stalle Deane del dit Esglis, et mise loialement en possession del dit Deanrie oue lez appourtenauntz."

[b] In the general act of resumption passed this session of parliament, the grants made to Alleyn, Chanter of St. Patrick's, and Walter Kyngdon, Prebendary of Swords, were especially excepted. Dign. Dec. pag. 187, from the Stat. Roll.

[c] This patent is recited in the charter of restitution of Philip and Mary, it is published in Append. Numb. X.

[d] The same parliament confirmed the establishment of Minor Canons and Choristers, and the appropriation before-mentioned of the parish of Swords.

At a parliament held this year, it was enacted, that if any Canon of this cathedral should absent himself, half the benefit of his prebend should be divided among the residentaries in the close, provided his prebend did not exceed, in value, ten marks per annum; if it were of greater value than that sum, he was to be allowed six marks; students at Cambridge or Oxford, or pilgrims, or appellants to the court of Rome, were not, however, included, and Walter Kyngdom, prebendary of Swords, was exempted for the three years next ensuing. [4]

1471—Archbishop Tregury, who died this year, bequeathed, by his will dated the 10th of December, two silver salts gilt, with covers, to be used as chalices in this cathedral at the celebration of the Lord's supper; he bequeathed, likewise, a pair of organs to St. Mary's chapel. [5]

On the 3d of January, Dean Alleyne was elected Archbishop by the united suffrages of both cathedrals. The Convent of the Holy Trinity, fearing lest the displeasure of the crown might be incurred by not waiting for a royal licence, refused, at first, to hold an election; but the chapter of St. Patrick's executed a bond of indemnity to them, for the sum of one hundred pounds, sealed with their common seal; this instrument was signed by the following persons: John Alleyne, Dean; John Leche, Chancellor; Richard Eustace, Treasurer; William Helusyn, Archdeacon of Glendaloch; James Hacket, Prebendary of Stagonil; Henry White, Citizen of Dublin; and Thomas Milton, Public Notary. [6]

Although elected by the voice of both Chapters, Alleyne was not confirmed in the Archbishoprick, probably, on account of some informality in the election; we find John Walton was nominated afterwards by the King, who received the pall in 1472.

As soon as Walton arrived, he endeavoured to exercise ordinary jurisdiction over the Dean and Chapter: Alleyne insisted upon his privilege of being ordinary in his own cathedral, but the Archbishop continued obstinate and deprived the Dean, who thereupon petitioned Parliament and obtained a statute, confirming all the privileges of the Dean and Chapter.

1474—This statute mentions the foundation of the cathedral by King John; its endowment by the Archbishops, John, Henry and Luke, recites that confirmation of their privileges, the statute called "Dignitas Decani et omnium Canonicorum," alledges that they were never disturbed in the enjoyment of those privileges, until the time of Michael, the late Archbishop; when, upon a reference mutually agreed to, a decision was made in favour of the Dean and Chapter; notwithstanding which, the then Archbishop had well nigh destroyed their foundation and liberties, and by his hasty, wilfull and unjust proceedings, had perverted their customs; upon consideration of all which, it was enacted by the authority of parliament, that the foundation, laws and legal customs, and more especially the constitution, called "Dignitas Decani," and all other statutes or constitutions, granted as above and confirmed by the holy fathers, Innocent and Nicholas, Popes of Rome, as likewise the declaration made in the case of the reference above-mentioned, should be ratified and confirmed. This statute further enacted, that if the Archbishop or his successors, or any of their officers, should make attempts contrary to the above-mentioned statutes or legal customs, they should forfeit, for every such attempt, the sum of twenty pounds; and for as much as the Archbishop had wilfully and maliciously deprived the said Dean, because he and his Chapter did defend their rights, (from which sentence he hath appealed to the papal see,) they ordained, that the Dean his benefices, goods and lands should, during such appeal, remain under

[4] Rolls of Parliament. [5] MS. T. C. D. [6] Nov. reg. Christ church, fol. 735.

protection of the King, and whoever should presume to take any of the profits of the same, should be declared out of the King's protection, and should forfeit all his lands and chattles, and his body be at the will of the King.[7]

By an act of the same parliament, one Dr. Marcell or Marcellus[e] was ordered to leave the kingdom; the statute recounts the cause, which is worth giving in the manner therein recited.

Forasmuch as it is for the public good, that every prince should purify and clear his country of all evil-minded persons, as peace and charity are to be held a treasure in every region, and, inasmuch as Dr. Marcellus is of bad conversation, of evil disposition and a disturber of the peace, and hath caused enmity, first, between John, late Archbishop of Armagh, and William, now Bishop of Meath, and by his false council, hath well nigh destroyed the clergy of Louth and Meath, and lately caused the great variance that was between master J. Alleyne, Dean of St. Patrick's, and the Chapter of that cathedral; these things being considered, and how the divine service of God, in said church, is daily withdrawn, and especially, of late, on St. Patrick's eve no vespers were sung therein, which is most piteous tidings to every one in this land; it is adjudged that proclamation be made, that said Dr. Marcell do quit this land in the space of one month and never again return to the same, and if he be found within the same, after said time, that he be adjudged a traitor to the King, as likewise every one who shall harbour him; all fees or pensions heretofore granted to him, shall be of no effect in law, nor shall any letters patent to continue him in this land, nor any pardon from the King, for his offences, avail him, except they be confirmed by authority of parliament; it is provided, however, that nothing herein be prejudicial to the privileges of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland.[8]

1475—The Dean and Chapter chose J. Leche, Chanc. of the Cathedral, the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity Thomas Fyche, one of their Canons, to appear as proxies for them in parliament: a general taxation of the clergy and laiety was determined on, and the sum of twenty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence was applotted on those cathedrals, towards the support of one hundred archers and forty horsemen; letters patent were issued and signed by William Shirewood, Bishop of Meath, Lord Deputy, to empower collectors to levy these subsidies.

1476—Tne Dean, Chanter, Chancellor and Proctor of St. Patrick's cathedral, having represented to parliament, that their benefices and possessions lay, for the most part, in parts subject to the power of Irish enemies and English rebels, and that they could not obtain English men to farm the same; it was therefore enacted, that, notwithstanding any previous statute to the contrary, they should have liberty to lease their lands and tithes to rebels or enemies, or any other persons, without impeachment for the same.[f]

[7] Stat. roll, 14th Edw. IV. See Append. Numb. XI.

[8] Stat. roll, 14 Edw. IV.

[e] "Marcellus de Roma, Doctor utriusque juris."

[f] "Item, al supplication des poveres oratours de Roy, le dean, chauntour, chaunceller et proctour del cathedrale Esglis de St. Patrik de Divelin, pur ceo, que lour dignitees, benefices, et diverses aulters possessions al dit esglis et eaux purteignauntes, sount desouth la powere, distresse et perill, de jour en aulter, des Irrois ennemies, et Englois rebelz de Roy, pur que lez ditz deane, chantour, chaunceller, et proctour ne poient ny enjoier lour benefices ne possessions, ne receiver lour dismes, rentes, aulterages et aulters comoditees accordaunt al ley, reison et conscience par eaux mesmes ou leur officers; ne poient aver nulx Englois fermours accordaunt a lour entente, queux voilent oubeier lez leyes du Roy, ne sensures de seint Esglis, cestassavoir suspension, excomengement et enterdiccion. Sur que lez premisses gracieuxment considerez, enact est, ordeine et establie par auctorite du ditz parliament, quil bien luist as ditz deane, chauntour, chaunceller et proctour et a chescun de eaux de vendir et lessir a ferme lour dignitees, benefices, dismes, aulterages ou possessions et chescun de eaux esteauntz en lieux enter Irrois enemies et nient en lieux obeiauntez la ley du Roy; si bien as ditz Irrois ennemies et Englois rebelx, come a auscun aulter person ou persons, queux voilent obeier lez leyes du Roy, saunz ascun empechement de notre soverain sieur le Roy, sez heires, officers on ministres, ascun acte, ordenaunce, estatute ou establement, fait an contraire, nient obstaunt." Statute roll, 16th Edward IV.

This year Dr. Octavian del Palatio, the Pope's Nuntio in Ireland and the adjoining isles, granted an indulgence of two months to all inhabitants of this kingdom, who should grant subsidies toward the propagation of the christian faith and the crusades, provided they should visit the cathedrals of St. Patrick and the Holy Trinity, the chapel of St. Mary near the old bridge belonging to the preaching friars, and that of St. Thomas; and should there say thrice seven psalms with litanies, or else the Lord's prayer three score times, with the Angel's salutation; the subsidies required were, from archbishops, bishops, earls and countesses two marks each; from abbots, barons and baronesses one mark and an half; from nobles of lesser quality, doctors and their wives, one mark; and from inferior persons, half a mark each; all indulgences to other churches were to cease for eight months. [9]

1477—A similar subsidy, with that granted in 1475, was this year agreed to; Walter Fitzsymon, Precentor, was proxy for the Dean and Chapter, and Thomas Fyche for the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity. The general act of resumption, passed by this parliament, contains special exceptions in favour of Alleyne, Dean; Fitzsymon, Precentor; and the Chapter of St. Patrick. [10]

1480—On the statute roll of the 20th Edward IV. we meet with a petition from Alleyne, Dean; W. Fitzsymon, Precentor; William Hacket, Gent. and John Yevan, Yeoman, which states that they had been endited for diverse felonies and other offences surmised to have been committed by them; these indictments were, by the authority of this parliament, declared void; Alleyne and the rest being, as the act declares, known to all men to be persons of good disposition and conduct.

1483—About this time the tithes of a carucate of land, lying in the parish of Castleknock, which had been in possession of the Chapter from time immemorial, were unjustly seized on by James Ketyng, Prior of Kilmainham; the Dean, thereupon, supplicated the court of Rome, and Pope Sixtus IV. by his bull dated this year, delegated to James Wale, Bishop of Kildare, the Priors of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Peter's near Trim, authority to hear and redress the matter. [11] Those persons being hindred therefrom by weighty matters, empowered James Cogan Prior of the monastery of Holmpatrick, to adjudge this cause and strengthen his sentence by ecclesiastical censures [12]: this latter commission was dated 3d March, and the cause was soon after tried; on the 31st. of July the judges issued a new commission [13] to their sub-delegate, empowering him more effectually to execute the sentence and determine the costs; after a full hearing, the judge declared that the tithes were the property of the Dean and Chapter, and that they had been sacrilegiously taken from them; he further determined that Keating should pay eighteen pounds damages, and sixteen pounds, ten shillings and eight pence costs.

1484—On the 26th of September, this year, Walter Fitzsymon, Precentor, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in this cathedral; on the day preceding, the dean, chancellor and treasurer had solicited the prior and convent's consent, that this ceremony should take place at St. Patrick's; but, they were refused; a dispute consequently took place which lasted until evening: this prelate was the first Archbishop of Dublin who was consecrated in this church. [g]

1489—John Walton, late Archbishop of Dublin, who, on account of blindness, had resigned in 1484; preached on St. Patrick's-day, before the Earl of Kildare and the Nobility in St. Patrick's church, to the admiration of all present; after the

[9] Orig. in Christ church. [10] Dign. Dec. pag. 191. [11] Dign. Dec. pag. 129.
[12] Dign. Dec. pag. 131. [13] Dign. Dec. pag. 142.

[g] Some records, however, mention that Archbishop Michael Tregury was consecrated in St. Patrick's cathedral.

sermon he was led to the palace of St. Sepulchre's, where Walter Fitzsimons, in a splendid manner, entertained the Lord Deputy and the rest of the nobility.

The Dean having suffered much by depredations on his lands, transmitted, to Pope Innocent VIII. a complaint against Milo, Bishop of Leighlin; James Wolf alias De Lupo, an Irish captain; Dermot and Charles O'Dympsy, who had usurped and still retained his lands and tithes; accordingly this Pope, in the sixth year of his pontificate, issued a commission to the Bishop of Meath, the Abbot of St. Mary's at Duleek, and the Prior of Holmpatrick, authorising them to try this matter and render justice to the Dean for the injuries he had suffered. [14]

On the 5th of June, after a full hearing of a cause between the Vicar of Swords and the Dean and Chapter, the Archbishop made a final decree, whereby he decided that the Vicar and his predecessors had always possessed the alterages of the parish of Swords and crofts of the same, with half the mortuaries, the wax and offerings of persons dying in the parishes of the chapels of Malahide, Killostre and Clogheran; also, the tithes, great and small, of the whole demesne of Sederton, [g] and Crucefield parcel of said demesne, of little Furrow and of the whole parish of Kinsale. [15]

In the year 1492, a remarkable conference took place, in this cathedral, between Girald, Earl of Kildare, and James, Earl of Ormond. Stanihurst's account of this incident, is worth giving in his own quaint words.

But, first, it is necessary to say something of the cause of this meeting; deadly feuds had long existed between the rival houses of Fitz-Gerald and Butler, which had been much encreased by the York and Lancaster dissentions; the house of Kildare attached itself to the former, and that of Ormond to the latter. King Henry VII. who was well known to favour the ancient adherents of the white rose, had conferred the government upon Kildare, who was therefore resident in the metropolis when, in the year above-mentioned, Ormond approached the city of Dublin with an armed force, and took his station at Thomas-court; this measure excited much apprehension in the breasts of the citizens; Ormond endeavoured to remove their fears by addressing a letter to the Lord Deputy, in which he declared that he came, not to withstand his authority, but to demand an audience that he might there clear himself of the grievous aspersions thrown out against him; Kildare thought it necessary to comply with this request, and accordingly appointed a meeting at St. Patrick's church.

" Where, " saith Stanihurst," they were ripping vp, one to another, their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they susteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the Citizens and Ormond his armie fell at some iar, for the oppression and exaction with which the souldiers surcharged them. With whom, as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rushed into the church, meaning to have murthered Ormond, as the capteine and belwedder of all these lawlesse rabble. The Earle of Ormond suspecting that he had beene betraied, fled to the chapiter-house, put to the doore, sparring it with might and maine: the citizens, in their rage, imagining that euerie post in the church had beene one of the souldiers, shot hab or nab at randon vp to the rood-loft and to the chancell, leauing some of their arrowes sticking in the images."

" Kildare pursuing Ormond to the chapiter-house doore, vndertooke on his honor that he should receiue no villanie: wherevpon the recluse crauing his lordship's hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapiter-house doore, pearsed at a trise, to the end both the Earles should haue shaken hands and be reconciled; but Ormond surmising that this drift was intended for some further treacherie, that if

[14] Dign. Dec. pag. 194. [15] Al. regist. fol. 204.

he would stretch out his hand, it had beene percase chopt off, refused that proffer; vntill Kildare stretcht in his hand to him, and so the doore was opened, they both imbraced, the storme appeased, and all their quarrels, for that present, rather discontinued than ended." [h]

1493—The Dean and Chapter drew up a representation to parliament, wherein they stated that their church and its precincts were situated in a low valley, that they had been at great charges in contriving divers issues for the Podell river, the water whereof encreased frequently and to great degree, by sudden rains; that the two streams which, of old time, flowed, without any impediment, on either side of St. Patrick-street, were then choaked up, partly by the inhabitants threwing into it their filth, and partly by tanners making dams and sluices thereon, in so much, that of late years, the church and college had been surrounded by water, to its great hurt and damage: it was, therefore, enacted, that every inhabitant should cleanse that part near his own dwelling within two months, or forfeit twenty shillings, to be levied by the proctor of the cathedral, and all persons were prohibited from disturbing, in future, the free course of the water. [i]

It was enacted, by a parliament of the same year, that the spiritual possessions of the Dean and his successors should be for ever free from any temporal impost whatever, and his tenants from the payment of any taxes or subsidies: this indulgence was granted upon the petition of Dean Alleyne, and the preamble to the act recites that this church, of the foundation of our Lord the King, royally and notably endowed, with sufficient possessions, spiritual and temporal, had continued many years in prosperity and the exercise of hospitality; but, of late, their possessions being laid waste, they were rendered insufficient to support ordinary expenses; notwithstanding which, the Dean had been charged with diverse taxes and subsidies, beyond what any Dean of Dublin had paid; whose assessments, the act relates, had never exceeded thirty shillings Irish currency until the time of William late Bishop of Meath, Lord Justice, when it was doubled in a parliament summoned by him: this tax the Dean complained he could not pay, by reason of the diminution of his income. [k]

1496—This year friar Denis White formally resigned the Bishoprick of Glendaloch to the Archbishop of Dublin, in St. Patrick's cathedral.

1505—On the 2d of January, died, John Alleyne, Dean, [l] after he had governed this cathedral for forty years; by his will he directed that he should be buried before the feet of the image of St. Patrick, which stood in the nave of the cathedral, near the north column.

Previous to his decease, about the year 1497, he obtained licence from the Archbishop to erect an alms-house in St. Kevin's-street, within the liberties of St. Sepulchre, to which charitable establishment he bequeathed almost the whole of his property. [m] In the book of Obits, of Christ church, he is mentioned to have

[g] "Forte Setton," saith Alan in note.

[h] Hollings. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 276. But, the matter, as Stanihurst remarks, ended not here; under the year 1514 he resumes his account of this transaction in the following words:

"Ormond, bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelats of his clergie, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the relicks, rasing downe altars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreant saracens, than christian catholikes. Wherevpon a legat was posted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where soone after he was solemnelie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his lerning and wisedome chosen to be one of King Henrie the seuenth his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be Archbishop of Dublin."

"The legat, vpon his arriuall, indicted the citie for his execrable offense; but, at length, by the procurement as well of the Archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caueat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and "ad perpetuam rei memoriam," the maior of Dublin should go barefooted thoroughout the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi daie: which penitent satisfaction was after, in euerie such procession, dulie accomplished."

[i] Enacted by parliament held at Dublin, Friday next after Nativ. St. John Bapt. 8th Henry VII. before Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Deputy. See the original among the printed statutes. The same King granted an exemplification,

given, to that church, the works of Panormitan, with the great repertory thereon; likewise the great repertory of Peter, Bishop of Brescia, upon account of those and many other benefactions, an office with nine litanies, was performed for him: this account is, however, contradicted by his will, whereby he directed that this latter work, in two volumes, should be sold, and the profits arising from the sale appropriated to the same purpose with the rest of his effects.

Sect. III. Thomas Rochfort, *Dean.*

1505—Thomas Rochfort, Precentor, was elected Dean, upon the death of Alleyne; he was son of Roger, Lord of Killadown, in the county of Kildare, who died in April 1489.

When Precentor, being, by right of his dignity, possessed of half the prebend of Luske; on the 8th of April 1502, he made a donation, to that church, of a large table of alabaster, to serve for the high altar, with three images, one of our Saviour placed in the middle, with St. Maculin, the patron saint of Luske, on his right hand, and St. Patrick on his left. [1]

1511--This year, on the 11th April, Rochfort was made King's sergeant and solicitor [a]; in 1515 he occurs serving the office of clerk in chancery; and in Dec. 1520, he was keeper of the rolls. [2]

On the 16th of May, the body of Walter, late Archbishop, was interred in St. Patrick's cathedral; upon this solemn occasion his requiem was performed by Dean Rochfort.

On the 19th, the Chapter met at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, when friar William Hassard, canon of that church, was deputed, with Dean Rochfort, to solicit, from the King, licence to elect a new Archbishop. [3]

1514—On the 22d of January this year, the disputes which had, for a long time, existed between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter, were brought to a conclusion, and an instrument setting forth, distinctly, the respective powers and pri-

[1] Obits of Luske, MS. T. C. D. E. 3, 10. [2] Cloch. MSS. [3] Orig. among records Christ church.

27th August, eleventh of his reign. Dign. Dec. pag. 79. Letters patent were issued 20th December, 18th Hen. VIII. (1526) which renewed, and put in force, the clauses of this act. See Dign. Dec. pag. 82.

[k] Enacted by parliament which sat on Monday next following the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 8th Henry VII. Statute roll, & Dign. Dec. pag. 230.

[l] Cox notices that the plague of 1505 was followed by a famine, by reason of the wetness both of summer and winter; "and, it was but small relief, the great charities of Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, and John Allen, Dean of St. Patrick's, could, at that time, administer, in the noble foundation of an hospital at St. Kevin's in Dublin, to which the Archbishop gave ground, and the Dean gave considerable revenues. Cox, Vol. I. pag. 198. Probably this malady was the cause of his death, if so, the similarity of his fate to that of his great successor in this deanery, is remarkable; they each fell victims to that evil, from which they studied to relieve their fellow creatures.

[m] This establishment consisted of certain houses and a tower, which Alleyn himself had built in St. Kevin's-street, together with a messuage which he purchased from Robert Tynbegh, and two burgages, the donations of Eustace of Confy and Robert Talbot; it was not intended for poor of all nations or persuasions indiscriminitely, but those admitted were required to be good catholics, of honest conversation, without reproach, of English nation, and chiefly from the families ("de natione") of Alleynes, Barrets, Beggs, Hills, Dillons and Rodyeres, settled in the diocesses of Dublin and Meath. The Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's were to have the right of nomination, which they were to exercise without fee or reward. See Alleyne's will in Appendix Numb. XII.

Alleyne had determined upon this measure some years before his death: there is extant, in Alan's register, a deed, dated 19th May 1497, whereby Archbishop Walter granted him licence to build an edifice, for this purpose, within his lordship of St. Sepulchre, and assigned to him, for ever, a void space in St. Kevin's street, in breadth, twenty feet, and in length, two hundred feet, extending eastward as far as the manse or glebe of the Chancellor, westward to the new street or poddle, southward to the messuage of John Alleyne, and northward to the high-way; for this grant Alleyn and his assigns were to pay one pound of wax to the Archbishop's chapel at St. Sepulchre's, annually, in lieu of all service, besides the rent anciently reserved from thence to the Archbishop and his successors, who were likewise to have a right of nominating one pauper.

This work had not, however, commenced in 1504; the same registry contains another deed, dated 8th June, in that year, whereby the same Archbishop granted a piece of ground for that purpose, which appears somewhat different in situation from that above described; the Archbishop hereby reserved to himself and his successors, full power of appropriating two beds within this receptacle, and all the poor therein lodged were required to pray for the soul of the Archbishop, as a principal founder, and for the souls of the Dean, his friends and successors, for ever. Al. regist. fol. 84, & 156.

vileges of each, was perfected and sealed by both parties in the chapter-house; it was afterwards transmitted to Rome, and, on the 31st of July in the following year, was strenghthened by the sanction of the apostolic see. This contract [b] continues still in full force; the Dean, at his installation, is sworn to observe it: the following abstract of its contents will not, therefore, be deemed unworthy of insertion.

I. It was agreed that the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, relating to the canons, minor canons or vicars choral of this cathedral, or to the clergy and laity resident on their estates, [c] should appertain, in the first instance, to the Dean and Chapter; except such as relate to crimes which may incur the penalty of deprivation; as, apostacy, schism, symony, heresy, or homicide: concerning these the Archbishop was to have jurisdiction; he was, nevertheless, to act with the judgement or council of the chapter in the manner prescribed by the fifth article.

II. That the jurisdiction over the perpetual vicars in the prebendal churches, and the chaplains of their subservient chapels, should be exercised by the Dean in conjunction with the Archbishop and Archdeacon.

III. In punishing the Canons for transgressions committed without the Dean's liberty and within that of the Archbishop, or those resident within that of the latter, the jurisdiction was to be equal [d]; subject, however, to the rules established by the fifth article.

IV. The Archbishop was to have cognizance of all matters relating to the person of the Dean, whether the charges were of such a nature as might incur penalties of correction or deprivation; he was, however, to observe the rules prescribed by the fifth article.

V. Whensoever the Archbishop shall proceed against any canon, the matter shall to be decided in the chapter-house and with council of the chapter, and this even in cases of appeal to himself; but, because experience proves it to be difficult to convene all the members of any body together; least the course of justice should be impeded, it was agreed, that when a process shall be instituted against any canon, certain of their own body, in number not exceeding six, shall be chosen, and those persons, with the deputed authority of the whole body, are to assist the Archbishop during the investigation and determination of the cause; such matters as are not of high moment are to be decided by the Archbishop, he having first required the advice of those appointedto be his assistants; the decision, however, of the final sentence, or any matter of chief importance, is to be by the Archbishop, he having previously obtained the actual consent of those who were nominated to assist him, or of the whole body of the chapter or the major part thereof; from which, however, if any should contumaciously absent himself, the proceedings of the body are not to be invalidated thereby.

VI. If the Dean, or other president of the chapter, shall be found guilty of negligence, in correcting or reforming matters which lie within his cognizance, and shall, after being admonished of such neglect by the Archbishop, still continue to transgress; then the Archbishop may cite the said Dean or president to appear before him in the chapter-house, who being, by him and the chapter, adjudged negligent, the Archbishop shall remove him, and correct or reform according as the law prescribes or the nature of the crime demands.

a "Serviens ad leges Regis et Solicitor Regis."

b This contract, called by Archbishop Alan "Compositio Realis etc," is to be found in his register, page 150. It comprises eleven articles, as here specified. The bull of Leo X. is to be found in the Register called Dignitas Decani page 85, and again page 101, it consists of sixteen articles, which however are not different in substance from those here inserted. The bull of Pope Leo X. is published in Appendix, Numb. XIII.

c "In glebis Decani seu Canonicorum."

d "Locus sit præventioni." Preventio takes place where there is a parity of jurisdiction.

VII. That the Archbishop shall proceed, in his visitation of the chapter, in the following manner: being received with due honour and brought respectfully to the chapter-house, [e] he shall first visit the Dean in his proper person, and demand of him whether there are any matters peculiarly within the jurisdiction of either, which require to be reformed, if any there are, they shall be amended by the Archbishop, assisted by the judgement of the Chapter; then, the Dean having retired, the Archbishop shall ask the Canons present, whether they have any thing meriting censure to alledge against the Dean, or whether they know of any matters to be reformed by the Archbishop, which have not been corrected by the Dean; which, if any such there are, he may then correct according to the form above prescribed; after that he is to declare his visitation at an end, and the procurations due from the visitation, are to be paid.

VIII. If report of any crime committed by a canon shall reach the ears of the Archbishop, even during the visitation, he shall order the Dean to enquire into the same, if it be such as lies within his jurisdiction; but if it belongs to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, he shall then proceed according to the form prescribed above.

IX. The Dean is to have probation [f] of the wills of all canons, vicars choral, or their servants dying within the precincts of the cathedral, and likewise of the clergy or laity upon the estates [g] of the dean or the oeconomy, and likewise the administration of their effects found within the jurisdiction of the Dean; but of their goods found elsewhere, the administration is to belong to the ordinary of such place. [h]

X. The Archbishop was bound to confirm any sequestration by the Dean of the profits of the prebendal churches, as also the Dean those of the Archbishop, they mutually thus confirming each other's acts.

Finally, [i] three antient customs of this church were ratified and confirmed; the first was that, which excluded Irishmen by nation or blood and all those who should conform to them in mode of life, from being admitted members of this cathedral; the second authorised an enquiry into the age, morals and learning of every person promoted to a canonry, and likewise, when any benefice became vacant, an enquiry to be held of the mode whereby it became vacant, in whom the right of presentation was vested; which latter investigation was to be held as well by the Archbishop before he presented, as by the Dean and Chapter before he obtained admission; the last was that which gave the Canons jurisdiction in their prebendal churches, a privilege which they enjoyed by prescription from the earliest times.

1518—This year William Rokeby, Archbishop, confirmed the establishment of a college of clerks at Maynooth, founded by Girald, Earl of Kildare. [1]

1519—On the 10th of September this year, the college of minor canons and choristers were incorporated by the King's letters patent. [2]

1521—The college of Maynooth was, this year, new modelled: the Archbishop, at the request of the founder, having united the prebend to the mastership of the college, and the vicarage with the office of sub-master, and likewise added several rules for the government of the establishment. [3]

On the 15th July Dean Rochfort was made clerk of the rolls in chancery, an office which he did not long enjoy, for he died on the 10th of June 1522. [4]

[1] See Book I. Chapt. X. [2] See Append. Num. XVIII. [3] See Book I. Chapt. X. [4] Cloch. MSS. T. C. D.

[e] "Cum pulsatione et solemni processione," saith the bull.

[f] "Approbatio, insinuatio vel administratio." So the bull.

[g] "In glebis Decani aut Communiæ Ecclesiæ decedentium."

[h] This article forms the 9th, 10th, and 11th of the bull of Pope Leo X. The bull is, however, more explicit: it seems to determine, generally, that the Dean or Archbishop should grant administration of such goods as were respectively within their several jurisdictions, whether the deceased himself were a subject (subditus) of the Dean or Archbishop, or whether he died intestate or not.

[i] This article, in Leo X. bull, is divided into four heads. It is remarkable that the bull not only excluded Irish-men from becoming members of the cathedral, but adds, "notwithstanding any regal dispensation."

Orate pro anima magistri Roberti Sutton Hua?
Ecclesie cathedralis hui? quondam decani qui
Hui? nostre monasterii diem clausit extremum? An:
dominice incarnacionis, millesimo, trigentesimo?
xxviij°, ac mensis Aprilis die primo, et sepultus est
Sub hoc magno marmoreo lapide, quam dicti patroni
imagine insculpto gradu altiori situato?
Cuius anime propicietur deus? A M E N

Longmate del. et sc. 61 Margaret St. London.

THE MONUMENT OF DEAN SUTTON.

Sect. IV. JOHN RYCARDE, *Dean.*

1522—John Rycarde, or Rycharde, was elected Dean upon the death of Rochfort: he had been rector of Trim before he attained to this dignity; in the year 1523 he was made master of the rolls.[1]

Rycarde is mentioned as Dean so late as the 20th December 1526[2]; he, probably, died in the beginning of the following year.

Sect. V. ROBERT SUTTON, *Dean.*

1527—Robert Sutton, who succeeded Rycarde in the deanery, was Archdeacon of Dublin in the year 1505, being, in that year, appointed by Dean Alleyne executor of his will under that title. In 1523 he collected precedents out of the archives of St. Patrick's church, in vindication of the right, claimed by the Archbishop, to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, as metropolitan, throughout the diocess of Kildare, during the vacancy of that see; this was in opposition to the Dean and Chapter of Kildare, who claimed that privilege.

The short time that Sutton was Dean he spent abroad[a]; it appears from the proctor's account of this year, that he was then in England, either on account of his ill state of health, or to avoid the plague which raged at that time in Dublin; he died on the 1st (or according to the book of obits of Christ church, on the 5th) of April in the following year, and was buried in his own cathedral near to the altar on the north side of the choir, where a plate of brass records the place of his sepulture; it is fixed in a frame of black marble, immediately over that of Dean Fyche; thereon is represented the figure of an ecclesiastick in a praying posture, with a scroll and inscription, of which the annexed plate is a representation.

Dean Sutton bequeathed his estate, in land, to his nephew William, son of his brother Lawrence, from whom it descended to his grand nephew, John Sutton, who sued out a livery of it in 1535.[b]

[1] Cloch. MSS.

[2] Dign. Dec. pag. 83.

[a] This is given on the authority of the Proctor's account. The roll is marked with the date 1527, it is not, however, perfect; the Dean, mentioned to be at that time in England might, possibly, be Rycarde; but, as the nature of the intelligence transmitted proves his intention of returning home, and as Sutton, who died in that year, was buried in this cathedral, it is likely he returned home before his decease.

Two items of this account exhibit, more forcibly than any description, the miserable state of this city at that period of time: the English power in Ireland was then at its very lowest ebb; the Citizens dared scarcely to venture without their walls on the southern side; the neighbouring towns and villages purchased that security which those of their own nation were unable to give, by paying black-mail to some powerful Irish chief; even the north side was not safe from the incursions of the Irish, who used to descend from their mountains at night, and, crossing the river close to the city, would enter into Fingal, at that time the granary of Dublin, and driving before them flocks and herds, retire, before morning to their fastnesses in the glins of the adjoining mountains. It would be foreign to the present purpose to dilate more upon this subject here, I will, however, insert the two passages to which I allude, the one exhibits a frightful picture of the cities interior, whilst visited by the plague, the other informs us, that, in addition to other calamities, its port was, at the same time, infested by pirates.

Item, "de ii*d.* solutis Johanni Sextyn pro expulsatione infirmorum, et pro custodia portæ S. Patricii x diebus ab ingressu infirmorum, tempore pestilentiæ; et de iv*d.* solutis uni viro, qui sepellivit unum, mortuum de peste et dilaceratum cum canibus."

Item, "de vi*s.* viii*d.* solutis, ex mandato magistrorum capituli, cuidam transeunti ad Angliam, ut annunciaret domino Decano, existenti in Anglia, quod fuerunt quædam naves piraticæ eo tempore juxta Lambay." Ex rot. comp. Procuratoris Oeconomiæ A. D. 1527.

[b] Gerard Sutton, of Newton, Esq. died 19th January, about the year 1581, leaving behind him three sons, and was buried in St. Patrick's cathedral beside his cousin, "some time Dean there." Cloch. MSS. William Sutton, of Tipper, was brother and heir of Robert, Dean of this cathedral, as we learn from the record quoted page 63, note c.

David Sutton, of the Grange of Castleton, married a daughter of Robert Rochfort, who was uncle to Dean Rochfort; his grand-son David, son of Gerald Sutton, married one of the co-heiresses of Patrick, third Lord Louth.

All these families, it appears, were nearly related to the Dean; the lands above-mentioned are all situated in the county of Kildare; they were, likewise, closely connected with the Earls of Kildare, and their names occur, frequently, as foeffees, in the various inquisitions held, after that family had been attainted, in the reign of Henry VIII. from this connexion they probably derived the christian name of Gerald.

Sect. VI. THOMAS DARCY, *Dean.*

1528—Thomas Darcy, Prebendary of Howth, was elected Dean in April, this year, and died the 8th of February[a] following.

In 1522, when Prebendary of Howth, he was granted, by letters patent, the office of clerk or keeper of the rolls in Chancery, with a fee of twenty pounds of silver per annum, payable out of the King's manor of Esker,[b] over and above the accustomed profits of that employment: this office he, probably, held till his death, as his name occurs on the Chancery files as Dean and Master of the rolls, on the 3d May, 20th Henry VIII.

Sect. VII. GEOFFRY FYCHE, *Dean.*

1529—Geoffry Fyche, Treasurer, was elected immediately after the death of Darcy: the election was held in the chapter-house of the cathedral; Alan, who was present as a canon, being then confirmed Archbishop though not consecrated, has recorded the whole form of election in his register.[1] After Fyche's election in the chapter-house, he was conducted by the chapter to the high altar, whilst the hymn, "Te Deum laudamus," was singing, and the election was, by Walter Cusack, Archdeacon of Dublin, published to the clergy and laity there assembled.

In 1493 Fyche was official of the diocess and seneschal to the Archbishop Walter Fitzsymon, who, when he set sail for England on the 11th of October that year, delivered to him his cross in the harbour of Dublin, in order that it might be deposited in the church of the Holy Trinity, during his absence; on his return to the city he executed this trust, by delivering it into the hands of Thomas Fyche, canon and proctor of that church. As official of the diocess, he, in the following year, decided two causes in which the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity were plaintiffs. In 1495 he was prebendary of St. Audoens, and, with three other members of this chapter, assisted at a synod held at the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity[2]; in 1496 he was Archdeacon of Glendaloch[3]; in 1503, as Vicar-general, he held an inquisition at Kilcullen, in the county Kildare, upon a matter in which the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity were plaintiffs. In 1504, Archbishop Walter going to England to his Majesty, on some weighty affairs relating to Ireland, appointed Fyche, at that time Archdeacon of Glendaloch, his Vicar-general, in conjunction with Richard Skyrret, Prior of the Holy Trinity, authorising them to act in his name and conduct all his affairs during his absence; he delivered his cross to the prior, as the natural keeper thereof by the prerogative of his church.[4] In 1528 Fyche contributed twenty pounds towards repairing the church of the Holy Trinity; to that cathedral he was, in many ways, a great benefactor.[5]

1530—Archbishop Alan established rules, this year, for regulating his metropolitical court in St. Patrick's church, where it had been held for several centuries, judicial proceedings having been held here so early as the year 1220.

About this time, the Convent of Timolin-beg being suppressed, the church of Uske reverted to the Archbishop, who allotted therefrom a pension of five marks, Irish, per annum, to purchase wax for the use of St. Patrick's cathedral.[6]

1532—At a visitation held in the chapter-house, Archbishop Alan, with the unanimous consent of the chapter, altered that statute of his predecessor Luke, whereby

[1] Al. regist. T. C. D. pag. 42. Append. Num. XIV.
[2] Annals Christ church, 1495.
[3] Christ church records.
[4] Lib. Alb. fol. 54.
[5] Loftus's MSS.
[6] Rep. Vir. voce Huske.

[a] Al. regist. or, according to the book of obits of Christ church, v. id. Feb. 1529.

[b] Letters patent, bearing date the 7th day of July, 14th Henry VIII.

Longmate, del. et sc. St. Margaret's, London.

THE MONUMENT OF DEAN FYCHE.

one-fifth of the prebends of the absent canons was distributed among those resident. The following rule, they decreed, should be observed in future.

Each of the canons who should be absent on any of the twelve following festivals, viz. the Nativity of our Lord and two following days, Easter day, St. George's day, Pentecost with the two days following, Corpus Christi day, the day of Reliques, St. Patrick's day and the feast of Dedication of the Church, should pay six shillings and eight pence to the resident canons: the dignitaries, according to the usage of the church of Sarum, should have, for their portion, double that of the other canons; the Archbishop, since he was the fountain and head of dignity, a double share and half[a]; in the same manner as the wax was distributed on the purification day, where this proportion was observed. [7]

About this time the Archbishop and the Chapter entered into an agreement, whereby their respective jurisdictions and mutual privileges were ascertained, the substance of this agreement is the same with that which had been settled, between Archbishop Rokeby and the Dean and Chapter, seventeen years before.

1534—Geoffry Fyche and William Hassard, Prior of the Holy Trinity, were appointed guardians of the spiritualities after the murder of Archbishop Alan.

1535—Sir William Skeffington, Lord Deputy, died in December this year, at Kilmainham, and was buried with great ceremony in this church. [8]

1537—On the 8th of April died Dean Fyche, he was interred in the choir near to his predecessor, Dean Sutton; a brass plate bearing his effigies and a monumental inscription, is placed in the wall below that of Dean Sutton; of this monument a representation is given in the plate annexed.

Dean Fyche, being a considerable benefactor to the church of the Holy Trinity, his monthly mind was solemnized at that cathedral; this appears from Moss the proctor's account, in 1542.[b]

Sect. VIII. EDWARD BASSENET, *Dean.*

1537—Edward Bassenet[a] was elected Dean[b] immediately after the death of Geoffry Fyche; he appears to have been established in that dignity before the end of April, for, in the act granting to the King the first fruits and twentieth parts of all benefices, there is an exception in favour of Sir Edward Bassenet,[c] Dean of St. Patrick's church, who, inasmuch as he had compounded for one year, was, therefore, declared by the statute, not liable to the twentieth parts until christmas 1538[1]; hence it appears that he was elected before Easter in the preceding year, as it was at that feast the tax was imposed.[d]

Edward Bassenet was of an Esquire's family, long seated at Eaton, in Denbighshire; he came to Ireland, probably, in the train of Sir Anthony Sentleger, who

[7] Al. regist. fol. 69. [8] Cox, Vol. I. pag. 243. [1] Ir. Stat. Vol. I. pag. 119.

[a] "Non in duplum, sed sesquialtera." Alan, note .

[b] In the "Liber obituum" we find the following entry:

"VI. Id. Aprilis—Obitus venerabilis viri Mag. Galf. Fyche, quondam Ecclesiæ Cath. S. Patricii Dub. Decani; qui dedit huic almæ ædi, ad sustentationem reparationis ejusdem, xx libras monetæ; necnon et multa alia bona opera operatus est in eadem, dum vixerat, ad faciendum obitum suum imperpetuum; qui obiit viii. die mensis Aprilis, A. D. MDXXXVII. cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen."

[a] There is a memoir of Edward Bassenet in the Biographia Britannica, of which I have availed myself in some small degree; the errors in that account, which are not numerous, are here corrected.

[b] "This promotion," saith the writer of his life, in Biog. Brit. "gave him a rank almost equal to the Episcopal," and in the note he adds, "the jurisdiction of the Dean of this church, is called "quasi episcopalis," as it were episcopal, and is founded upon the model of the church of Sarum in England. He is lord of a manor extended about the cathedral, and has a seneschal for holding courts leet and baron."

[c] The writer of his life, in Biog. Brit. remarks, justly, upon this title of Sir, as applied to Bassenet, that it was not "because he had been dubbed a knight, but he was called so in the same sense as those are called Sirs, who have taken the first degree in the University." In ancient times, as we find, from Chaucer and Shakespeare, all dignified clergymen were distinguished by this title; the dignitaries of Christ church, Dublin, are frequently so called in the records of that cathedral. See Selden's titles of honour, pag. 551.

[d] This statute is called an act of 28th Henry VIII. who began his reign 22d April, he ended his twenty-eighth year, therefore, on the 22d April 1537.

was appointed Lord Deputy in 1534, and was, on this occasion, accompanied with three of his brothers; on the 11th May 1535, he was presented by King Hen. VIII. to the vicarage of Swords, then in the gift of the Crown, the see of Dublin being vacant by the murder of Archbishop Alan. [2]

From the statute, which I have quoted above, we learn that the Dean was not the only member of this cathedral who submitted, voluntarily, to the new impost of paying the first fruits of their benefices to the King; all the dignitaries and prebendaries gave, saith the act, "their loving and obedient consent," and by this well timed policy they obtained the good will of their sovereign [3]: they being, "in manner, the onelie lanterne and light of anie godly and ecclesiastical rule or order within the lande," it was enacted, that they should not be so exacted or charged, "through which the divine service and other laudable usages and customs and keeping of hospitalities, might be decreased," and to that intent it was enacted, that the dignitaries and prebendaries should be, by the authority of same, declared "quite and discharged to goe or send to anie hoysting, rode, vyage, or jorney, at anie time to be had or assigned within this land." If they should be amerced or assessed contrary to this act, or if any sheriff or other person should destrain for the same, they were to forfeit for every such offence, the sum of ten pounds; one half to the King and the other to the party grieved.

However well inclined Bassenet might afterwards have been to the reformation, he does not appear to have entered into that cause either so early or with so great zeal as his metropolitan, George Browne: about the latter end of this year that prelate was commanded, by the Lord Cromwell, to remove from his cathedrals and the other churches of his diocess, all superstitious reliques and images [4]; but, when he communicated this order to the Dean of St. Patrick's, "he, finding it gainfull to retain those images," evaded its execution; the Archbishop wrote, accordingly, to the Lord Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal, for more ample powers, the words of his letter which relate to this matter are as follows: "the Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals took off the common people from the true worship; but, the Prior and Dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words; therefore, send in your Lordships next an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons; let the order be, that the chief governor may assist me in it: the Prior and Dean have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it be not hindred before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then try long before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders." [5]

1540—The church of St. Cuthbert, of Kilmacudrik, being insufficient for the support of a clergyman, was, together with the parish of Newgrange, united for ever to that of Saint Machotus at Clondalkin, by Archbishop Brown; this union was made with consent of the Kings Commissaries in Ireland. [6]

The King, by letters patent dated 21st March, gave licence to the Archbishop to grant, for ever, to the Dean and his successors, seven acres of arable land adjoining his estate at Deansrath, for which the Dean conditioned to pay, to the Archbishop, two fat capons yearly, at christmas. [7]

O'Neal, in conjunction with some Irish Lords, invaded the pale; and, before the country was able to make head against him, had penetrated as far as Tara-hill, and after collecting great spoil, was retreating from thence; the Lord Grey, however, having collected the force of the pale, marched northwards to Bellahoa, where

[2] Rot. Pat. 27 Henry VIII. [3] Sect. XIV. [4] Cox, Hist. Ang. Vol. I. pag. 256.
[5] Life of George Brown. [6] Dign. Dec. pag. 209. [7] Rot. Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. & Dign. Dec. pp. 210 & 211.

O'Neal and his company lay encamped on the opposite side of the river; notwithstanding the advantageous situation wherein the enemy had posted themselves, they were gallantly attacked by a party, headed by James, Baron of Slane, and entirely defeated with the loss of all their booty. In this conflict, Dean Bassenet, who had laid aside the sacerdotal habit, particularly signalized himself; on account of his prowess and good service, he was made one of his Majesties Privy council. [8]

1541—On the 13th of June, King Henry VIII. was declared, King of Ireland, by an act of the parliament of Ireland, and, on the Sunday following, his new title was publickly proclaimed at St. Patrick's cathedral[9]; upon that occasion there were present, the Lord Deputy, the Earls of Ormond and Desmond and the other Peers, all in their parliament robes; likewise, a great concourse of persons, both clergy and laity: on the same day there was a proclamation for a general goal delivery. [e]

1544—Upon a report made to the King, by the Lord Deputy, of the Dean's singular merit and services, his Majesty was pleased to grant to him and his heirs for ever, the castle, town, lands and rectory of Kiltiernan, to be held of the King, in capite, by military service, as twentieth part of a Knight's fee, and yearly rent three shillings Irish; the land is described in the roll, as lying in the extreme parts of the English pale; it had been part of the estate of the Abby of the Blessed Virgin Mary, near Dublin, lately dissolved. [f] The Dean, after this period, resided partly at his castle of Kiltiernan and partly at that of Deansrath, for so we find him distinguished in a pardon, dated 28th August 1545, granted to him by the King, for all offences whatever and particularly for whatever might concern the death of William Ffowle.

On the 20th of August, the King, as a mark of his royal indulgence, granted licence, [10] under the great seal of Ireland, dispensing with the personal attendance of the Dean or any of the Canons of this cathedral, at any benefice they might enjoy in any other diocess, provided they did reside and exercise hospitality within the precincts of St. Patrick's cathedral. [g]

Sir Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, having laid some extraordinary impositions on the kingdom, the Earl of Ormond, a zealous defender of his country, addressed letters of complaint, against the Deputy, to the Privy Council in England, which were intercepted at sea by a friend of Sir Anthony's: the Lord Deputy having perused the writings, sent Dean Bassenet with the packet to Kilkenny, where the Earl of Ormond was, at that time, keeping his christmas, and requested his Lordship to take in good part what he had done, which was rather to learn the effect of his complaint than to imbar his letters from going to the Council's hands; the Earl returned for answer, that his quarrel was so good and his dealing so open, that he cared not who took a view of his letters, that what he wrote he meant not to unwrite, but, that in such sort as they came from the Governor, they should be sent to the Council, who, if they would allow any subject to open letters to them indorsed, he would learn to digest any injury they were content to beare; with this answer the Dean returned [11]: the parties were sent for, soon after, to appear before the King and Council in England, where the breach was made up between them.

[8] Holling. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 312.

[9] Ware, Annals.

[10] Dign. Dec. pag. 213.

[11] Hollings. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 317.

[e] On the 5th July 1542, the King wrote a letter with his own hand to Dean Bassenet and others of the Privy Council, "shewing them the necessity of providing good and faithful pastors through the diocess of Dublin, for instructing the people in the duties of religion, and no less in obedience to those new laws, which every day restored to them more and more of their christian liberty, and promoted trade and industry through the whole kingdom." Biog. Brit. from Chanc. rolls.

[f] Privy signet, dated Westminster, 5th July, patent dated 7th February following: this grant to Dean Bassenet, was in reversion after the expiration of a lease for twenty-one years from 20th July 1543, to Walter Pypparde, of Kylca, Gent. Rot. Pat. 36 Hen. VIII.

[g] "Ut ibidem Deo melius serviretur, et hospitalitas infra precinctum melius teneretur."

1546—Notwithstanding the instances of royal favour which this church had experienced, its dissolution was resolved on, this year, by King Hen. VIII.[12] On the 8th of Nov. he sent his letters patent to Sir Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, Sir Richard Rede, Chancellor of Ireland, and others, whom he thereby empowered to receive, in the chapter-house of St. Patrick, from the hands of the Dean and Chapter, a surrender of that church, its revenues, estates, and all its possessions.[h]

On the 8th of the following January a surrender was accordingly made, by the Dean and Chapter, into the hands of the Commissioners, who, on the 16th, certified the same to the King.[13]

This resignation was made in a very unlawful manner,[i] without the will or consent of the Archbishop, the chief ordinary, founder and patron of almost all the prebends: it appears, likewise, that the Dean imprisoned the Precentor, Treasurer, two Archdeacons, and fifteen of the Prebendaries, who were the persons that formed the chapter at that time, and forcibly detained them until he obtained their consent[k]: the unlawful manner in which this resignation was made, occasioned a contest between Archbishop Loftus and Brereton, relative to the legality of a lease made, by his predecessor in the see, to the latter, which was confirmed only by the Dean and Chapter of Christ church, whereas it should have been confirmed by both Chapters to make it valid: the matter was strongly contested; the judges in England, to whom it was referred, differed upon the point; but, the majority, who were five in number, certified their opinion to Sir Henry Sidney, that the lease was good, as there was no Chapter then in being but that of Christ's church.[l]

[12] Rymer, Vol. XV. pag. 104. Ware, Annal. ad ann. 1546. Cox, Hist. Anglic. pag. 280. Dign. Dec. pag. 233.

[13] Dign. Dec. pag. 232.

[h] This was done in the last year of King Henry's reign; and it is remarkable that the inquisition, which valued the several prebends and possessions of this church, was held in Dublin on the last day of his life, viz. 27th January, 38th of his reign.

[i] Dean Bassenet does not appear to have retired from his dignity empty-handed; besides the grant already mentioned of the castle and lands of Kiltiernan; he had a lease, 35th Hen. VIII. of all the castles, forts, lands &c. in the Birnes country, in the marches of Dublin.

Likewise, 36th Henry VIII. a lease of forty-five acres in Ballydowde, parcel of the lands of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin.

Likewise, a lease for twenty-one years, of the town and lands of Newcastle M'Gynegen, in the county of Wicklow.

On a pipe roll of a late year of Henry VIII. we find him paying a chief rent, to the King, of forty-five shillings, for a messuage and sixty acres in Blackhall, parish Ballymaglessan and county of Meath, of which he had a grant, to hold for twenty-one years.

On 24th September, 1st Edward VI. he obtained a lease, for twenty-one years, of a capital messuage within the precincts of St. Patrick's, at the rent of six shillings and eight pence per annum. See pipe roll of that year.

He had, likewise, a lease of the rectories of Rathcoole, Esker, Clondalkan, Taulaght, and various lands therein, for life, at the rent of two hundred pounds per annum, 12th July, 1st Edward VI. Roll, Auditor General's office. Those were the Dean's rectories, and include his estates within those parishes.

He had, likewise, as will be shewn hereafter, a yearly pension of two hundred marks sterling, for life.

These he received, probably, as a recompense for this act of perfidy; besides these grants to himself, he found means to appropriate to members of his own family, a great portion of the possessions of the deanery.

Before the actual surrender of the church, on the 9th of November, which was the day after the patent had passed the great seal, he procured the Chapter's consent to a grant of Deansrath, the chief estate belonging to the Dean, whereby it was demised to his brother, Ffinian Bassenet of the Nangre. This lease was, afterwards, in 1602, assigned by Richard Bassenet, of Eaton, in Denbighshire, to Walter Weldon, of Dublin, Gent. for one hundred and ten pounds sterling. Dean Swift has, in the following words, expressed, on the back of this deed, an honest indignation against the perfidious acts of this, his unworthy predecessor; "this Bassenett was related to the scoundrel of the same name who surrendered the deanery to that beast, H. 8." See Book I. Chapt. V.

[k] This appears from the plea of Quartermass, their attorney, when he sued, in their name, for an "amoveas manus," after the cathedral had been restored by Philip and Mary.

[l] Adjudged in Easter term, 11th Eliz. Two cases were here involved.

1st, Whether, the Priests being turned out, the land dissipated, and the church converted to lay purposes, the lease was good, without their confirmation?

2d, Whether the Dean and Chapter could, without the Archbishop's licence, dissolve themselves?

The five English Judges, Catelyn, Dyer, Saundier, Walshe and Carus determined that the lease was good, there being only one chapter "in esse" at the time of the demise and confirmation: as to the second point; they ruled, that the Corporation and Chapter of St. Patrick's was, "per donum et sursum-redditionem Decani et Capituli, legitime dissolutum et determinatum, etiam absque consensu Archiepiscopi." Chancery roll, 11th Eliz. and Dyer's reports. See, also, Dign. Dec. pag. 237.

It appears that Dean Bassenet died during the suppression of the cathedral, an "inquisitio post mortem Edwardi Bassenet" was held in the first year of Queen Mary[m]; his signature,[n] as one of the Privy Council, is annexed to the order for removing the records to St. Patrick's church, on the 11th of November 1551.

CHAPTER III.

Annals of the church during the suppression; and of the cathedral from its re-establishment in 1554, to the restoration of King Charles II. in 1660.

Sect. I. Of the church during the suppression.

1546—King Edward VI. issued letters patent, dated Westminster, 24th March, first of his reign,[a] whereby he appointed Commissioners to dispose of this cathedral and its appendages: the persons nominated were, the Lord Deputy, Chancellor, Vice-treasurer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Chief Baron, and Master of the Rolls; any number of whom not fewer than three, whereof the Deputy to be always one, were enabled to carry into effect the purposes of this commission. The letters patent were accompanied with instructions which I shall give in the words of the original.[b]

[m] Bassenet was, perhaps, the first Dean of this cathedral that ever contracted matrimony; this appears from the inquisition here alluded to, which is dated 31st January, 1st Queen Mary. The jurors report was to the following effect:

Edward Bassenet, late Dean of St. Patrick's, died seized in fee of one castle, twenty messuages and cottages, one hundred and twenty acres of land, called Glancullen and Mangan M'Tyry; also, one hundred and twenty acres stony mountain in Kiltiernan and in the ould Grange of Kycullyn, Betaghton, Ballycakan, parcel of the town-land or hamlet of Kyltiernan; value one hundred and forty shillings per annum; and, likewise, of the church, rectory or chapel of the same, value, per annum, twenty shillings; which he held of the King, in capite, by military service, as the twentieth part of a Knight's fee; and, being so seized, by deed dated 29th January, 37th Hen. VIII. he granted to Richard Walsh, son and heir of William Walsh of Carrickmayne and others, the aforesaid premises, and likewise the church, belfry (campanile) of Kiltiernan to the same Richard for ever, to the use of Edward Bassenet and his assigns for life; then to the use of Richard Bassenet and his heirs male, and in failure of such, to the purposes of his last will: the same Edward, afterwards, made his will, whereby he demised the above-mentioned possessions, after the decease of himself and Richard without issue male, to William Bassenet and his heirs male, and in default of such, to his own son John Bassenet and his heirs male, and in default of such, to his son George Bassenet and his heirs male; and in default of such, to the male heir of Ffynian, Richard and Michael, his brothers, in succession, and in default of all such, to Katherine Bassenet, and in default of issue male of Katherine, then to the right heirs of the testator. Chief Rememb. office.

I have seen a note of Dr. John Lyon's, who quotes from a book of heraldry, extant among the MSS. of Trin. Col. Dub. that Dean Bassenet had a daughter, Catherine, married to Patrick Dillon: the Editors of Biog. Brit. have added their testimony to his, which is, moreover, confirmed by this will, from whence it appears that he had, likewise, four sons.

After the death of Edward Bassenet, the family appear to have returned to their ancient residence at Eaton in Denbigh; Richard Bassenet of Eaton, who sign'd the deed to which I have had occassion to refer in another note, was, probably, the Dean's eldest son, whose name occurs in the inquisition; after him we meet with a William Bassenet and a second Richard, both of Eaton, in Denbighshire.

[n] The word, Dean, was annexed to his name, but, afterwards, a line was drawn across it.

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[a] The King's letters patent were as follows:

EDWARDUS VI. &c. dilectis et fidelibus suis, Anthonio Sentleger ordinis sui garterij militi, uni generosorum privatæ cameræ suæ, ac Deputato suo regni sui Hiberniæ; Richardo Rede militi, Cancellario suo ejusdem regni sui Hiberniæ; Willielmo Brabazon militi, Vice-thesaurario suo regni sui prædicti; Thomæ Luttrell militi, Capit. Justic. communis banci, regni sui prædicti; Jacobo Bathe, Capit. Baroni de Scaccario suo, regni sui prædicti; et Tho. Cusake militi, Magistro Rotulorum Cancellariæ suæ, regni sui prædicti—Salutem.

Sciatis quod nos, de fidelitatibus et providis circumspectionibus vestris plene confidentes, de advisamento et consensu præcarissimi avunculi nostri, Edwardi Ducis Somerset, Gubernatoris personæ nostræ, et regnorum dominiorumque nostrorum Protectoris, necnon cæterorum consiliariorum nostrorum, assignavimus vos ac tenore præsentium damus vobis, sex, quinque, quatuor vel tribus vestrum, quorum te, præfatum Anthonium Sentleger, Deputatum nostrum, unum esse volumus, plenam potestatem et autoritatem faciendi, peragendi et exequendi, ea omnia et singula quæ in articulis et instructionibus præsentibus annexa exprimuntur et specificantur, juxta formam, tenorem et effectum eorundem articulorum et instructionum.

Et quicquid in præmissis feceritis vos, inde et de toto facto vestro in ea parte nobis, in Cancellariam nostram regni nostri Hiberniæ prædict. in scriptis in pergameno, sub sigillis vestris, sex, quinque, quatuor vel trium, quorum te præfatum Anthonium, Deputatum nostrum, unum esse volumus, indilate reddatis certiores, remittes nobis hoc breve unacum instruct. prædictis.

In cujus rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westm. vicesimo quarto die Martij, anno regni nostri, primo. Rot. Pat. I. Edw. VI. d.

[b] In pursuance of this authority the Commissioners, on the 25th of April, assigned pensions to the Dean and Chapter: that allotted to the Dean was to commence from the 8th of January preceding, those granted to the other Canons were made payable at Easter and Michaelmas. This list, inasmuch as it exhibits the number of persons officiating and value of their respective offices, has been deemed worthy of publication; the

" Where the cathedrall or collegiate church of Seint Patrikes, nere unto the citie of Dublin, in the countie of Dublin, wythin our realme of Irlande, remayneth in our handes as a churche surrendred unto thandis of our dere belovyde father of mooste famous memorie Henrie theighte, in his lyfe tyme, by vertue of our seid ffathers comissione, directed to our trustye and right welbelovyde Syr Anthonye Sentleger, knyghte of our ordyr, our deputie in the said realme and to dyvers others named yn the said comissione, by the mutuall consente agrimente of the Deane and Chapiter of the said churche, as by the surrendyr thereof made under ther chapter seale, remayning in our Chancery of our seid realme of Irlande, more playnlie dothe appear and so yet contynuethe in our handys, by force of the said surrendyr, wythoute profytt, order and fynall resolution taken therin for the playne and perfitt dysposition thereof: we have made theis instructions and annexed them to our comyssione, directed to our seid Deputie and others in the same comissione mentioned, to be by them performed in manner and forme folowinge."

" Fyrste, We will, that our seid comyssioners surveye and trie the profitt and trewe yerelye value of all the mannours, londis, tenementis, advousions ympropard, pensions, portions and other hereditamentis whatsoever belonginge to the said cathedrall churche and what yerlye rentys and charges goith oute of the same, and whate portion belongeth to the Deane and Residentiaries and others the Ministers of the said cathedrall churche, as thereby yt maye appere howe and in what maner heretofore the same hath be used and employde."

" And that our seid Comyssioners shall make out true and perfitt inventori of all the plate, ornamentis and jewellis of the said cathedrall churche, the daye of the said surrendyr taken thereof, to gyve for us and in our name to the cathedrall churche called Cristes Churche, wythin our seid citie of Dublin, suche and so moche of the seid plate, jewellis and ornamentis as to ther dyscretyone shall be thoght mete and convenient, for the better furniture of the same cathedrall churche to be delivered of our gyfte to the Deane and Chapter of the said churche, by byll indentid betwene them and our seid Comissioners."

" And lykewyse shall gyve and dyspose for us, and in our name, to the paroche churche that shal be made in the seid late cathedrall churche, another reasonable parte and portion of the seid plate, ornamentis and jewellis as to ther dyscretions shall be thoght meate and convenyente for the same, to be lykewyse delivered be bill indentyde as aforsaid to the Churche Wardens of the same churche: the resydue of the seid plate, jewellys and ornamentis remayning undysposed, our seid Comyssioners shall deliver to thandes of Sir William Brabazone knyghte, our Vicethesauroure, there by byll indentyde, to be saflye kepte for us, and to our use, tyll our further pleasure shal be declared in that behalfe."

reader will find the pensions, assigned to the dignitaries and prebendaries, in the table of valuations at the end of this volume.

The names of three Canons are omitted, viz. Bartholomew Fitzsymon, Prebendary of Tipper; Nicholas Lyne, Prebendary of Clonmethan; and Nicholas Miagh, Prebendary of St. Audoen's: these omissions were, possibly, owing to inadvertance in the officer who framed the list.

The other persons, who received pensions, were those following, viz.

To the Vicars Choral.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Thomas Bullene,	4	0	0	Thomas Robins,	4	0	0
Richard Nolane,	4	0	0	Richard Betaghe,	2	0	0
James White,	4	0	0	George Browne,	4	0	0
James Sarsfelde,	4	0	0	John Claregenett,	4	0	0
Nicholas Wogane,	3	0	0	Christ. More,	2	14	1
William Yonge,	4	0	0	William Loghane,	4	0	0
John Cane,	4	0	0	Walter More,	4	0	0
Robert Molande,	4	0	0	Nicholas Core,	4	0	0

To the Petty Canons.

William Crowe,	6	0	0	John Adocke,	6	0	0
William Denbyghe,	6	0	0	Patrick Flyn,	6	0	0

To the Presbyters or Priest Vicars.

Christ. Rathe,	10 marks.	Richard Betaghe,	10 marks.
John Bermane,	10	John Claregenete,	10
William Walsh,	10	Nicholas Dardyse,	10

To the Personists or Choristers.

John Goldinge, 4 marks. Leonard Fitzsymon, 4 marks.

It was ordered by Queen Mary, in her letter for restoring the cathedral, that these six presbyters and two choristers should have their pensions out of the exchequer still continued, on account of their assisting in divine service at Christ church cathedral.

"And, that our seid Comissioners shall assigne and appointe to the dean, prebendaries, fellawes and other ministres of the seid late cathedrall churche or college of Seint Patrikys, havynge, at the tyme of the surrender of the seid cathedrall churche, any perpetuytie stypende or lyvinge for terme of lyef, such yerlie pensions and annuytis as, by the dyscretione of our seid Comissioners, shal be thoght meate and reasonable. The same to be takene yerlie of oure gyfte and grante, out of our recepte of theschequer in the said realme, by thandes of our Vice-thesaurer there, for the tyme beinge, att tow several termes of the yere there used and accustomede; and shall, furder, gyve to the officers, ministers and servantis of the seid late cathedrall churche, ther due wages, with such rewardis as our seid Comissioners shall thinke meate and conveniente."

"And, moreover, we will that, for the better augmentatione and mayntenance of divine service to be kepte in the seid cathedrall churche, called Cristes churche, in our citie of Dublin, our seid Comyssioners shall encrease the ministers of the seid cathedrall churche by the nomber of vi preistes and ii childrene correstours, more than be nowe in the same at this present; appoyntinge to every of the seid Pristis one annuitye or pencion of ten markys sterlinge, and to every one of said childrene queresters iiii markys sterlinge, for ther sufficiente livinges, yerelye, to be payd to them out of our receypte or our seid Eschequier by thandes of our Vice-thesaurer there for the tyme beinge, as aforseide."

"And, as touchinge the dysposition of the seid cathedrall churche of Seint Patrykes, oure minde and pleasure ys, that our seid Comissioners shall appoint and sorte one parte or portion thereof for the ministration of our lawes and other our cowrtes, there to be holden and kepte, as to there discretions shall be thoght meate and sufficient for the same. Another parte of the same churche for the makinge of a parishe church wythin the same; and to gyve to the same church and parishauners iiii of the smaler bellis belonginge to the said churche, the seid bellis to be delivered, as of oure gifte, to the churche wardens of the same churche, for that our purpose and entente, and the reste of the bellis, there remayninge, to be delivered to the Vice-thesauroure wyth him to remayne to our use."

"And we wyll that, wythin the close and precincte of the seid cathedrall churche, our Comyssioners shall appointe and ordeyne a convenyent place for a gramer scole to be kepte, wyth lodgingys for the scole master and hushere; and shall furdyr assigne to the same scole-mayster and hushere, suche yerlye stypendys, to ether of them, as by there dyscretions shall be thoght convenient, and as the same maye so contynewe tyll our furdyr pleasure shall be therin hereaftyr declared."

"And, forasmoche as the Deputie of our seid realme of Irlande for the tyme beinge, cannot be so well logede, for the repayre of our noble men and concellours at all tymes, as he maye be in the Archiebushops place, called ther, Seint Pulcres[c]; We have therfore thoght good, that you, our seid Deputie and other Comissioners, shall trete wyth the said Archbushope for his consente to be had for this our purpose, restoringe to him, for recompence therof, the house belonginge to the late Deane of our seid cathedrall churche of Sainct Patrik. And we wyll that oure seid Comissioners shall appointe, for the Chauncellor of our seid realme for the tyme beinge, one other house or mansione there, mete and convenable for all resorte to be made unto him att all tymes."

[c] Accordingly we find the palace of St. Sepulchre's was, for a period of time, occupied by the Lords Deputy. It is related in Ware's Annals, that the Earl of Sussex, who was appointed Deputy by Queen Elizabeth upon her accession to the throne, rode in state to St. Patrick's church on the 29th of August, and from thence to St. Sepulchre's, where he kept his court. Stanihurst, in his description of Ireland, saith, of "St. Pulchers," that it was "as well pleasantlie sited as gorgeouslie builded," and he adds, "some hold opinion that the beautifuller part of this house was, of set purpose, fired by an Archbishop, to the end the Governors (which, for the most part, laie there,) sliold not haue so goodliking to the house." Hollingshed, Vol. VI. p. 28

"And, that som housinge be appointed, by our seid Comissioners, wythin the lymite and precincte of the said cathedrall churche, as be ther dyscretyons shall be thoghte mete and convenyente, for the errection and establishemente of a hospitall of xii poore men, to be taken of them that heretofore hath done unto the Kinge of mooste famous memorie, our late father, or that nowe dothe or that hereaftir shall do unto us, good and fethfull duyte, and growene into yerres and impotencye in the tyme of there services, or otherwyse by meme or other hurte, wherbye they maye no lenger endure eny servyce. The seid xii poore men to have, yerelye, to everye of them, fyve markys sterlynge for the terme of there lyves, out of the receypte of our seid Eschequer there, at towe usuall termes in the yere ther accustomed, by thandes of our Vice-thesauroure there, for the tyme beynge."

"And, whereas there ys at this presente no ussher appointed for the servinge of our courte of Eschequyer, ne yet for the kepynge of the place wherin our lawes shall be appointed to be kepte, we wyll that our said Comyssioners shall appointe one anuytie, of iiii markys sterlynge by the yere, for the salarie or stipend of the said ushere, that shall be appointed for the exercyse of the seid office, from tyme to tyme, by our Deputie there for the tyme beinge: the said anuytie, of foure markys sterlinge, to be taken yerlye oute of the receipte of our Eschequer ther, at tow usuall termes in the yere there, by thandes of our Vice-thesaurer there, for the tyme beinge."

"And furder we wyll, that our Chauncellor of our seid realme of Irlande, for the tyme beinge, uppon bylls signed wyth thandes of our seid Comyssioners, syx, fyve, foure or thre of them, whereof we wyll our seid Deputie to be one, for anye pencion or anuytie, by them to be assigned to any person or persons whatsoever, by force and vertue of the seid comyssione and instructions thereunto annexed to them therin dyrectyde, shall make and delyver to every suche persone and persons whatsoever, a sufficiente patente under our greate seale of our seid realme of Irlande, accordinge to the tenure, purporte and effecte of the same byll or bylles, by them, in manner and forme as ys abowe seid, to be signed, wythoute any furder waraunt from us to be pursued or had in that behalfe."

Accordingly, the house or hall of the Vicars Choral was appointed for a grammar school; and, on the 20th of September, the King issued letters patent, appointing Matthew Talbot master, and William Talbot usher of the same; to the former a salary of twenty pounds, Irish, and to the latter ten pounds, per annum, was assigned: Mathew Talbot died in 1550, and, on the 6th of October, Patrick Cusack was appointed to that office by letters patent.

The house of the Petit Canons was, this same year, fitted up for an hospital to receive the alms-men; and, on the 13th March following, letters patent were issued, nominating twelve men, and appointing to each a salary of five pounds, per annum, and a lodging in said house: those persons were selected out of such as "had served the late King in his wars and were disabled from further service."

1548—The Judges began, this year, to sit in the cathedral and keep their termes there; from this time till its restoration it became a common hall to the four courts of judicature.[1]

1550—On the 10th of May the church wardens or procurators of the parish church of St. Patrick, leased to Sir Edward Eustace, of Ballimore, chaplain, and Edward Page, of Dunlavan, yeoman, with consent of parishioners of said parish, all the ridges of corn, called St. Patrick's ridges, throughout the diocesses of Fernes, Ossory, Leighlin, Kildare, and the deaneries of Omurthy, Rathmore and Salmonleap, for the term of three years, at six marks, Irish, per annum.[2]

[1] Dyers Reports. [2] Rot. Pat. 4 Edward VI. d.

In the month of February[3] the records were removed, from Bermingham tower in the castle of Dublin to the library of St. Patrick's church, in pursuance of an order of the Lord Deputy and Council; this was in consequence of a letter from the Lord Chancellor and Master of the Rolls, which represented the ruinous state of said tower and its distance from the late cathedral church of St. Patrick, whereat his Highness's courts were then kept. It appears, however, from the tenor of this order, that only such records were removed as were in immediate use, for it requires the Clerk of the Hanaper to provide presses and locks for the safe keeping of the records, as well in the tower, as in the library of the cathedral.[4]

1553—On the first of May this year, Hugh Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, died in Dublin, and was buried in this cathedral.

1554—During the suppression of this cathedral, Queen Mary, on the 10th of July this year, issued a mandate to the Dean and Chapter of Christ church, to institute and invest Anthony Sentleger in the rectory of Swords, void by the death of John Derricke, and then in the gift of the Crown, by reason of the see being vacant.

Sect. II. Restoration of the Cathedral.

1554—Strype, in his ecclesiastical annals of Queen Maries reign, relates, that she had for some time expressed much uneasiness that the possessions of the church should remain in her hands, and told the Lords of her council that she wished, anxiously, that they should be restored: this measure was at length determined upon, and accordingly, on the 18th of February 1554, their Majesties wrote the following letter to the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor and the other members of the Privy Council of Ireland.

"Trustie and right welbeloved, wheare we have given order to revive and restore our metropolytane and prebendarie churche and chapitre of Saincte Patricque, in Irelande, unto her pristyne honorable state, we lett you witt, that oure pleasure is, this restitution shall begynne and take effect from the feast of the annunciation of our Ladie, nexte ensuyng the date hereof and not before: and wheare, for perfection of our entente in this parte, we have appoinctid the persons undirwritten to be preferrid unto the dignities, offices and prebendis in the same, as vacant and belonging to our gifte by vaccation of the Archebusshopricke."

[3] Ware's Annals, pag. 194.

[4] This order was as follows:

"Jamys Crofte,

"Where we be enformyd, by the Lorde Chauncellor and Master of the Rolles, that there is no place certen ne conveniente for the saffegarde of the Kingis Majesties recordis and mynymentis of his Hieghness chauncery of this his Grace's realme of Irelande, other then the tower wythin his Majesties castell of Dublin, whiche is bothe ruynous and farre distante from the late cathedrall churche of Sainte Patrickis, whereat his Hieghnes courtes be nowe kepte, being no place meete for the daylie resorte of his Majesties officers and outhers his Graces subjectis, havinge charge or occasion to have thorder, sighte or copies of any of them, as shall apperteyne, throghe whiche the losses of the saide recordis and munymentis, besides other inconveniences, have and may well ensue."

"And, for that the late librarie of the saide late cathedrall churche is a mete and sure place for the sauffgarde and custodie of the saide recordis and mynymentis, nere unto the saide courtes whereat his Majesties saide officers having chardge, and outher his Hieghnes subjectis vpon honeste occacion may, from time to time, convenientlie resorte."

"We order and appointe, that the saide late librarie be the place for the sauffekeping of such of the saide recordes and munimentis as shal be kepte out of the said tower of his Hieghnes saide castell of Dublin, and all suche of the saide recordis and munimentis as shall be oute of the saide tower shal be put and sauffelie kepte in the saide librarie; and that youe, the clearke of the Hanaper of his Majesties chauncerie, for the time beinge, shall provyde and forsee, that presses or stagis, chestes, wyndowes, doores, lokes and all other necessaries, shal be provyded, furnished, made, as well in and for the saide librarie as the said tower of the castell, for the sauffegarde, sure keeping and goode ordering of the saide recordes and munimentes, from time to time. And this, oure order, with your particuler accomptes of your disbursments aboute the same, uppon your accomptes of the revenues and proffites, coming and growing of his Hieghnes saide Hanaper, to be made before the Barons of his Graces Exchequer, of this, his saide realme, shall be your sufficiente warraunt and dischardge in that behalfe.

Yeoven at Dublin the xith of November, the fyfte yere of the reigne of oure soveraign lorde, King Edward the Syxte.

Ralphe Bagenall; Edward Midens; Geralde Aylmer, Justice;
Thomas Lutrell, Justice; P. Barnewall, M^r. Rotul;
Thomas Lockwode, Dean; James Bath, Baron;
Thos. Howth, Justice; Edw. Basnet, *Dean*.

From a copy in MS. by Dr. John Lyon.

"We woll and commaund you, forthwith, to make out in our name and in due forme, unto every of the seid persons, severall graunts, giftis, presentations and letters patentis of the seid dignities, offices and prebendis, respectively, as thei be hereundir appoincted and tottid, as in semblable cases of vaccation in tymes past haith byne usid, gyving to ther said severall letters patentis date, the xxvith daie of Marche, the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande fyve hondreth fyftie and fyve, and the first and second yeares of our reignes, whereof faile ye not: and thies our letters, signed with our owne handis, shall be your sufficient warrant in this parte."

"Yevin vndir our signet, at our pallace of Westminster, the xviiith of Ffebruarii, the first and seconde yeares of our reignes aforsaid." [c]

Again, on the 23d of the same month, their Majesties addressed the following letter to the Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor.

"To our trustie and welbelovid counsellors, Sir Anthony Sentleger, knight of our order, deputie of our realme of Ireland, and Sir Thomas Cusake knight, our chauncellor there, and to all other of our counsell and officers there, to whom in this case it shall apperteyne and to every of them."

"Trustie and right welbelovid we grete you well, and forasmoche as, haveng causid our counsell to peruse and examen the auncient fundacion and pristyne state of our metropolitane and prebendarie churche of Sainct Patrickes, in that our realme of Ireland, it appeareth, that the seid first fundacion and pristyne state is godlie and right honorable."

"Oure pleasure is, therfore, that for the glorie of GOD and advauncement of his sarvice and holie woorde, the seid churche and the chapitre thereof shall be revived and restorid to the seid pristyne state, and so to begynne and contynue from the feast of thannunciation of our ladie next ensuyng for ever. Wherfore, we woll, that according to the warrant by us signed and sealid with our signet herewith, you make oute unto every suche persouns as be therein named letters patentis of presentacion to the dignities and prebends in the seid warrant expressid, in due fourme as is prescribid unto you in the same warraunt, withoute eny alteration of the seid persons: and that you suffir the same persons, haveng receivid the seid letters patentis wherebie thei represent and be the Dean and Chaptre of the said churche, withoute contradiction to entre into the seid churche, and all the landis, possessions and goodis thereto belonging, and the rentis and profictis therof to take, and the same with all liberties to enjoie, to them and their successours to ther own uses, from the seid feast of thannunciation for ever, in lyke soorte as the late Deane and Chapitre there did and mighte, before the pretenced dissolucion of the seid churche; and that you

[c] The following is the list of the persons nominated by the letter of privy seal.

Thomas Leverous,		Decanatum.
Thomas Creiff,		Precentoriam.
Robertus Nangle,		Cancellariam.
Edwardus Barnewall,		Thesauriam.
Willielmus Weslie,		Archidiaconatum Dublin.
Johannes Willey,		Archidiaconatum Glindelac.
Henricus Parker,		Prebend. de Kilmatalwey.
Patricius Byrne,		——— de Swerdis.
Richardus Ellercar,		——— de Castroknoc.
Nicholavs Miagh,	ad	——— de Mallahidert.
Robertus Daly,		——— St. Audoeni.
Patricivs Ffynne,		——— de Yagoe.
Johannes Sonnyng,		——— de Wyclo.
Thomes Fitzsymon,		——— de Tymothan.
Henricus Dancy,		——— de Tipper.
Archiepisc. Armach.		——— de Tasagard.
Jacobus Sarsfeld,		——— de Dunloan.
Richardus Johnson,		——— de Maynoth.
Simon Geffraie,		——— de Houth.
Thomas Lockwod,		Prebend. de Raithmichell.
Johannes Galbolie,		——— de Monnohomoke.
Johannes Wogan,		——— de Tipperkevin.
Willielmus Yong,		Alt. Preb. de Tipperkevin.
Johannes Come,	ad	Prebend. de Donoghmore, in Omayl.
Christoph. Browne,		Alt. Preb. de Donoghmore.
Richardus Betaghe,		Prebend de Stagoill.
Georgius Browne,		——— de Clemethan.

Rot. Pat. 1 & 2 Phil. et Mar.

This list of names differs, in the following respects, from that in the patent. 1st. Instead of Simon Geffraie the name of John Dongan occurs as Prebendary of Howth; perhaps the former had died during the interval, which was near four months. 2d. John Wogan is nominated, by the patent, to one portion of Donoughmore, and John Cane or Come to the other; no notice is, there, taken of the double prebend of Tipperkevin. 3d. Although the prebend of Cullen is not mentioned in the letter of privy seal, it is said, in the patent, to be annexed to the Archbishoprick.

and every of you, to whom it apperteyneth, delyver and cause to be delyverid unto the seid Deane and Chapitre, at ther request, such writingis and processis, under our greate seale out of our chauncery and other courtis there, as be necessarie for thaccomplisshement of our seid pleasure, and the sure and lawfull assurance of the seid Dean and Chapitre in this behaulf; cawsing this oure goode pleasure to be signified into all partes of our said realme, so as our subjectis, knowing hereof, may therebie the raither extende ther devocion towardis the renewing and furniture of such ornamentis, bookis and other thingis, as be necessarie to be had for thuse of devyne service to be song and said in the said church."

"The semblable order of restitucion, we woll, shall be also ensued with the peticanons and vicars chorall and choristers of the same churche, who, as we undirstande, have severall corporacions aparte, undir the said chapitre."

"We will also, speciallie, that the said Deane and every of the said chapitre, as well prebendaries as dignities, and the seid corporacions, shall be suffrid to entir into suche howses as belong to ther dignities, prebendis and corporacions, and the same to enjoie, for the mayntenanc of hospitalitie, without disturbance or let of any suche as presentlie have, holde or occupie the seid howses, or any of them, by cullour of any graunt originallie made, sithence the seid pretensid dissolucion, or by cullour of any graunt made, before the same dissolucion, by coven, collusion or unlaufullie."

"And that the seid Dean and Chapitre, and ther successours for ever, be chardgid there to mayntene one schole-master and one ussher to teach gramer; and also with the fynding of suche and as meny almes-men, as in times past haith byne usid at Sainct Patrickis aforsaid; and, that in consideracion hereof, the schole and almes-men, newlie erectid there sithens the seid pretenced dissolucion, shall be dischargid, and the same persons interteigned, at our seid churche of Sainct Patrickis by the Deane and Chapitre, aftir suche rate and state as before the seid dissolucion was usid, and noone otherwise by coven of the late newe erection in that parte. And yet, nevertheles, we will, that the sixe Prestis and two Choristors, newlie erected at Christischurch upon the said dissolucion of Saincte Patrickis, shall contynew at Christischurch and be paid ther stipendis as heretofore haith byne accustomed."

"And that you shall also give ordir that all such bokis, ornamentis, coopes, vestmentis and other thingis, belonging to the seid churche of Saincte Patrickis, as remeyne to our use in your owne handis or the custodie of eny other whatesoever person, be restorid and delyverid to the seid Deane and Chapitre, to be imploid to the sarvice of the seid church."

"Our pleasure is also, that tharchebushop of Dublin and his successours shall have alweis the nominacion and appoincting of the said schole-maister and ussher; and that the seid Deane and Chapitre of Saincte Patrickis shall have and be suffrid to have the nominacion and placing of all and every the seid peticanons and other inferrior ministres in the seid church: and semblably, that the Deane and Chapitre of our seid metropolitane churche of Christe, shall, from tyme to tyme, from henceforth, have the nomynacion of the seid six Prestis and two Choristers and all other inferior ministres in the seid church of Christe, withoute interrupcion or medling of any other our officer or officers in the seid realme: and that our Deputie, for the tyme being, shall have the nominacion of the seid almes-men, from tyme to tyme, providid that he shall name suche as be impotent, decaid men, and have done us service in seid realme, being of honnest behavior and conversacion, and given to serve GOD in praier."

"Lastelie, wheareas we have nominatid unto the Archebusshoprick of Dublin (now voide) our trustie and welbeloved chaplen, Mr. Hugh Coren, doctor of laws, to be Archebusshop there, and presentlie, by our letters, signifie and sende unto the Deanes

and Chapitres of either of the said churches, our nominacion, desiere and licence in in this parte, for thellection of the said Mr. Coren; we requiere and praie you, so to call upon them that have interest herein, that this cause maie with spede take his effecte, and so cause us to be certified therof with celeritie."

"And wheareas we have, among other, named Mr. Thos. Lockwod to the prebend of Raithmichell in the said church; we woll, that the seid Mr. Lockwod shall, in consideracion therof, discharge us of one pencion, yearlie paid unto Mr. Sentleger, one of the late Prebendaries of the said Sainct Patrickis."

"And wheareas also, our sarvant, Mathiew King, haith in leas of the seid Sainct Patrickis, by graunt sithence the seid pretensid dissolucion, certene tiethes and other parcellis of the possessions thereof, of the yearlie rent of viii^{xx}l. fforasmoch as the seid Mathew King paieth, as we be enformed, a grete rent more then in tymes past was used; and that he haith also, as wee be lykewise enfourmed, sarvid us and our dearest father and brother right honestly; and that other staie of lyving, besidis the said leas, he haith presentlie noone; and that he bought the same, to his grete chardgis, of an other who was the principall taker; we have, therfore, movid them of Sainct Patricques who have attendid un us for the pursuite of thies affaires, concerneng the seid churche, to suffir the same Mathiew to enjoie the moitie of the seid lease, wherewith they are content and have promised to make him, the seid Mathiewe, assurance accordinglie: we requiere you, therfore, to cause the Deane and Chapiter, being in ther full possession and state, to performe and make the same assurance of the moitie unto him, the seid Mathiew, as apperteyneth, for as many yeares and the half rent that he nowe holdeth and paieth for the same; wherof faile ye not as we speciallie trust you, and thies, our letters, shal be your warrante and discharge in this parte."

"Given undir our signet, at our pallace of Westminster, the xxiiid of Ffebruarie, the furst and seconde yeares of our reignes.'"[1]

Accordingly, upon the fifteenth day of the following June, this cathedral obtained its charter of restitution, whereby it was restored to the full possession of all its former powers and privileges.

This grant commences with a recital of the foundation charter of Archbishop Comin; next follows that of Henry de Loundres, whereby he established a Dean and three other dignitaries, in the college which had been founded by his predecessor; it then recites the patent of Edward IV. which divided the prebend of Luske between the precentor and treasurer, conferred the rectory of Newcastle on the Archdeacon of Glindalach, established three new prebends in the churches of St. Audoen, Kilmactalway and Wicklow, which had, previously, been possessed by the dignitaries above mentioned; by the same act the division of Swords was likewise confirmed, on which division was founded the institution of the college of Minor Canons and Choristers; next follows the act of surrender to the commissioners, nominated by Henry VIII. and the certificate of the same to that King.

Their Majesties then proceed to mention the motives which urged them to restore this cathedral to its pristine dignity; they recount how much it had been the care of their predecessors and its own pastors to adorn the same, and how, for promotion of the worship of God within the land of Ireland, it had been their study to place therein persons eminent for learning, whom they had enriched with competent revenues, to the intent, that hospitality should be displayed there for the relief of numbers, and that the youth of the kingdom should be instructed in civility of manners and the rules of moral virtue; all which pious intentions had their full

[1] Rot. Pat. 1 et 2 Phil. et Mar.

effect so long as the cathedral remained undissolved; but, having observed, that since the resignation of its inheritance, great evils had arisen, both from the decay of hospitality, the want of a place where youth might receive their education as was accustomed, and most of all, that the honor and worship of the divine Majesty had declined; they were moved, therefore, to decree that the cathedral and collegiate church of St. Patrick should be restored to its pristine state.

Accordingly, with consent of Sir Anthony Sentleger, Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Cusack, Chancellor, and others of the privy council, they decreed, that the said cathedral church should, according to the tenor of their letters of privy seal, dated 23d February preceding, be forthwith restored; the same to consist of a dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, two archdeacons, twenty-two prebendary-canons priests, six minor-canons priests, sixteen vicars-choral priests, and six choristers. Furthermore, they ordained and re-established the said church to be the cathedral and archiepiscopal seat of the Archbishop of Dublin, in as full and ample a manner as it was before its dissolution; all honours, privileges and immunities whatsoever, which the said cathedral, or any person, member of the same, had before possessed or enjoyed, were likewise declared to be restored.

The charter then proceeds to nominate the several clerks, each to their respective dignity or prebend, those benefices being all, at that time, in the gift of the crown, by reason of the vacancy of the see; it declares the chapter to be a body corporate for ever, having perpetual succession, in like manner as the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral and metropolitical church of the Holy Trinity annexed to the same Archbishoprick; that, as a corporate body, they may sue and be sued in all courts; that they shall, under the name of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, have power to take, receive, alienate, or demise, in like manner as the Dean or Chapter of any other cathedral church within the realm, are, by law or custom, empowered to do; and that they shall have a common seal. The Charter then proceeds to restore, in the most ample manner, all the possessions or immunities, of whatsoever kind, which had been previously possessed by them, and confirms the same to them, and their successors for ever, to hold from the festival of Easter preceding, in free and perpetual alms, and in as full and perfect a manner as their predecessors did, at any time possess the same; they are, likewise, empowered to ordain, from time to time, such laws as they shall deem meet for their own government: and, moreover, says this charter, considering that the possessions of the said Dean and Canons are, at these present times, scarce sufficient for their support, and that the tenants of the lands of the church have been harassed by the officers and farmers of the crown revenues; the said dignitaries and canons and their farmers are hereby, of special favour, taken under the protection of the crown; and, therefore, all officers of the same are specially commanded to be, at all times, protectors and defenders of the said church, and all members of the same, and all the property to them belonging; neither, at any time, saith this record, shall hay, corn, horses, carriages or cattle, the property of any member of the said cathedral or any tenant of the same, be taken or employed for the service of the crown or any of its servants, without the consent of the owner of the same.

For, and in consideration of this donation and restitution, the Dean and Chapter were required to maintain, for ever, a school-master and usher, to teach grammar, and the same number of poor alms-men as the church was wont to maintain, before the late dissolution; which alms-men are, at all times, to be nominated by the Deputy or Lord Lieutenant for the time being, being maimed or disabled persons, of honest conversation and manners, as have served the crown faithfully, in the said kingdom of Ireland: the nomination of the school-master was reserved to the Archbishop,

and both the school and alms-house, which was established by letters patent on the dissolution of the cathedral, were hereby dissolved: by the final clause, the right of electing their Dean from their own body was confirmed, which privilege they are empowered to exercise in the same manner they did before the dissolution; and, moreover, the Archbishop's right of patronage in the benefices was restored to him, to possess the same in as full and ample a manner as he was used, before the cathedral had been dissolved.[a]

Sect. III. Thomas Leverous, *Dean.*

1555—Thomas Leverous received his patent, for the deanery,[a] on the 26th of March,[1] and, on the same day, a writ issued to the custodee of the spiritualities of Dublin, to instal him; the other dignitaries and prebendaries were installed in May following.[2]

Thomas Leverous was born about the year 1497, in the county of Kildare, his family were tenants[b] to the Earl of Kildare, and he himself was firmly attached to, and deeply interested in, the fortunes of that noble house.

Before his promotion to the deanery he was seized of the perpetual vicarage of Kerogh or Carogh, in the diocess of Kildare, and before that family was attainted, on account of the rebellion of the Lord Thomas, eldest son of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, he was tutor to Gerald his second son: by the execution of Thomas, with his five uncles, at Tyburn, on the 3d of February 1535, together with the death of the unfortunate Earl, who had been, for some time, a prisoner in the tower, Gerald, the youth above-named, became heir, and he, with his younger brother, Edward, and three sisters, were the only remnants of that illustrious family; Gerald, then aged twelve years, was ill of the small pox when the news arrived; he was conveyed away by his affectionate tutor, who, for a time, preserved him from the designs of his enemies, and found means to convey him to the Continent, where he continued to reside until he was restored to the estate and honours of his family.[c]

[a] See Append. Num. XV.

[1] Rot. Pat. Canc. Hib.

[2] Waræi Annales, ad ann.

[a] The words of the patent expressly mention that the right of nomination to this dignity was in the crown, by reason of the vacancy of the see; "ad nostram donationem, hâc vice, ratione vacationis Archiepiscopatus Dublin."

[b] Lodge, in his peerage, says that he was foster-brother to the Earl of Kildare, but he quotes no authority for this assertion.

[c] I hope I shall obtain the reader's forgiveness for inserting here, so long an article as Stanihurst's account of the adventures which befel Leverous and his noble pupil, whilst they were seeking, amidst their friends and in foreign countries, security from the rage of their incensed sovereign. His words are as follows:

"When Thomas and his vncles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Girald Fitzgirald (who was after, in the reigne of Queene Marie, restored to the Earledome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he lieueth) being at time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirteene yeares of age, laie sicke of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitzgirald. Thomas Leurouse, who was the child his schoole-master, and after became Bishop of Kildare, mistrusting, vpon the apprehension of Thomas and his vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yoong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a cleefe with all speed to Ophalie, where soiourning for a short space, with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgirald, vntill he had recouered his perfect health, his schoole-master caried him to O'Don his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he trauelled to O'Bren his countrie, in Munster, and hauing there remained for halfe a yeare, he repaired to his aunt, the ladie Elenor Fitzgirald, who then kept in Mac Cartie Reagh, hir late husband, his territories."

"This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was O'Doneil an importunate suiter; and although, at sundrie times before, she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir yoong innocent nephue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrimwise from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued, smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie before he was of discretion to inioie anie prosperitie, she began to incline to hir wooer his request, to the end hir nephue should haue beene the better, by his countenance, shouldered, and in fine indented to espouse him; with this caueat or prouiso, that he should safelie shield and protect the said yoong gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agreed upon, she rode with her nephue to O'Doneil his countrie, and there had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare."

"But shortlie after the gentlewoman, either by some secret friend informed, or of wisedome gathering that hir late maried husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, storing him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with seuen score porteguses, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Britons vessell of saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, master Leurouse and Robert Walsh, sometime seruant to his father, the Earle. The ladie Elenor hauing thus, to hir contentation, bestowed hir nephue, she expostulated

Leverous, for a time, resided at the English hospital at Rome, dedicated to Saint Thomas, to this he procured admission through the interest of cardinal Pole.

It appears that he returned to Ireland about two years before his noble pupil was received into favour by King Edward, for, on the 20th November 1549, he instituted a suit against James Malmyan, who, during his absence, had got possession of his

verie sharpelie with O'Doneil as touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he was out of his lash that minded to haue betraied him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of his danger mooued hir to annere to such a clownish curmudgen, so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester hirselfe from so butcherlie a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of his nephue by affinitie, and hirs by consanguinitie. And in this wise trussing vp bag and baggage, she forsooke O'Doneil and returned to hir countrie."

"The passengers with a prosperous gale arriued at Saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the yoong Fitz-girald, gaue him verie hartie interteinement during one moneths space. In the meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to the court of France, aduertising the king of the arriuall of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became King of France. Sir John Wallop (who was then the English ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betweene both the princes: which was, that none should keepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who, of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland, was executed at London."

"To this answered the king, first, that the Ambassador had no commission from his prince to demand him, and vpon his maiestie his letter he should know more of his mind: secondlie, that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin staied him: lastlie, that how grieuouslie soeuer his brother offended, he was well assured, that the sillie boy neither was nor could be a traitor, and therefore there rested no cause whie the Ambassador should, in such wise, craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not so far swarue from the extreame rigor of iustice, as to imbrue his hands in the innocent his bloud, for the offense that his brother had perpetrated. maister Wallop herevpon addressed his letters to England, specifieing vnto the councell the French king's answer. And, in the meane time, the yoong Fitzgirald hauing an inkling of the ambassador his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of maister Wallop his men, did not onelie pursue him, but also did overtake him as he soiourned in the said towne."

"Wherevpon maister Leurouse, and such as accompanied the child, stept to the gouernor of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their master from place to place, and presentlie pursued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie vnpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne countriman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pitied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pursued. The gouernor, vpon this complaint sore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie examined, and finding him vnable to color his lewd practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hot pursute with cold interteinment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the yoong Fitzgirald requiting the prisoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vndeserued courtesie, humblie besought the gouernor to set him at libertie. This brunt escaped, Fitzgirald trauelled to Bruxels, where the emperour kept his court."

"Doctor Pates being ambassador in the low countries, demanded Fitzgirald of the emperour on his maister the king of England's behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to the bishop of Liege, allowing him for his pension an hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined him verie honorablie, had him placed in an abbeie of moonks, and was so careful of his safetie, that if anie person suspected had trauelled within the circuit of his gleebe, he should be streictlie examined whither he would, or from whense he came, or vpon what occasion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wise remained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinall Poole (Fitzgirald his kinsman) sent for him to Rome. Whervpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with surrendring his pension, trauelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, vntill he had atteined to some knowledge in the Italian toong. Wherefore, allowing him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. Leurouse in the meane while was admitted, through the cardinall Poole his procurement, to be one of the English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his hospitall."

"Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgirald hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall Poole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua gave him, for an annuall pension, three hundred crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioised in his kinsman, had him carefullie trained vp in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of actiuitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue gentlemen for a dead and dumpish meacocke. If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would secretlie command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not privie to his punishment; and vpon his complaint made, he vsed to checke Fitzgirald his maister openlie for chastising so seuerelie his pretie darling."

"In this wise he rested three yeares togither in the cardinall his house, and by that time hauing stept so far in yeers (for he was pricking fast vpon nineteene) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by trauelling to seeke his aduentures abrode. The yoong stripling (as vsuallie kind dooth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnesse, choosed to be a traueller: and presentlie with the cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where, falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thense he sailed to Tripolie (a fort apperteining to the aforesaid order, coasting vpon Barbarie) and there he abode six weekes with Mounbrison, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold."

"At that time the knights serued valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and townes that laie neere the water side, tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the christians for bond-slaues. The yoong Fitzgirald returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thense to Rome, hauing spent in this voiage not fullie one yeare. Proud was the cardinall to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further aduancement he inhansed his pension of three hundred crownes, to three hundred pounds, ouer and aboue three hundred crownes that the duke of Mantua allowed him. Shortlie after he preferred him to the seruice of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued maister of his horsse three yeares, hauing also of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearelie pension during life, or vntill he were restored; in like manner as the cardinall Poole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had granted him."

vicarage of Caragh, the profits of which, he, for many years, had received; after a trial of several days Leverous succeeded, and having exhibited his letters of presentation, institution, and induction, obtained possession of his living[3]: in the year 1554 he held the Archdeaconry of Armagh,[d] and, at the time of his promotion to the deanery was, as we learn from the charter of restitution, chaplain to Queen Mary.

On the 1st March 1554, Leverous was appointed Bishop of Kildare, in the room of Thomas Lancaster, who was deprived by Queen Mary because he had contracted matrimony; his confirmation did not receive the Pope's signature until the 3d of August 1555[4]; in the Auditor General's office there is a petition of his which sets forth, that he was nominated to the Bishoprick on the 1st of March, and at the same time was appointed keeper of the temporalities of that see, until the papal confirmation should arrive, that it had been signed on the 3d of August, but the proctor was detained by sickness until the 19th of December; he prayed, therefore, to be allowed the main profits from the date of the bull, which he stated to be forty four pounds per annum; his petition was accordingly granted, as appears by the order which is dated the 16th of February; with this Bishoprick he was allowed to hold the deanery, in commendam.

1555—In Michaelmas term the Dean and Chapter moved, in the court of Exchequer, by their attorney John Quartermas, for restitution of their possessions, from which, according to their statement, they had been unjustly expelled, inasmuch as it was by imprisonment of the members of the chapter and by manifest force, that the late Dean, Edward Bassenett, obtained their consent to the resignation of their possessions to the King; this plea the Dean and Chapter proposed to prove by facts, but, it being admitted by the officers of the crown, an order for "amoveas manus" was issued by the barons of that court.[e]

Leverous, soon after he was made Dean, was appointed one of the delegates for depriving the protestant bishops and clergy, and those that were married: in a visitation book of the diocess of Dublin, still extant, are the particulars of a trial, held in 1557, of James White, accused of having contracted matrimony; at that trial Leverous presided.

1556—On the 2d of July the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, proceeded to this church, nobly accompanied, and was received at the church door by the Archbishop under a canopy of state, that prelate being arrayed in his pontificals and the clergy in rich copes; there, kneeling, he was censed, and having kissed the cross, received

[3] Ant. visit. book of Dub. dioc. pag. 97.

[4] Waræi annales, pag. 212.

"During the time that he was in seruice with the duke of Florence, he trauelled to Rome a shrouing, of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hunting with cardinall Ferneise the pope his nephue, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fatham deepe, and in the fall forsaking his horsse within two fathams of the bottom, he tooke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, vntill his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore, betaking himselfe to GOD, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell softlie on his horsse, that in the bottom of the pit laie starke dead, and there he stood vp to the ancles in water for the space of three houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greihound of his named Grifhound, not finding his maister in the companie, followed his tract vntill he came to the pit, and from thense would not depart, but stood at the brim incessantlie howling. The cardinall Ferneise and his traine missing Fitzgirald, made towards the dog, and surueieng the place, they were verelie persuaded that the gentleman was squised to death."

"Hauing, therefore, posted his seruants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Trecappan) for ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome of the hole. Fitzgirald reuiued with his presence, and willing to be remooued from so darkesome a dongeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his roome, wherevpon he was haled vp in the basket to the generall admiration of the whole companie;" "and, to mine too, if I did not think this part of the story to be a little monkish," saith Cox; who quotes this story out of Stanihurst. Hist. Anglic. Vol. I. pag. 245.

Thro the influence of cardinal Pool, Fitzgerald was restored, by Edw. VI. to his estates, and by Queen Mary to the Earldom and all the honors of that noble house. Waræi annales, ad ann. 1536.

[d] He was, likewise, Vicar of Laraghbryne, being, by an inquisition of 3 and 4 of Philip and Mary, reported to be absent without royal licence; it is not certain when he was promoted to this benefice.

[e] This record states that Dean Bassenet, on the 5th of Jan. 38th Henry VIII. did imprison the precentor, treasurer, two archdeacons and fifteen prebendaries, who then formed the chapter of that cathedral. Excheq. roll 2d & 3d Phil. & Mar.

the blessing of the Archbishop; after which he proceeded towards the high altar, where he continued kneeling while the hymn, "Te Deum," was singing, he was there censed a second time and blessed, and service was performed by the Archbishop; after which the deputy arose from his place, proceeded to the altar, and having kneeled there for a certain space of time, offered a piece of gold; after which ceremony he dined with the Archbishop. [5]

The Dean was, this year, joined with others in a commission [f] for taking account of all lands or tenements, all plate, bells and other utensils, or sums of money, which lately had belonged to the churches or chapels of the diocess; they had it in command, likewise, to enquire into the state of such churches or chapels as were ruinous, and to report by whose fault they became so.

1558—In April the Dean and Chapter made a formal resignation, to the Chapter of Christ's church, of their right to several articles of plate, jewels, musical instruments, organs and vestments, which had been granted to them on the surrender of this cathedral. [g] In May the Bishop of Kildare was appointed, by the Queen, one of the commissioners for arraying the inhabitants of the county of Kildare, as a regular militia against the rebels: and, on the 12th of December he, with others of the privy council, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, elected Sir Henry Sidney Lord Justice, in the room of the Earl of Sussex.

1559—Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, sent this year a large English bible to the Dean and Chapter, to be placed on a reading desk in the middle of the choir, he conferred a like favour on the cathedral of Christ's church: it was very observable upon this occasion, saith Ware, how much all the people of the city were pleased with the prospect of having free use of the scriptures, for they came in vast crouds to both cathedrals, at time of divine service, to hear it read, and many, before and after service, shewed great impatience to read in the bible themselves, and the curiosity of people herein could not be satisfied until the year 1566, when John Dale, a Dublin bookseller, imported some small bibles from London, of which, in less than two years, he sold seven thousand copies. [6]

Leverous, having refused to take the oath of supremacy, was, in January this year, deprived both of his deanery and bishoprick; this penalty he suffered with all possible calmness, all other honours he was ready to allow the Queen, but he could not reconcile to his conscience her supremacy over the church.

In a book intitled, "De processu martyriali, &c." printed at Cologn, in 1649, his reason for non-compliance is recorded: the Lord Deputy required to know the cause of his refusal to take an oath already taken by many learned and illustrious men, to whom he made answer, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from Christ, and since he thought not fit to confer ecclesiastical authority on the Blessed Virgin, his mother, it could not be believed that supremacy, or primacy of ecclesiastical power, was meant to be delegated, by Christ, to any other person of that sex; he added, likewise, that St. Paul commanded no woman should speak in the church, much less should one preside and rule there; to confirm this opinion he adduced authorities from St. Chrysostom and Tertullian: the Deputy then represented to him, that if he should refuse to comply he must, of necessity, be deprived of all his revenues; he quoted, in answer, the text of scripture, "what shall it profit a man to gain

[5] MS. by Dr. John Lyon, from Cloch. MSS.

[6] Ware's annals.

[f] This commission bears date, 3d December; Hugh Corren, Archbishop of Dublin, and Thomas Lockewoode, Dean of Christ church, were joined in the same, the other commissioners were laymen. Similar commissions were issued, about the same time, for performing the like duty in other diocesses. Rot. Pat. Canc. 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar.

[g] The seal annexed, by the Chapter, to this document, is neither that which they used before the dissolution nor that which is now in use; if not the same, it much resembles Archbishop Browne's. See original deed among records of Christ's church.

the whole world and lose his own soul." Leverous will, however, receive less of our pity when we consider with what temperate zeal he joined the primate, George Dowdall, in depriving several bishops of their sees, and beneficed clergymen of their livings, in the preceding reign.

After Leverous had been stripped of his promotions he retired to the house of Girald, Earl of Desmond, by whom and his Countess, he was hospitably entertained; his piety, modesty and temperance was by them much extolled, nor was he less an object of their admiration for his zealous adherence to the doctrines and interests of the church of Rome.

In his latter years he kept a grammar school at the town of Adair, about twelve miles distant from Limerick; a short time before his death he removed to that city, there Richard Creagh, who had been titular archbishop of Armagh after the death of Dowdall, served under him in the quality of usher.

Leverous died in 1577, being then about eighty years old, he was interred in the church of St. David, at Naas, in the burial place of his family.

Sect. IV. ALEXANDER CRAIKE, *Dean.*

1560—Soon after the deprivation of Leverous the Chapter exercised its ancient privilege, of electing a Dean, which, by charter, had been recently confirmed; hence, we find Alexander Craike B. D. Prebendary of Clonmethan, in actual possession of that dignity, when, by letters patent of 21st August 1560, he was constituted Bishop of Kildare; there is, in this record, a clause to the following effect: "Inasmuch as the said Bishoprick, as well in spirituals and temporals, by continual and intolerable oppressions of the Irish rebels, is become so small and poor as to be insufficient for keeping of hospitality and maintaining other charges, which the said bishop is obliged to support; we do, therefore, commend and annex thereto the deanery of St. Patrick's, of which church the said Alexander is already dean, to hold with the said bishoprick, for term of life, &c." [a]

Craike was elected, however, upon the Queen's recommendation; in her letter of privy seal, dated Greenwich, 17th May in that year, whereby she nominated Alexander Craike to the bishoprick of Kildare, she writes as follows:

"We are pleased and contented that the same Alexander, for his better encouragemente to take this vocation upon him and to discharge the duetie belonginge thereunto, shall have allso, with the said busshoprick, in maner of augmentation and of a commendam, the deanrie of St. Patrickes, nowe beinge in our disposition, in like sorte as the late bushop of Kildare had."[1] The Queen, as appears by this letter, was ignorant of the real constitution of this church; and, it is probable, that the interval between this and the time the letters patent were passed, was employed in Craike's election, for in the patent he is mentioned as Dean "de facto." Craike was consecrated in his own cathedral by Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, and obtained orders for restitution of the temporalities, on the 22d of August.

A public clock [b] was, this year, put up on St. Patrick's steeple, it appears that this was the first time a clock was put up in Dublin for publick use, and the people of the city were much delighted therewith; shortly after the Lord Deputy ordered one to be put up on the castle of Dublin, and the Mayor had another fixed on the tholsel. [2]

[1] Rot. Pat. 2 Eliz. dorso.

[2] Ware's annals.

[a] The words are, "cui, tam de jure, quam de facto realiter jam incumbit, et Decanus existit." Rot. Pat. 2 Eliz. facie.

[b] However it may now seem, this was a remarkable event at the time it happened; Beckman informs us, in his History of Inventions, that the greater part of the principal cities in Europe were without striking clocks at the latter end of the fifteenth century, by reason that they could not be procured but at a great expense, of which he cites an instance in the city of Auxerre.

1561—On the 29th of June, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Deans of the two Cathedrals were joined, with others, in a commission for arraying the militia of the county of Dublin, during the absence of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant, who was, at that time, engaged in the north against O'Neil.

1562—On the 8th of July, the Queen sent an order requiring all persons to assist the proctors of this church in collecting honey, fruit, and other things, which had been paid, from the earliest period of time, from all parts of the province, to the Dean and Chapter, for the use of this cathedral; these, being either duties reserved in their leases or benefactions of the pious in ancient times, were to be applied to the repair of the church, which, during the suppression, had fallen much into decay: the proctors, however, were strictly prohibited from carrying about with them any pastoral staff, cross, mass-book, or other ensign of popery.[3]

On the 24th day of the same month the Earl of Sussex returned from England, and, on the following Wednesday, took the oaths, as Lord Lieutenant, in this cathedral, there he, likewise, received the sword of state; he continued, on Sundays and festivals, to frequent this church until the south wall of the nave of Christ church was re-built and a new roof made, both which had fallen down on the 3d of April this year.

Alexander Craike has been accused of stripping his bishoprick, which before was but ill endowed, of almost all the lands belonging to the see, and a degree of infamy will, for ever, attach to his name for so disgraceful an act: he exchanged those possessions with Patrick Sarsfield for some impropriated tithes, of small value; his successor, Robert Usher, endeavoured to wrest these lands out of the hands of the new proprietor, and Thomas Price, either from corruption, or the oscitancy natural to him, let slip a fair opportunity of recovering them for the see, when they were forfeited, in the rebellion of 1641.

Craike died in 1564,[c] and was buried in this cathedral.[d] Walter Harris remarks that, in the short space of three years and three months, he did more mischief to the see of Kildare than his successors were ever able to repair.

Sect. V. ADAM LOFTUS, *Dean.*

1564—After Craike's death the deanery continued vacant for some months; Adam Loftus or Lofthouse, Archbishop of Armagh, who was in England[a] at the close of the year 1564, did then solicit the Queen, that through her influence he might obtain that benefice, to hold in commendam with his archbishoprick; accordingly, she wrote to the Lord Justice and Chancellor a letter, dated 6th January 1564, which was to the following effect:

[3] See Append. Numb. XVI.

In the year 1483 the magistrates were desirous of having a clock constructed, but, as it would cost more than they thought they had a right to dispose of by their own authority, they applied to Charles VIII. requesting leave to employ a certain part of the public funds to that purpose. The first clock seen in Spain was set up in the cathedral of Seville, in 1460; the great clock, in the church of the Virgin Mary, at Nuremberg, was erected in 1462; a public clock was set up at Venice, in 1497; the great clock of St. Mary's, Oxford, was furnished in 1523, out of the fines imposed on students of the university.

Paris and Westminster had public clocks at an earlier period, they were thought to be of such importance, that persons were appointed, with salaries, to keep them in repair; Henry VI. of England appointed Will. Warby, Dean of St. Stephens, keeper of the public clock at Westminster, for which duty there was allotted to him a salary of six pence per diem, payable out of the Exchequer.

Those above mentioned were, all of them probably, placed on the outside of buildings, but striking clocks were known long before, and the Hon. Daines Barrington, in an article published, Archaiologia, Vol. VI. pag. 416, proves, from authorities there cited, that in Westminster-hall a clock was constructed, which was heard in the courts of law, so early as the 16th Edw. I. (1288.)

[c] The Queen's letter, granting the bishoprick of Kildare to Robert Daly, is dated, 16th April 1564.

[d] Under the altar, at the north side. Isaac Butler's MS. penes me.

[a] He had obtained a license of absence for three months, on the 15th November 1564.

" Ryght trusty and well-beloved and trusty and wel-beloved, we grete you well.

" Lyke as we had, hertofore, good reporte of the Archbusshop of Ardmaghan for his lernyng and outher good qualities mete for that vocation, so have we nowe, by good experience, perceyved hym to be very well endued with singuler good gyftes, mete for the place and dignytie, whiche he holdeth in the churche: insomuch as we thinke hym worthie not only to have, by our auctoritie, mayntenance for the admynystration of th' office whiche he hayth in that realme, but also souche favor as, from tyme to tyme, we may showe him for his advauncement to some better preferrment in the churche, and because, presentlie, we have no place, eyther in this realme or in that, whereunto to call hym, mete for his preferment, as we have an ernest intencion; and that the archbusshoppricke, which he hayth, is a place of a greate chardge, and in name and tytle only to be estemed, without eny wordly endowment of eny comyng towards hym; we have, for the present, determyned, that for some ayde to the chardges of his lyving, he shall have, by way of a commendam, the deanry of our colledge, named Saynct Patricks, untyl we shall outherwise provide for hym; and therefor we wyll that youe, our justice and all the rest of our mynysters there to whome it shall belonge, shall forthwith proceade to procure [b] that the said Archbushopp may be admytted to the sayd deanery, and enyoye the same with all manner of comodyties, preemynencies, and outher duties and ryghts to the same belonging, in as lardge and ample maner as eny deane there heretofore hayth, had, or ought to have and enyoye, as Deane of Saynct Patricks untyll, as befor is sayd, we shall provide some advancement outherwise for the sayd Archbusshop."

" And for souche writinges or doings as by youe are requysite to be made or done for the full admyssion of the sayd Archbussopp to the deanery aforsayd, in maner befor by us expressed, thiese, our letters, shal be to youe and every of youe to whom respectyvely it shall appertayne, warrant sufficiente in that behalfe."

" Yeven under our sygnet, at our pallace of Westminster, the 6th of January, the seventh yeare of oure reigne." [c]

The Chapter, accordingly, postulated the Archbishop to take the deanery in commendam, and we find that the Archbishop of Dublin, as patron, joined in the request to the Lord Justice Arnold, which postulation the latter, with the Queen's authority, approved of and confirmed on the 28th January 1564. [d]

Adam Loftus was the second son of Edward Loftus, of Swineshead, in the county of York, whose family did formerly possess considerable property, [e] as well in that county as in other parts of England, and from them Adam received a more than ordinary allowance for his support and education at the university of Cambridge; at which place, by his performance in a public act, wherein he displayed the part of a subtil disputant and florid orator, he engaged Queen Elizabeth's attention and admiration of his early abilities; to these qualities was joined, moreover, a comely

[b] This expression, in the Queen's letter, fully proves that she did not look upon the deanery as in her own gift, otherwise she would have presented Loftus in regular form.

[c] Rot. Pat. 7 Eliz. dorso & Dign. Dec. pag. 235. Loftus obtained, likewise, a letter from the Queen, dated 15th June, and directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, discharging him from payment of first fruits and twentieth parts.

[d] In the fiant are the following words: " Dictæ ecclesiæ canonici, capitulariter congregati, de futuro decano tractantes, tandem in Adamum, &c. vota sua unanimiter direxerunt, et eundem in decanum et commendatarium postularunt." Postulated not elected; postulation necessarily implies a right to elect in those who postulate, " Postulatio est quasi pars electionis, et per postulationem prevenitur ad effectum electionis." Panormitan. Rub. Postulat. It is thus defined, " Postulatio est gratiæ petitio a superiore facta, de promovendo aliquem ad prælationem ad quam, de jure communi, propter defectum aliquod vel impedimentum, elegi seu promoveri non poterat." Id. It differs from election inasmuch as, " Postulatio est gratiæ, Electio vero juris, &c." Id. It is used to superiors and particularly bishops, " Episcopus non est eligendus ad aliam dignitatem, sed postulandus." Id. To this act the consent of the patron is necessary, " Ad eum ad quem spectat confirmatio, etiam spectet postulationis admissio." Id. The fiant informs us that this was performed by the Archbishop, " Hugo, Archiepiscopus examinavit, et legitime factam invenit:" are the words of the record. Rot. Pat.

[e] The manuscripts of Robert Ware mention that the property possessed by this family was considerable, insomuch so that Adam, although a younger brother, inherited an estate, situated about Lodington, in Kent, which his grand-son, Sir Adam Loftus, of Rathfarnam, sold for three thousand pounds.

person and courtly address; the Queen encouraged him to proceed in his studies, and gave him her gracious promise that, in due time, she would promote him[f]: soon after she sent him into Ireland, in the quality of chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, who arrived in Dublin and was sworn Lord Lieutenant at Christ's church, on the 25th of June 1561; on the 8th of October following, Loftus was presented, by the crown, to the rectory of Painstown, in the diocess of Meath; he returned to England with his patron in the January following, and back to Ireland, with the Earl, in July 1562; soon after, by letter of privy seal dated 20th Jan. 1562,[i] he was advanced to the Archbishoprick of Armagh; accordingly, in March 1562, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, he was consecrated by Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin: so early as 30th October 1561, the Queen had appointed Loftus[g] to this see, and had directed the Chancellor to direct a sufficient "congé d'elire" to the Dean and Chapter, by authority whereof they might proceed to election; but Sussex, the Lord Lieutenant, by letters dated 2d September 1662, informed the Queen, that, by reason of the absence of sundry of the Chapter, the Dean could not proceed to election; but, for supply thereof, he devised to make him out, in the mean season, a commission for ordering ecclesiastical causes in that diocess, and that he should have her Majesties warrant to receive the rents of the Archbishoprick, without account; to this proposal the Queen signified her approbation by letters, dated Hampton-court, 5th October 1562.[h]

1566—On the 14th August, Loftus obtained, from the Queen, licence of absence for twelve months; indeed, during the time he possessed this dignity, he appears to have seldom honoured the cathedral with his presence; he was, during that short period, actively employed in the north; to relate his transactions there would, however, be foreign to the present subject.

1567—Archbishop Loftus was translated from Armagh to Dublin, by letters patent, dated 8th of August, having, in obedience to the Queen's letter, dated the 10th of June preceding, resigned the deanery of St. Patrick's, to the end that Dr. Weston, then newly appointed Chancellor of the realme, should be promoted to that dignity.[i]

Sect. VI. ROBERT WESTON, *Dean.*

1567—The Queen's letter to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, dated Westminster, 10th of June this year, contains, besides her order about the deanery, so many particulars relative to Loftus and Weston, that I have thought fit to insert some part of it in this place.

Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, desiring to be disburthened of the Chancellorship of Ireland; the Queen notified her intentions in the following words: "We have made, by good deliberation, a newe choise for the supplie of that rowlme of Chauncellor, by namynge thereunto our trustie and wel beloved Dr. Weston, Deane of the arches here, a man, for his learnynge and approved integritie, throwlie qualified to receave and possesse the same:" then, after giving orders that the great seal should be delivered to him, she says; "Wee are further pleased, for some encrease of his livinge, whiles he remaynethe in our service there, to give unto hym

[f] Among the list of persons presented by the crown in 1557, Rymer, Vol. XV. pag. 464, the name of Adam Loftouse occurs, who, in that year, obtained the perpetual vicarage of Gedne, in the diocess of Lincoln.

[g] Whom she stiles, "her well-beloved chaplain, Mr. Adam Lofthouse, professor of divinity."

[h] On the 3d March following, he had restitution of the spiritualities and temporalities, at that time he was batchelor in theology. Patent Roll, 5th Elizabeth.

[i] The Reader will find more of Adam Loftus among the Archbishops of Dublin.

[i] Rot. Pat. 5 Eliz. dorso.

the deanry of St. Patrick's, whereof the Archebusshoppe of Ardmaghe ys nowe Deane, and yet ys to leave yt at our order, as wee knowe he will: and therefore wee will, that youe move the said Archebusshoppe to surrender the same, and thereupon cause Dr. Weston, our Chauncellor, to be fullie admitted, under suche forme as outher Deanes of that place have, heretofore, obteyned and held the same; neverthelesse, for that our speciall meanyng ys, that he shall yelde over that deanrie agayne unto our dispocition, whensoever he shall leave the office to be our Chauncellor[a]; youe shall, before his acceptation thereof, take bonds of hym, to our use, in suche somme as, shall be fit for suche a cace, that he shall duelie accomplishe our intent and pleasur, for the surrender of yt in forme aforesaid."

"You shall likewise understande that, upon his newe sendinge over, wee have appoincted to be delivered unto hym of our treasure here, the somme of two hundred markes, and thereupon have geven hym, in respecte of his transportation and chardges on the waie, one hundred markes; the rest, our pleasure ys, shall be taken by hym as parcel of his interteignement, to be due for the rowme of Chauncellor, whereof youe shall geve notice unto our treasorer and to all outhers, havinge charge of his paiement, soo as they maye make defalcation in avoydinge of double chardges, whiche myght els growe by our said letters patents; bycause by the same, paiement ys due unto hym from the tyme of his entree into office."

"And whereas the Archebusshopricke of Dublin shall be presentlye voide, with the said Chauncellorshippe, by the revocation of the said now Archbushoppe, wee have determyned to conferre the same, by waie of translation, upon the Archebushoppe of Armaghe, autorisinge youe therefore to geve order that he maye fullie enyoie the said Archebusshopricke of Dublin by translation, upon this vacation thereof, &c."

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, 10th of June and ninth year of our reign."[1]

Robert Weston[b] was educated at All Souls College, Oxford, of which he was chosen fellow in 1536[2]; he applied himself, solely, to the study of the civil law, in which he commenced batchelor, 17th February 1537, and doctor in the same faculty, 8th July 1556,[4] he was the only person who obtained that degree in that year.[c]

He was principal of Broadgate-hall, in which principality he was succeeded by Thomas Randolph, on 20th November 1549; he was, likewise, deputy professor of civil law, at Oxford, for Dr. John Storie, whom Henry VIII. had appointed reader of the civil law in a lecture founded by himself in the year 1535, and joined to him as an assistant Dr. Weston, then a fellow of All Souls: in October 1559, he was made, by the Queen, a commissioner for administering the oaths prescribed, by the act of uniformity, to be administered to ecclesiasticks[5]; and, much about the same

[1] Rot. Pat. 9 Eliz. d. [2] Fasti Oxon. Bliss's edit. note from MS. [3] Fasti Oxon. 105. Bliss's edit.
[4] Fasti Oxon. 151. Bliss's edition. [5] Rymer, Vol. XV. pag. 547.

[a] It appears, from this passage, to have been resolved by the Queen, that this deanery should be always annexed to the chancellorship of the realm, for the purpose of augmenting the income of that office. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, in his letter to Secretary Cecil, dated 17th April 1566, had informed that minister how inadequate the means allowed were, to support the dignity of that station: "whosoever shall be Chauncellor here, "he writes," and have no other lyving here but five hundred pounds yerely for his office, yf his lyvinge be not the greater in Englande, he shall eyther lyve here like a miser, or come home a beggar, as I am lyke to doe." Collins collect. pag. 10.

[b] He was the third son of John Weston, of Lichfield, by Cicely Neville, and younger brother to Richard Weston, of Roxwell, in Essex, a justice of the common pleas, whose grandson, Richard, was afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England and Earl of Portland. Fasti Oxon. Bliss's edition, note from Hunter.

[c] "This Dr. Weston was the only doctor of his faculty that was licensed to proceed this year, at which time was such a scarcity of doctors of the civil law in the university, that there was a dispensation passed the house, that Thomas Darbyshire, an inceptor in that faculty, might undergo the place of doctor, in the depositions of the said Dr. Weston. Not one doctor of physic or divinity was admitted or licensed this year; William Wryght, batchelor of divinity and master of Baliol college, did supplicate to proceed, but was denied." Fasti Oxon. 151.

time he was one of the civilians consulted, relative to the propriety of the Queen's commission, granted 6th December 1559, for confirming Dr. Matt. Parker, elected Archbishop of Canterbury; his commission, for the office of Dean of the arches, was dated 12th January, [6] in the same year; in 1564 he was nominated, with others, to examine into and determine all matters of dispute, arising between the subjects of the crown of England and those of Philip, king of Spain. [7] [d]

1567—The realm of Ireland was, at this time, much infested with civil wars; O'Neil and the Munster rebels so occupied the Lord Deputy's time, that he had not leisure to attend to the daily complaints of sundry persons, one against another; for the hearing and appeasing of such matter, and for the better administration of justice, the Lord Deputy had long been suitor to her Majesty, that a Chancellor should be sent over; in compliance with his request, the Queen sent over Dr. Weston, who arrived at Dublin in July, and was sworn into office, 8th August 1567; "a notable and singular man," says Hooker, "by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of justice, and so seuere therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced, or auerted from the same; and so much good in the end inssued of his vpright, diligent and dutifull seruice, as that the whole realme found themselues most happie and blessed, to haue him serue among them." [8] [e]

The Lord Deputy was, soon after, ordered by the Queen to return to England, and, by her letters, dated 12th August 1567, she directed that the Chancellor, Robert Weston, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, Treasurer at war and Vice-treasurer of the kingdom, should be appointed Lords Justices; letters patent accordingly passed the great seal to that effect, on the 9th of October [9]; on the 14th they were sworn into office at the church of the Holy Trinity; "the one of them being verie well learned, "says Hooker," just and vpright, the other verie wise, and of great knowledge and experience in the affaires of the land; both being like well minded to doo hir majestie seruice, did most louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other, according to the seueral gifts which GOD had bestowed vpon them; by which means they passed their gouernment verie well and quietlie, to the great contentation of hir majestie, the commendation of themselues, and the common peace of the countrie." [10]

1568--Sir Henry Sidney returned to Ireland in September, and having reassumed the government, he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin, on the 17th of January, on which day he proceeded in state, from Christ's church to the parliament-house, to open the session; and, he being seated under the cloth of estate, the Lord Chancellor addressed, to the lords and commons, a very eloquent oration, declaring what law was, the great effect and value thereof, and how the common society of men was thereby maintained; after this preface he displayed the vigilant care exercised, by her Majesty, over the welfare of her subjects, informed them, that she had caused this present parliament to be assembled, that, by their advice, such good laws might be decreed as would tend to the honour of GOD, the preservation of her Majesties person and crown, and safety of the commonwealth; he then addressed himself to the knights and burgesses, whom, for the avoiding of confusion, he desired to assemble in an house appointed for themselves, and there to make

[6] See Kennet. [7] Rymer, Vol. XV. pag. 639. [8] Hollingshed, Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 336.
[9] Pat. Roll, 9th Elizabeth. [10] Hollingshed, Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 339.

[d] In 1560 he was Chancellor of the diocess of Lichfield. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Bliss's edit. from Cole. Wood mentions that he was, likewise, Chancellor of the diocess of Exeter. Fast. Oxon. 151. Bliss's edition.

choice of some wise and sufficient man to be their speaker; he then closed his speech with an exhortation to obedience and dutifulness; after which the house adjourned until Thursday, the 20th of January."

On the 13th of June, Thomas Lancaster, Prebendary of Stagonyl, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin; upon this occasion he preached his own consecration sermon, on the subject of regeneration; after divine service he entertained, at his house in the close, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the two assisting bishops, Meath and Kildare; on the 26th of March following, he obtained a faculty from the crown, which enabled him to hold, along with the see of Armagh, his prebend in St. Patrick's, and some other benefices in England and Ireland.

Many examples of the shameful use of faculties and dispensations occur, about this period of time, nor was the Dean the only lay member of the chapter: with a view to reform these abuses, as well as the shameful non-residence of some of the canons, the Archbishop held a visitation at the cathedral, on the 12th of July, this year[f]; the Dean, hereupon, exhibited the Archbishop of Canterbury's dispensation from taking holy orders; Thomas Ythel, Prebendary of Castleknock and doctor of laws, being asked, why he did not take holy orders, and reside on his prebend? pleaded[g] to the first, that he had the dispensation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he produced, and it was read accordingly; for non-residence he pleaded a like dispensation, during the time he should pursue his studies at Cambridge; this latter instrument he had left in England, and required time to produce it; he was, accordingly, allowed until the 20th of the next following May; on that day Robert Conway appeared, as his proxy, and stated, that Ythel had arrived at Chester the 8th, and having, on the 16th, set sail from Hilbrig, was driven back by adverse wind into Beaumaris, whereby he was delayed until near the time appointed to exhibit his faculty; he prayed, therefore, a further time, until the feast of St. John the Baptist, which was agreed to.[h]

1570—The Queen, this year, conferred upon Dean Weston the deanery of Wells, in England, to be held in commendam[12]; he continued to hold it, accordingly, until his death: in the same year Richard Dixon, Prebendary of Rathmichael, was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Cloyne.

1571—Two Dignitaries of this cathedral, Nicholas Walsh, Chancellor, and John Kerney, Treasurer, distinguished themselves, about this time, by the introduction of Irish types; they procured an order from the government, for printing the common prayer in that language, and, likewise, that a church should be set apart in the

[11] Hollingshed, Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 341.

[12] Le Neve, Fasti.

[e] By letter of privy seal, dated 29th September, this year, directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, the Attorney-general, &c. the Dean was discharged from the payment of first fruits and twentieth parts, for the deanery. The following passage forms part of the Queen's letter: "Wee let you wyt, that consideringe he (Dean Weston) hath the said deanerye but during the tyme he shall remayne Chancellor there, or otherwyse as yt shall please us, and ys removeble from the said deanerye at our will and pleasure, we never ment that he shold be charged with the payment, eyther of the first fruits of the said deanrye or of the twentieth parts, yerely, of the same, &c." Auditor General's office.

[f] Those transactions are recorded in a little volume in the Archbishop's possession; the matters contained therein, relate, chiefly, to the years 1568 and 1569; the Archbishop's visitations of this cathedral were unusually frequent; during the year 1569, they were held on the 19th April, 18th of June, 22d October, 2d, 9th, 14th and 19th of November, 12th December, 14th and 18th January, 25th February, 3d and 6th March, and on the 19th November. On the 12th of December, the Archbishop, with consent of the chapter, fined four members of the chapter four marks for not appearing, when cited; sentence of deprivation, for non-residence, was proclaimed against J. Wolpe, Edward Crofts, and Leonard Fitzsimmons; Wolpe, however, appeared at a visitation, held on the 3d of March following. The acts of chapter, recorded in this visitation book, are set down in a very confused way.

[g] He pleaded, likewise, "quod neque tenetur juris vi, neque de primæva fundatione, neque statutis dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath. aut in sacris initiari ordinibus, aut ad personalem residentiam in dicta ecclesia; referendo se ad jura, fundationem, et statuta prædicta."

[h] His letter of dispensation was dated 2d February 1565; on the 10th June 1567, he was collated to the second prebendal stall in the cathedral church of Ely; he was, also, Chancellor of that diocess and Master of Jesus college, Cambridge; he died about May 1579. See Le Neve, Fasti; and Bentham's history of the cathedral church of Ely, pag. 244.

chief town of each diocess, where the liturgy should be read in that language and a sermon preached, by which means many persons were converted to the established church: the first book printed in this language, with Irish characters, was a catechism, written by this Kerney.

1573—On the 20th of May, the Lord Chancellor, Weston, died, which was a matter of great regret to the Lord Deputy, who lost in him a faithful counsellor, and one of his chiefest and truest assistants. Mr. John Hooker, a cotemporary writer, gives us, in the following passage, an interesting account of his behaviour during his last illness, it comprises, moreover, an ample testimonial of his extraordinary merit. "Besides these vniuersall troubles"—"it pleased GOD to call, out of this miserable life, Doctor Weston, Lord Chancellor"—"a man, in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currents of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of councell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and vncorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men; and as was his life so was his death, who, a little before the same, called his houshold, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings apperteined; then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in praiers and exhortations."

"At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his houshold and friends, in his chamber, vnto which all the councell came and were partakers; and then, these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the councell, persuading them to be vertuous and zelous in GOD's true religion; then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie; and, lastlie, remembring their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of GOD, honor to the queene, and benefit to the whole realme; which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie and effectuallie, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie; after this doone he bid them farewell, and not long after, he being feruent in his praiers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like."[13]

Dean Weston was buried in his own cathedral, under the communion table, in the same vault where his grand-daughter, the Countess of Cork, was afterwards entombed.

The effigies of Dean Weston, in a recumbent posture, arrayed in his robes of state, are placed under an arch which occupies the upper part of the monument erected by his grand-son, the Earl of Cork; an inscription, to his memory, is placed under the figure, for which the reader is referred to the description of the monument itself.[14]

He left one only son, John, who obtained the degree of doctor of laws, at Oxford, in the year 1590; he was, afterwards, treasurer of the cathedral of Christ-church there[15]: he died in the year 1632, aged eighty years, and was interred in the north wing of the cathedral of Christ-church, Oxford.

Dean Weston's daughter, Alice,[i] married, first, Hugh Brady, Bishop of Meath[16]; she had, for her second husband, Sir Geoffry Fenton, Secretary of state, whose only daughter, Catherine, was married to Richard, first Earl of Cork.

[13] Hollingshed, Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 373. [14] See addit. notes, pag. liv. [15] Fasti Oxon, 252.
[16] Fasti Oxon. 151. Bliss's edit. from Hunter.

Sect. VII. WILLIAM GERRARD, *Dean.*

1576—William Gerrard[a] was created Chancellor, by letters patent, some time before the termination of this year; but, whether a recommendation to the deanery was included therein, cannot be now ascertained, as the chancery roll of the year is lost; however, that he was Dean about this time is evident, as well from some old leases still preserved in the registry of St. Patrick's, as from the Queen's letter of 28th Jan. discharging him from the payment of first fruits and twentieth parts.[b]

He arrived in Dublin on the 16th of June,[1] and was immediately occupied in defending the legality of the cess,[c] against the lords of the pale; who, in their appeal to the Lord Deputy, maintained that taxes ought not to be laid on them, by proclamation of the council, but only, by act of parliament; they, moreover, complained that the same was exceeding grievous, amounting to upwards of ten or twelve pounds from each plow-land; the Chancellor, who, upon this occasion, defended the rights of his royal Mistress, answered the petitioners by saying, that the demanding of cess was a branch of regal prerogative, and exercised as such since

[1] Hollingshed, Vol. VI. pag. 382.

[a] William Gerrard is stiled, "of Chester," in a MS. of Harl. lib. No. 1441, pag. 15; from whence we, likewise, learn that he had two brothers, who, as well as himself, were knights; Sir Thomas Gerrard, of Lancashire; and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, who was Attorney General, and afterwards Master of the Rolls, to Queen Elizabeth; the son and heir of Sir William married Jane, daughter and heir of William Almer, Esq. of Pentoyokin, in Denbighshire. Their arms are blazoned, thus; quarterly, 1st and 3d azure, a lion saliant, ermyne; 2d and 4th argent, three annulets gules, between two cotises, sable.

[b] According to Walter Harris, in his edition of the works of Sir Jas. Ware, Vol. II. pag. 111; Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed lord keeper of the great seal, 25th March 1573; Weston died the 23d of May, it was on the 25th day of that month, the seal was committed to the custody of the prelate above-named, by the Lord Deputy and Council; he held them until Gerrard was appointed Chancellor; the same writer fixes the date of Gerrard's nomination to the Chancellorship to be 23d April 1576, I know not on what authority. The Queen's letter alluded to in the text, dated 28th January, 19th Elizabeth, was presented by Gerrard, on 23d April, 19th Eliz. to the Barons of the Exchequer, which answers to the year of our Lord 1577. This letter of privy seal was to the following effect: "Right trusty and well beloved, &c. Whereas we have appointed unto our trusty and right well beloved William Gerrard, Esq. our Chancellor of Ireland, to have the deanry of St. Patrick's there, as in commendam, towards his better entertainment, and to enable him, the more, to do us service in that office, as we did to Mr. Doctor Weston, deceased, late Chancellor there: we let you to wit, our meaning and will is, that he be not charged with the payment, either of the first fruits of said deanry, or of the twentieth parts, &c."

[c] John Hooker informs us (Holling. Chron. Vol. VI. p. 389,) that this cess was "a prerogatiue of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price, called the Queen's price, to all and euerie such souldiors as she was contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the Lord Deputies house;" and he adds, "which price is to be yeerely rated and assessed by the Lord Deputie and the Counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices, as the souldior may liue of his wages, and the said Deputie of his interteinment." It is not very wonderfull, that a free people should murmur at such a stretch of prerogative as is here laid claim to, and which had, moreover, been, just before, extended, upon no higher authority than a proclamation of the Lord Deputy and Council; nor ought we to admit the words, wherewith Hooker qualifies this account, to form, properly, a part of the definition; for, if what he calls the "Queen's price," was reasonable, there could never have been a clamour raised against it, nor could an ordinance, requiring the sale of goods, at a reasonable price, deserve, at any time, to be called an impost or cess; it appears, likewise, from his own narrative, that this tax was not assented to by the nobility of the country; for the substance of the commissioners complaint was, that it had been established, without the authority of parliament, (that is, the "magnates," which is the word on all the ancient parliament rolls, and may be translated, nobility); moreover, the scope of his own argument is to prove the royal prerogative allsufficient, in such a case; and the reader will be able to judge, from the following passages, what sort of an historian he was, into whose hands it has fallen, to write an account of this unsuccessful struggle against oppression, which was, after all, no otherwise exerted than by a respectful petition, or remonstrance, to the throne.

Speaking of the lawyers, who had been deputed to represent their grievances, he says, that they had been, sometime, "students in the ins of the court in London, and being acquainted with Littleton's tenures, thought themselues so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law; but if they had, first, "he adds," looked into the booke of GOD, they would haue found it written there, that it was GOD himselfe who first made kings, and established their thrones"—"that all inferiors and subjects should, and ought, in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse, submit themselues vnto the obedience of them, for the Lord's sake, bicause so is it the will of GOD, without sifting of his authority, or examining his gouernment; for there is no power, but of GOD, and they are ordeined of GOD; wherfore, whoso resisteth them, resisteth GOD"—"if this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the prince's prerogatiue with their Littleton's tenures?"

After a long sermon, in favour of passive obedience and non-residence, from which I have extracted the few passages given above, and an account of the Queen's great forbearance, in proceeding to no greater extremities than imprisonment, for an offence which appears to have been, after all, no more than a respectful remonstrance; the historian concludes with an acknowledgement which proves, that those people were not easily set against their governors; he admits, that since their first arrival in Ireland, in the time of the conquest of Henry II. the inhabitants of the English pale did never rebel against the crown of England, nor had ever been known to have broken their faith or allegiance. Hollings. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 394.

the time of Edward III. that necessity and self preservation required it; and, as to the amount, if they pleased, it should be settled at five marks the plow-land; the petitioners were not, however, contented, but appealed to the queen, to whom a deputation of three lawyers was accordingly sent; the act of deputation was signed by the chief lords and gentlemen of the pale, in the name of all the inhabitants: after an examination before the English council, her Majesty decreed, that the impost originated in times beyond the memory of man; and, as a punishment for the petitioners opposing thus the royal prerogative, she sent the agents, first to the fleet prison, and afterwards to the tower, and ordered the Lord Deputy to do the same with the petitioners in Ireland, who were accordingly committed to the castle of Dublin: finding, however, how little their opposition could avail, they were glad to compound for their liberties by submitting to the cess. [2]

On the 19th of October, the Chancellor wrote a letter to the Queen, proposing some reformation in the state of Ireland; it is extant among the manuscripts of Lambeth library. [3]

1577—In September, Gerrard was sent over, by the Lord Deputy and council of Ireland, to inform her Majesty of some matters, relating to the affairs of that kingdom; he had an allowance of forty shillings a day, during his absence; the object of this deputation appears to have been, to satisfy the Queen and council of England, relative to certain accusations, which had been preferred against the government; the instructions, given by the Lord Deputy and council, are, as I am informed, still preserved in the Lambeth library; his licence of absence, dated 14th September, was for three months, or longer if occasion might require, and, during that time, the great seal was given into the custody of Archbishop Loftus. [4]

The conduct of the Lord Chancellor was highly approved of by the Queen; in her letter to the Lord Deputy, of the 19th of May following, she highly commended him, and granted him licence to transport yarn, notwithstanding the statute; she, likewise, ordered the Lord Deputy not to leave the government, until the Lord Chancellor should arrive [5]; he returned in August following, and, on the 12th of September 1578, about eight o'clock at night, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, took boat at the Wood-quay, in Dublin, and there delivered the sword to the Chancellor, which remained in his custody until the 14th, when, in presence of the nobility, assembled at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, he administered the oath to Sir William Drury, knight, lord president of Munster, to whom, as Lord Justice of Ireland, he then delivered the sword. [6]

1579—Sir William Drury did not long enjoy this dignity; being very zealous in the Queen's service, he underwent great fatigue, destroyed his health by long marches, and living like a common soldier in the camp; feeling a decay gaining fast upon him, he retired to Waterford, sent for the Lord Chancellor, Gerrard, and Lady Thane his wife, who arrived on 27th September 1579, just two days before the death of the Lord Justice; the body being embalmed, it was brought to Dublin, where it lay in state several days, and was interred, by the Queen's orders, at her special charge, in the cathedral of St. Patrick; a monument, with his effigies, was erected there, which, Dudley Loftus, in his annals, informs us, existed in his time; but no part thereof is now discoverable.

Sir William Pelham was sworn Lord Justice in the room of Drury; when he received the sword of state, in the presence chamber at the castle, he honoured the Chancellor with the degree of knighthood, in consideration, says Hooker, of his

[2] Cox, Vol. I. pag. 349, & Hollings. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 389. [3] Numb. 616. [4] Pat. Roll.
[5] Cox, Vol. I. pag. 353. [6] Pat. Roll.

good services, in causes of the council table, and in token of her majesties approbation of the same. [7]

Sir William was, soon after, dispatched to England by the Lord Deputy, with a report to the Queen and Council, concerning the state of affairs in Ireland, and the Archbishop was, again, made keeper of the great seal, during his absence; the letter, granting him licence of absence, is dated 17th October, it allows him, moreover, to continue in England during pleasure, and, to transport horses, hawkes, money, and all necessaries. [8]

1580—The Lord Chancellor was appointed chief commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in Ireland, but he found himself in so bad a state of health, during the summer of this year, that he was obliged to go to England; he was indulged in this respect, by the Queen's letter of licence, dated 8th of August, which permitted him to repair to England, so often as he should find himself weak of body, and to continue there until he should recover. [9]

1581—Dean Gerrard died at Chester, about the beginning of this year, and, on the 1st of May, was buried at the church of St. Werburgh, in that city.

Sect. VIII. Thomas Jones, *Dean.*

1581—Thomas Jones, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, was elected Dean upon the death of Lord Chancellor Gerrard.

He was son of Sir Roger Jones, Knt. Alderman of London, of a family who had, for a long time, resided in Lancashire, in which county he was born: he received his education at Christ-church college, Cambridge, where he obtained the degree of master of arts; when he had taken orders he came into Ireland, and married Margaret, daughter of Adam Purdon, Esq. of Lurgan-race, in the county of Louth, relict of John Douglass, Gent. and sister to the wife of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, to which alliance he was, probably, indebted for this, and perhaps some subsequent promotions. [a]

1584—On the 31st of March, Dean Jones and his Chapter made a shameful lease of the manor of Colemine, the most valuable estate of the Oeconomy, which contained, according to their own survey, two hundred and fifty-three acres of land; the year before, it had been demised for eighty years, at the rent of forty shillings per annum; a reversion of eighty-one years more, was, this day, granted, at the same rent; thus was a lease of one hundred and sixty-one years given, of a large portion of the possessions of this cathedral, for what may be deemed less than a twentieth part of its value, at that time [b]; in the preceding year, he demised two orchards in Bride-street, near the chanter's park, for a term of sixty years, reserving only the trifling rent of four shillings Irish, or three shillings sterling, yearly.

[7] Hollings. Chron. Vol. VI. pag. 421, 4to. edit. [8] Roll, 21st Eliz. [9] Pat. Roll.

[a] There was a singular congruity in the events which befel each of those persons; they were educated at the same university, married two sisters, both were Deans of St. Patrick's, Archbishops of Dublin, Chancellors and Lord Justices of Ireland; each of them left a more numerous progeny than any of their predecessors or successors in those dignities, and the elder branch of both families were ennobled in the persons of their immediate heirs; there is reason to believe, from the events recorded of them, that their private characters resembled each other much in the same way.

[b] The original lease, in reversion, is still extant among the records of this church; on the back of it Dean Swift has written as follows:

"A lease of Colemine, made by that rascal Dean Jones, and the knaves or fools, his chapter, to one John Allen, for eighty-one years, to commence from the expiration of a lease of eighty years, made in 1583; so that there was a lease for one hundred and sixty-one years, of two hundred and fifty-three acres, in Tassagard parish, within three miles of Dublin, for two pounds per annum: this would not expire till the year 1744, and the lands are now, probably, worth, at the full rent, one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and so near Dublin could not, then, be worth less than fifty pounds per annum; how the lease was surrendered I cannot yet tell."

"January 31st, 1714. J. Swift."

When Bishop of Meath, Jones alienated a great portion of the lands of that see to Thomas Loftus, son to Archbishop Adam Loftus; that prelate had procured a royal licence to confirm the grant, it bears date 27th Nov. 40th Eliz. (1597.)

The ceremony of creating a peer took place, this year, at this cathedral; it is described as follows, by Nicholas Narbonaile, Ulster, King at arms.

On Rogation-sunday, being the 5th of May, the honorable Sir John Bourk [c] was created Lord Baron of Leitrim, in manner as followeth.

The said John Bourke went, after the sermon, into the chapter-house, accompanied with divers gentlemen and lords, where he put on his surcoat and hood; and, also, there was present the Lord Baron of Slane and the Lord Baron of Trimleston, who both put on their robes of Parliament, and the Lord of Slane took the said Sir John by the right arm, and the Lord Trimleston by the left, and Anthony Colclothe, Knt. did bear the said Sir John's mantle before him, and Ulster, King at arms, did bear his patent, all wearing the Queen's coat of arms, and so proceeded out of the chapter-house into the body of the church, where sat the Lords Justices in a seat prepared for them, the Council standing around them.

Then Ulster, King at arms, delivered the letters patent unto the Lord Chancellor, who delivered them to the Master of the Rolls, and the Master of the Rolls to James Ryan, to read them, and when he came to the words, "Creamus, &c." the said robe was put on him, and Ryan proceeded in reading the rest of the patent; and, that ended, Sir Henry Wallop, being the second Lord Justice, did dub all the three Lords, Knights; the Lord Chancellor did then give Sir John his oath of allegiance, by the name of Baron of Leitrim; and this done, Ulster, King at arms, went from the Lords Justices down to the font, and then returned again to the Lords Justices, and then the sword of justice was delivered to the new Baron, to bear before the Lords Justices; and, thus they proceeded unto the Lord of Leitrim's lodgings, where they had a noble dinner. [1]

On the 9th of the same month, being Ascension day, Sir Theobald de Butler was, with like ceremonial, created Baron of Cahir. [2]

On the 10th of the same month Dean Jones was promoted, by letters patent, to the see of Meath; he had been recommended, from Ireland, as a person, for his learning, wisdom and other virtuous qualities, fit to be advanced to a Bishoprick; and, on the 18th of April, the Queen wrote, from Westminster, to the Lords Justices, to make out such writings for his election, consecration, and restitution of the temporalities of the Bishoprick of Meath, as were, by the laws in like cases, appointed; he was, accordingly, consecrated in this church, on the 12th of the same month.

On the 21st of June, Sir John Perrott was sworn Lord Deputy in this cathedral.

Sect. IX. RICHARD MEREDYTH, *Dean.*

1584—The Deanery being rendered vacant by the advancement of Jones, Richard Meredyth was, by letters patent, bearing date 13th June 1584, nominated his successor. [a]

Meredyth was born in Wales, [b] and received his education in Jesus college, Oxford, where he commenced batchelor of arts, 4th March 1572 [1]; he obtained his master's degree, 1st June 1575. [2]

He came over to Ireland, a short time before he was nominated to the deanery, in the quality of chaplain to the Lord Deputy Perrot, on whose account he was, afterwards, a considerable sufferer.

[1] Ware's MSS. [2] Ware's MSS. [1] Fasti Oxon. 189. Bliss's Edit. [2] Do. 199.

[c] He was second son the Earl of Clanricard.

[a] In the "fiant" are the words, "Iam vacantem et, hâc vice, &c. ad nostram donationem."

[b] "This Richard Meredyth was the son of Robert Meredyth ap Gronw, descended from Ithel Velyn of Tal, and of Margeret, daughter of William John ap Gronw, descended from Llowarch Holbwarch his wife: he should, by his pedigree, be a Denbighshire man; this, I find, is registered in the herald's visitation of Caernarvon and Anglesey; he was of the same family, and nearly related to Richard Davies, Bishop of St. Davids." Humphreys. Addition, by last editor, to Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 842.

1586—On the 4th of May, this year, the Lord Deputy presented Dean Meredyth to the rectory of Loghrea, in the diocess of Clonfert, which was declared void by reason of the insufficiency of Malachy O'Hogan, who, being a lay-man, was therefore deprived[1]; he held, also, with his deanery, the rectory of Killadorie, in the diocess of Kildare.

1587—On the 16th of March the Dean obtained a licence, from the government, to go to England for four months.[2]

1589—After that see had been vacant for nearly two years, Dean Meredyth was promoted to the Bishoprick of Leighlin, his letters patent are dated 13th April, and those for his consecration and restitution to the temporalities, the day following.[3]

The Queen's letters of privy seal are dated the 11th of January preceding; her reasons for permitting him to hold the deanery, in commendam, with the Bishoprick, are expressed in the following terms:

"For that the Bishoprick is not worth above fifty pounds per annum or thereabouts, and, whereas, we being informed of the sufficiency of Richard Meredyth, Dean of St. Patrick's; for these respects, as also for his learning and zeal to good religion, now recommended by the late Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrott, and the Lord Chancellor, and other Bishops, we have therefore, &c." She farther observes, "that the Bishoprick of Leighlin is seated in the borders, between the O'Mores and the Cavanaghes, that it was then voyd, and requisite to be supplied by a man of quality, able, as well for life as learning, by good example and teaching to draw those people to a better knowlege of their dutys to GOD and to us, as also for his behaviour, by good hospitalitie to become the more acceptable to them;" she, likewise, commands, that the letters patent shall grant him admission to all manner of rights, appertaining to the Bishoprick; but, likewise, all arrears of the same during the vacancy, and, also, that he may enjoy the deanery of St. Patrick's during his life. He was consecrated by Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, and on this occasion made a bountiful feast at the deanery.

Meredyth, on the last day of April, took possession of the episcopal seat at Leighlin, and rebuilt the house, which, from its situation in the midst of hostile clans, he was obliged to surround with a strong stone wall.[c] Before the end of the year he was committed to the tower of London, through the influence, probably, of the same party which overwhelmed his patron, Sir John Perrot; the nature of his crime is not, at this present day, discoverable, but it is certain that a fine, of two thousand pounds sterling, was imposed on him in the Star-chamber; for the discharge of this debt he was compelled to give his bond, whereby he charged the revenues of deanery with the payment of the annual sum, of three hundred marks, to commence with the first of April 1593.[4] On the 10th of the same month the Queen assigned this sum, to the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Master of the Rolls; to be enjoyed by them, besides the ordinary fees belonging to their respective offices; and in default of payment, she ordered the Lord Deputy to make seizure of the deanery: on the 6th of May she commanded, that for the better accommodating the officers above-mentioned, over and above their ordinary allowance, they should enjoy the residentiary houses of two prebendaries of St. Patrick's, Dr. Bancroft, Prebendary of Malahidert, and Mr. Atye, who were resident in England, without paying any rent for the same; and desired that, for the third, choice should be made of another house, belonging to some of the

[1] Pat. Roll. [2] Pat. Roll. [3] Pat. Roll. [4] Rot. Pat. 35 Eliz. facie.

[c] The annals of Duysk, under the year 1589, have as follows: "Ricardus Meredyth, natione Cambro-Britannus, Decanus ecclesiæ cathedralis S. Patricii, Dublin, ultimo Aprilis, sedem episcopalem Leghlinensem intravit, et domum ejusdem episcopalem re-edificavit, et muro lapideo circumsepit." Har. Col. pag. 323.

non-resident prebendaries, whereof, says her Majesty, "there are over many living out of that realme."

1595—Henry Ussher, Archdeacon of Dublin, was, by the Queen's letter of the 24th of May, and by letters patent of 22d July, advanced to the primacy of Ireland, along with which he was allowed to hold the Archdeaconry, in commendam.

1597—On the 21st of April this year, Rich. Bancroft, Prebendary of Malahidert, was elected Bishop of London, and consecrated on the 8th of May following; in 1604 he was translated to the see of Canterbury. [a]

Bishop Meredyth died [d] on the 3d of August, and was buried on the north side of St. Patrick's church, near to the consistorial court, according to the directions given in his will [e]: his heirs erected a handsome monument over him, which was, however, totally defaced in the year 1688, when this part of the church was, by King James's soldiers, converted into a stable; near the same place, on the pier between the first and second windows, a monument of black marble has been since erected, by the representatives of the family. The inscription thereon is as follows:

Here lyeth the body of
Richard Meredyth, D. D.
Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, [f]
and Dean of this Cathedral of St.
Patrick's; who died, August
the 3d, A. D. 1597.
In memory of whom, and seve-
rall of his family, who lye here
Interred; this Monument is erected
by Richard Meredyth of Shrow-
land, in ye County of Kildare, Esq.
Charles Meredyth of Newton,
Dean of Ardfert, and Arthur
Francis Meredyth, Esq. both in y^e^
County of Meath; being ye re-
maining branches of his
Family, 1734.

Repaired Anno 1768,
by Sarah Meredith, otherwise Paul,
(Relict of the above Rich^d^. Meredith)
Thomas Meredith of Newtown, and
Arthur Meredith of Dollarstown,
Esqrs.

[a] Le Neve, Fasti.

[d] Sarah, the Dean's widow, who was daughter of —— Batho, re-married with Adam, second son of Robert Loftus, the Archbishop's elder brother, who was the first Viscount Loftus of Elye; she died 1st Aug. 1650. Archdall, Peerage, Vol. VII. page 247.

His eldest son, Robert, was knighted by Lord Strafford, 6th September 1635; he was a Privy Counsellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer; he and Sir Thomas Rotheram were the only members of the council, who met on the 21st October 1641, in obedience to the summons of Lord Justice Parsons, upon the first intimation of the rebellion. See Owen O'Conally's exam. Temple's rebellion, page 21.

In 1647 he was appointed, with Sir Robert King, Col. John Moore, Mr. Annesley, and Michael Jones, to take the government of Ireland, in the room of the Marquis of Ormond. See Carte's Ormond, Vol. I. pag. 603.

The country residence of Sir Robert, and his descendants, was at Greenhills, and Shrowland, in the county of Kildare. William, his eldest son, was created a Baronet, in the life-time of his father, 20th November, 12th Charles II.

Thomas, the Dean's second son, was also knighted; he settled at Dollardstown, in the county of Meath, where his family continued, afterwards, to reside; he married, first, Letitia, eldest daughter of Sir Faithful Fortescue; and, secondly, a

Sect. X. JOHN RIDER, *Dean.*

1597—Upon the death of Meredyth, the Queen caused a letter to be written, requiring, that John Rider, A. M. should be elected to the deanery; the answer of Archbishop Loftus to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, is to be found in Strype's ecclesiastical annals[1]; it may well be deemed worthy of insertion here.

" It may please your Lordship.

" Immediately after the receipt of your letters, signifying her Majesty's pleasure and commandement, in the behalf of Mr. Ryder, to the deanry of St. Patrick's, I assembled my Chapiter, and made the same known unto them, whom I found humbly willing, according to her Majesty's pleasure, to make election of him: but, forasmuch as they made a scruple to elect him until he were a member of themselves, which they alledge to be done by them in discharge of their consciences, being sworn to the form of their foundation; I have, to remove that scruple, reserved a prebend, now void and in my gift, for Mr. Ryder, which, presently on his arrival, I will admit him unto; and have taken the hands of my Chapiter thereupon, to elect him, which I assure your Lordship, upon my credit, (which I would not break with you for all the Deanries and Bishopricks of Ireland,) shall be done within ten days next after his coming. Whereunto I find my said Chapiter the more willing (although there be, among themselves, as many learned graduates as belong to any one church, that I knowe, in England,) because they acknowledge your Lordship to be a chief pillar, for the upholding of their church."

" And so, hoping that your Lordship will rest well satisfied, for this time, with the proceedings aforesaid, I commend you, with all my prayers, to GOD's blessing: from Dublin, 29th of November 1597.

Your Lordship's humble at command,

Ad. Dublin."

Before he set out from England, Rider was forced to promise the Lord Treasurer, that he would, after his election and installation, continue the payment of three hundred marks per annum, during the remainder of the term his predecessor was bound to pay the same; accordingly, he executed a bond to this effect, and bound himself in a penalty of one thousand pounds, to pay that sum, annually, for five years, from 1st April 1598; this bond was cancelled 30th of September 1602; the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, having signified, that they had received full satisfaction from Dean Rider.

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daughter of Gerald, first Visc. Drogheda. The heiress of this branch of the family married Richard Gorges, of Catherine's-grove, who took the name of Meredyth, and was made a Baronet, 28th August 1787, but the title became extinct, by his death without issue male. His daughter, and heiress, married Sir Marcus Somerville, Bart. county Meath. See more of this family in Note A, at the end of this volume.

[e] Bishop Meredyth's will is dated, 28th July 1597; he bequeathed, to the Mayor and Corporation of Dublin, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, for ever, to be delivered, by them, to two or four of the youngest Merchants of that city, for the space of four years and no longer; for the repayment of this sum, at the expiration of that time, they were to give sufficient security, and, also, to pay weekly, in St. Patrick's cathedral, the value of eighteen pence in beef or fish, according to the time of the year, and eighteen pence in bread, every sabbath day, during the four years; which was to be for the use of three poor impotent persons, to be named by the Mayor and Corporation; but, if the said sum should not be applied to that purpose, by the said Mayor and Corporation, he willed, that in that case, the money should revert to his next of kin; this legacy he declared to be, in consideration of a vow, made by him, during his troubles in the tower; that if GOD, in his mercy, would deliver him and enable him, he would perform the same.

It appears, he had an estate in Pembrokeshire, his native country, which he left to his youngest son.

That clause, in his will, which relates to his daughters, three of whom survived him, appears somewhat singular; a sum of eight hundred pounds, which Archbishop Loftus and his two sons had bound themselves to pay him, on the 6th of January 1597, upon the fontstone of St. Patrick's church, he left among them; but with this proviso, that if any of them should defile their bodies with fornication, before they were lawfully espoused, then her or their part, should go to the benefit of such, as did continue to live, in fear of GOD, and honest conversation: this sum was to be lent to the Mayor, and Corporation of merchants, of Dublin, at the yearly interest of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence per cent. upon good security, under the city seal; the interest was to be applied to the education of the said children.

[f] He was not, however, Bishop of Ferns.

Rider was born at Carrington, in Cheshire, and received his education at Jesus college, in Oxford, where he commenced bachelor of arts, on 3d February 1580 [2]; and master, on the 5th of July 1583 [3]: he continued for some time longer at the university, instructing youths in grammar, and then obtained the living of St. Mary, Bermondsey, in Southwark [a]; about the same time, he compiled his English and Latin dictionary, in which he epitomized the most copious dictionaries extant, and added above four thousand new words; this work was published at Oxford, quarto, 1589 [b]: "which," saith Rider in his preface, "I have not done without great pains and charges;" in the expence, however, he was eased, by the generous encouragement of the Earl of Sussex, Mr. William Waade, one of the clerks of the privy council, and some others of his parishioners at Bermondsey, and his friends in and near Banbury. The book was much approved of, it being the compleatest of the kind at that period; upon this occasion many compliments were paid him, in Latin verse, which are prefixed to the work; that of Dr. Underhill is not too long to insert here.

Quantum Thomasio Calepinus cedere debet,
Tantum præclaro Thomasius ipse Ridero.

Fuller, however, in his Worthies of England, [4] speaks not so favourably of this performance; "Francis Holyoake," says this writer, "set forth that staple work which school-boys called Rider's dictionary. This Rider did borrow, to say no worse, both his saddle and bridle, from Thomas Thomatius, [c] who, being bred Fellow of Kings-colledge in Cambridge, set forth that dictionary known by his name, than which, men have not a better and truer, children no plainer and briefer; but, Rider, after Thomas his death, set forth his dictionary, the same in effect, under his own name, the property thereof, being but little disguised with any additions; such plagearyship ill becometh authors or printers; and the dove being the crest of the stationers arms, should mind them not, like rooks, to filch copies one from another: the executors of Thomas Thomatius entring an action against Rider, occasioned him, in his own defence, to make those numerous additions to his dictionary, that it seems to differ, rather in kind than degree, from his first edition. I am forced to place this child rather with his guardian than father, I mean, to mention this dictionary rather under the name of Master Holyoake than Rider, both, because the residence of the latter is wholly unknown to me, and because Mr. Hollyoake added many (as his learned son hath since, more) wonders thereunto."

When the rich rectory of Winwick, [d] in Lancashire, became vacant, Rider was presented to it by William, Earl of Derby, the patron, and, not long after, he was elected Dean of St. Patrick's.

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[1] Vol. IV. No. 226. [2] Fasti Oxon. 215. Bliss's edition. [3] Do. 223. [4] Warwickshire, pag. 128.

[a] The last Editor of Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 548, has given us a list of Rider's promotions in England, before he was nominated to the deanery of St. Patrick's; besides those noted in the text, he mentions the following:

"1580, 14 Septemb. Joh. Rider, clericus, ad ecclesiam de Waterstock, dioc. Oxon. ad pres. Ed. Cave de Bampton, armig. resignat. 1581. Reg. Grindall, ar'epi Cant."

"1583, 21 Nov. Joh. Rider, A. M. admiss. ad ecclesiam de Southwokindon, per resignationem Rob. Hampston; ad pres. Reginæ. Reg. Ailmer, e'pi. London."

[b] Wood says, that this was the first dictionary published, with the English before the Latin, and adds, that it was esteemed the best then in use; from these words it is evident he means, it was the first which placed the English and Latin in the first part of the volume; Ainsworth, in preface to his dictionary, proves, that it was not the first that had both parts: relative to the latter part, which had the Latin before the English, Wood remarks; that it was swallowed up by the greater attempt of Francis Holyoake, which was published in 1606. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 547. Bliss's edition. Holyoake's was reprinted, several times afterwards, with enlargements.

[c] Thomasius's dictionary went through five impressions in eight years, in all through fourteen; the tenth was printed in 1615. Philemon Holland published a supplement, which was printed apart from the other divisions of the work.

[d] Rider, on the 4th July 1612, when Bishop elect of Killaloe, obtained a dispensation from the Archbishop, which was the same day confirmed by the King, to hold this benefice in commendam with the Bishoprick, "quoad vixerit et prefuerit:" on the 11th Aug. 1615, he made a renunciation of his commenda. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Bliss's edit. Vol. II. Col. 548, from Kennet.

1598—On the 16th March, after his promotion to the deanery, Rider was presented, by the Crown, to the rectory of Geshel, in the diocess of Kildare[5]: in 1598 he obtained licence to go to England, and enjoy the profits of the deanery during his absence[e]; he published, soon after, his letter "concerning the news out of Ireland, the Spaniards landing, and the present state thereof." London, 1601, quarto.

1604—On the 9th of August, William Pilsworth, Prebendary of Monmahenock, was, by letters patent, created Bishop of Kildare; with that see he held his prebend, in commendam.

1608—About this time, Rider exchanged the deanery of St. Patrick's for the archdeaconry of Meath, having obtained favour of the Chapter, to elect Archdeacon Moigne in his room. On the 15th of August 1612, he was, by letters patent,[f] advanced to the Bishoprick of Killaloe, and was consecrated 12th Jan. following.

The particulars of his contest with one Henry Fitz-Simon, a Jesuit, are detailed in the note, hereto annexed[g]; the "Catholike Confutation," written by the latter,

5 Rot. Pat. 40 Eliz.

[e] Dated 12th March, 40 Eliz. (1597, O. S.) Rot. Pat.

[f] Privy seal dated 5th July. Woods Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 547. Bliss's edit.

[g] Henry Fitz-simon, being accused of endeavouring to pervert several people from the protestant faith, was looked upon as a dangerous person, and, in 1599, committed a prisoner to the castle of Dublin; he continued there until, by virtue of an order from King James to the Lord Deputy and Council, 12th March 1603, he was released; this, however, required that he should, forthwith, depart out of the kingdom, and never again return to any of his Majesties dominions, without licence first obtained; he was not, however, immediately discharged, in 1604 he was still a prisoner, how much longer does not appear.

Fitz-simon's tract was intitled, "A Catholike Confutation of Mr. John Rider's Clayme of Antiquitie; and a caulming comfort against his caveat; in which is demonstrated, by assurances, even of protestants, that al antiquitie, for al pointes of religion in controversie, is repugnant to protestancie: secondly, that protestancie is repugnant particularlie to al articles of beleefe: thirdly, that puritan plots are pernitious to religion and state: and, lastly, a replye to Mr. Rider's rescript, with a discoverie of puritan partialitie in his behalfe. By Henry Fitzsimon, of Dublin, in Irland, of the societie of Jesus, Priest." Printed at Roan, 1608, 4to.

Fitz-simon, in his advertisement to the reader, says, that the dispute between Rider and himself was occasioned by some table conversation, which happened at the deanery of St. Patrick's, on the 29th of September 1600, between William Nugent, Esq. and the Dean; Mr. Nugent affirmed, that there was no diversity of belief or religion between the modern Roman catholicks, and the primitive christians, of the apostolick times; contrary to which assertion, the Dean affirmed, that the difference was as great, as between protestancy and papistry; and, that the faith of the primitive catholicks was the same as that of the protestants: these opinions being very opposite, both parties agreed, to seek a solution of the learned; which, if it should justify Mr. Nugent's persuasion, then Mr. Rider would recant; if it did not, then Mr. Nugent would become a protestant.

To obtain the said solution, a letter was written, by Rider, dated 21st October following, and addressed, from doubtful catholicks to all priests, jesuits and seminarists, requiring of them to shew, whether the doctrine of the primitive christians did accord with that of modern Roman-catholicks, in the six following articles, viz. first, that the body of Christ is actually present in the blessed sacrament: second, that the scriptures should not be perused by the vulgar: third, that prayers for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory, ought to be credited: fourth, that images should be worshipped, or prayers be addressed to saints; fifth, that the ceremonial of the mass did obtain in ancient times: and, sixth, that the supremacy of the Pope was admitted and acknowledged. Mr. Nugent affirmed, that the jesuits and Roman priests, of this kingdom, were able to prove, by the scriptures and fathers, the affirmative, of these several proportions, to be doctrines, apostolical and catholick; and that the church of Rome, and the Roman-catholicks of Ireland, hold no opinions, touching the same, but what the holy scriptures and primitive fathers held, within the first five hundred years after Christ's ascension.

The answer to this appeal was required, within three months; and it was desired, by both sides, that Fitz-simon, a jesuit, then in confirement, should take on him to maintain this controversy. He, accordingly, on 2d January, sent his answer to Mr. Rider, by Mich. Taylor, Esq. written in the name of the catholic priests of Ireland; the Dean received this answer with a great deal of thanks, and, having expressed much satisfaction, promised to make a reply to it very speedily; four days afterwards he waited on Fitz-simon, in the castle, and told him, that if he would subscribe his name to the answer, the reply should soon be made: the jesuit consented, and on the 28th of September 1602, the Dean published his reply, and sent one of them to the jesuit; it was entitled a "Friendly Caveat, &c." the jesuit made so light of this reply, that he said, if the dean would give him liberty of books, a communication with his brethren, and a clerk to ingross his writings, he would join issue with him, even before the lord deputy and council, and fellows of the colledge of Dublin: the dean complied with the jesuit, so far as to apply to the goverment in his favour, who allowed, that the dean might give him what liberty he thought fit, as to books, the intercourse of friends, and the printing press: he procured for him all the books he desired, from the new library of the university; he had, also, a clerk to write for him; but, he says, printing was debarred him, notwithstanding all entreaty; it is certain his rejoinder did not make its appearance, in print, until some years after, although several letters, in the interim, passed between them, both before and after he was discharged from his confinement. However, the jesuit sent his rejoinder, written on about two reams of paper, to the dean, who read it over, and shewed it to many considerable persons, and to the fellows of the university, and published another book, against the jesuit, about the time that an order was given for his enlargement; after which time there were some private meetings between them, and a disputation held, before the constable of the castle, in 1604, when the dean went to dine with him and some other prisoners: this is the jesuit's own account; his answer to the caveat did not appear, until it was printed at Roan, in 1608, under the title above given.

The same Fitz-simon had a controversy with the celebrated Usher, during his confinement but, previous, in point of time, to that which he carried on with Rider; although Usher was then but nineteen years old, and Fitz-simon thirty, the latter, as Bernard informs us, (pag. 58,) grew weary of the combat, and declined any further engagement, which gave just occasion to the protestants to boast of a victory.

displays many incidents of Rider's life, to which, however, the reader must not give implicit credit; some are, indeed, totally void of truth.[h]

Besides his dictionary, Rider was author of several small pieces, viz.

"A letter concerning the news out of Ireland, and of the Spaniards landing, and the present state thereof," Lond. 1601, quarto.

Of his other works it would be difficult, now, to frame a perfect catalogue, they being, chiefly, short tracts, published during his contests with Fitz-simon. It appears, however, that he published, during this controversy, on 28th of September 1602, a work, intitled

"A friendly caveat to Ireland's Catholiques, concerning the dangerous dream of Christes corporall presence in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; grounded upon a letter sent from the Catholiques." The publication of this tract was delayed, longer than the author had intended, by his waiting for new types, from London, which his printer had gone to purchase.

"A Claim of Antiquity, in behalf of the protestant religion;" Lond. 1608, quarto; and, likewise "A Rescript or Postcript" to the latter, are mentioned by Fitz-simon in his "Catholike Confutation," but I know not where a copy exists of any one of those works.

Rider died on the 12th of November 1632, and was buried in his cathedral church, at Killaloe; he left behind him the character of a learned and religious prelate.

Sect. XI. THOMAS MOIGNE, *Dean.*

1608—Thomas Moigne, B. D. Prebendary of Monmahenock, was, upon the resignation of Rider, elected Dean; he had given him the Archdeaconry of Meath, in exchange.

Thomas Moigne was a native of Lincolnshire, where he was born in 1563, and educated at the university of Cambridge: on the 7th of February 1605,[i] he was

[i] Pat. Roll, 3d James.

[h] In page 62, of his "Catholike Confutation," Fitz-simon says, that Rider took his bachelors degree, in arts, at Oxford, in 1581, and proceeded master, in the same year, contrary to the laws of that university; that one Mr. Sabinus Chamber, at the request of two of his own aunts, by whom Rider was furnished with the means of prosecuting his studies, did attempt to instruct him in philosophy, at a place called New-park; but "that he could never make entrance for Mr. Rider's head into philosophie, nor philosophie into his head." Fitzsimon was, himself, matriculated a member of Harts-hall, in 1581, he could scarcely have been ignorant, that the former assertion was not consistent with truth, or probability. The copy of Fitz-simon's work, which I consulted, is deposited in the library of Trin. Col. Dub. D. 10, 8: it has marginal notes, which appear to have been written by Rider himself; opposite to what is here related, he has written the words, "most false."

In page 286, he says, that Rider formerly hindered the bakers in Dublin, and transferred the trade of merchandize into his own house and liberties, among his sons-in-law and such as neither bore "sesse nor presse, watch nor avarde, tole nor custome;" and "suck the juice of the citie into their privat purses, under the protection of the liberties of St. Patrick's."

In page 210, he says, that Rider had, yearly, seventeen hundred barrels of corn, idly, or without price, (the tithes of his deanery,) that he pulled down a fine cross, in the liberties, and built an oven with the stones thereof, which cross all his predecessors had permitted to stand; and, for fire, cut down all the trees about the church. That, in May 1604, when his son was attempting to pull down an image, yet standing in the walls, he fell down a great height, and was killed by the fall.

In page 93, he says, that Rider had, from his choice deanery, yearly, above fifteen hundred raziers or cowmbs of corn, besides other commodities.

In page 227, he relates the following anecdote:

While Fitz-simon was in his confinement at the castle, on St. Mathias eve, 1602, he was taking the air on the north-west tower, when Dean Rider came to visit one Mr. Brown, and Fitz-simon desired leave to come up: after some other conversation, the dean asked Fitz-simon to inform him of a certain point, which a great statesman had made dubious to him; whether he was a jesuit or a priest, or both? Fitz-simon answered, that he was, unworthily, both; the dean replied, would you prefer yourself before a single secular priest? Fitz-simon answered, "I never yet had controversy, about pre-eminence, with any." The dean, seemed a little confounded by the jesuit's short answer; the jesuit desired the dean, to do him the favour of answering a like question; whether himself was a bare minister, a dean, or both? He affirmed, he was a minister only, and no dean: as being a papistical title: the jesuit replied; then you are a puritan, inasmuch as you refuse the name of dean; but, as you hold the deanery, you are a protestant: which answer made the dean, laugh heartily. Not long after, when King James came to the crown, the principles of the puritans were much discountenanced; and several, who had no great dislike before, began now, to exclaim against them: Fitz-simon informed some persons, of Dean Rider's conference with him, who acquainted him therewith; but the dean was impatient at being charged with puritanical principles, and denied, that ever he disliked the name of dean, or ever was a favourer of any point of puritancy. Upon this account Rider has remarked, "a lyinge villaine, we never had any such conference." MS. note.

presented, by the crown, to the Archdeaconry of Meath, and the rectories of Kells, Burry, Balrath and Daleen, thereto united, which had become vacant, by reason that John Wood, late incumbent, had left the kingdom without licence.

1612—On the 17th of December, he obtained letters patent[2] for the united Bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh, with dispensation to hold, during pleasure, the deanery of St. Patrick's, in commendam: he was consecrated at Drogheda on the 12th of January following.

1615—There was, this year, a regal visitation held by the king's commissioners; the chapter of St. Patricks consisted, then, of twenty-five members; the double prebend of Tipperkevin being consolidated into one, and Timothan vacant, its temporal possessions had been, recently, converted into lay property, by a family, to which Archbishop Jones, one of the commissioners, was, by marriage, nearly allied; no notice was taken of it, upon this occasion, but a mere mention of its name.

Among the members of the chapter there appeared, on this occasion, the Archbishop of Dublin, who held the prebends of Cullen and Castleknock; the Archbishop of Tuam, who held the dignity of Treasurer; the Bishop of Kildare appeared, as prebend of Monmahenock; the admirable Jas. Ussher was Chancellor; and Sir Adam Loftus, Knight, afterwards, in 1619, Chancellor of Ireland, was Archdeacon of Glendaloch.

1617—In November this year, the Mayor and Commons procured an act of state, against certain inhabitants of St. Patrick's liberties, who sold goods, without licence from the city of Dublin; but this order, which had been obtained when the Archbishop was absent from the council, was, upon his representation, suspended; it being proved to be a direct infringement of the Dean and Chapter's privileges, whose rights the Mayor and Commons had, upon this occasion, concealed.[a]

1623—The Dean and Chapter had scarcely terminated their contest with the citizens of Dublin, before they became engaged in a controversy, nearly similar, with the justices of the county, who, without consulting them, had imposed taxes, and other burthens, upon the inhabitants of the close, in an arbitrary way.

[2] Rot. Pat. 10 Jac.

[a] The order of Council, procured by the intermediation of the Archbishop, was as follows:

By the Lord Deputy and Councell.

Oliver St. John.

Whereas the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commons of the city of Dublin, exhibited a petition to us, at the counsell table, against Peeter Peterson Wibram and Thomas Graves, for selling merchandizes, by retail, within the liberties of Saint Patricks, near Dublin, contrary to an order or act of state, made the 6th day of November 1617; unto which petition the said defendants made answer; and, upon hearing of the cause, the Reverend Father in God, Thos. (Jones) Lord Archb. of Dublin, prayd that he might be admitted to plead and shew his liberties, in St. Patricks aforesaid, without offence against the said act of state; which request being graunted, the said Archbishop alleadged that, by ancient custom, and prescription time out of mind, the said Archbishop and his predecessors had enjoyed, until the making of the said act of state, among other priviledges, this liberty, and ffraunches; that the inhabitants within the said liberties of St. Patricks aforesaid, as well aliens as denizens, might sell by retail or in gross, within the said liberties, all manner of merchandize, without impeachment of the Mayor and Commonalty of Dublin, or any other; and all the liberties of St. Patricks were confirmed by ancient lettres patents, and by a speciall act of parliament in this kingdom; and that the lettres, whereupon the said act was grounded, were obtained by mis-information, that the said liberty of retailing was an usurped liberty; and the said Archbishop further alleadged, that it was not his Majesties most gracious intention to bar or prejudice any, from the benefit of the common law, and use of lawfull prescription, and least of all, any Bishop, or of the Clergy, in favour of whom his Majestie had written so many gracious lettres to this state; and that like libertyes were now, and had been, time out of mind, used, in many privileged places in the city of London, and other principal corporations in England. Upon all which, and other reasons, and after hearing of the allegations of the said Archbishop, and of the said Mayor and Commonalty and their Counsell, and upon mature deliberation of the premisses; and for that it appeared, by the testimony of some persons of creditt, that the said Archbishop and his predecessours have been in possession of the said libertys, for many years before, and untill the making of the said act of state; and the said Archbishop offered to try his title to the said libertys by any legal course: We have, therefore, thought fitt so to order, that the said act of state shall remain suspended untill the first day of March, next ensuing, for so much of the same only, as concerneth the saidliberty of Saint Patricks; and that the inhabitants within the libertys of Saint Patricks aforesaid, may use their former priviledge without impeachment, untill the said first day of March; and that, in the mean time, the four principal judges shall consider, as well of the statutes of the 16th of King Richard II. and other statutes, which prohibited aliens to sell by retail, as also of such rolls, records and evidences, as shall be severally produced by the said Archbishop. AL reg. fol. 173.

A statement of their grievances was preferred to the Lord Deputy and Council, [b] the substance of which was nearly as follows:

"Their grievances."

"A warrant came from the Justices of Peace, at Kilmainham, directed to John Smith, of the liberties, to collect monies, towards the building of the county sessions house, the county goale, the house of correction, and for the maintenance of the prisoners in the county goale; which fowre taxes, until that day, were never heard of in our church."

"This warrant hath been seconded by divers others, from the same hands and for the same end; but hath not, as yet, been put in execution, by reason of the Lord Deputies promise, upon petition of the Dean and Chapter, to have the hearing of it himself, or, that it should bee heard."

"That their tenants are cessed, both with the county and cittie, and, in that regard are in worse case than if they lived either in cittie or county, whereas their privileges exceed both."

"That the cesses, laid upon the inhabitants, are unequall and verie disproportionable, and such as they are not able to beare."

"That all these houses, thus cessed, are the proper manse-houses of the Dean, Prebends, Viccars Chorrals and Petti-cannons: whereupon, if the cess bee layd, the residing Prebends should be charged, and subject to the cesses, hereafter."

"That, where at first the cess was occasioned, by reason of great merchants their residing in those houses, the case is now so far altered, that either professors of learning, or manual men necessary for the corporation, as is used in other collegiate churches, doe possess most of the houses, and shortly are to possess all."

"To showe their inequallity; lately, there is billited upon the liberties of the close, a company and a half of soldiers, there being therein but thirty howses; so as the poorest of them, besides monethly contributions, is charged with the lodging of twoe soldiers."

They then state the reasons why they should be free.

"First, the charter, and particularly the clause beginning with the words, 'Et ulterius nos considerantes,' (see Appendix, page xxv) all which priviledges, thereby conveyed, were held inviolable untill the Lord of Falkland's government."

"Secondly, that his sacred Majesty hath been gratiously pleased, by his letters, to signify his pleasure for the confirmation of all their priviledges, by act of parliament; which, though not done in the last parliament, yet they hope shall be done in the next."

"Thirdly, because they are contented to continue payment to the souldiers, being kept in such excellent order, for the safety of the kingdom."

"Fourthly, for these fowre particular cesses above-mentioned, wee concieve them improper for us; because wee have power of imprisoning owrselves, confirmed by a new letter from his Majesty, and shall maintaine those whome wee doe imprison, and that wee have nothing to doe with their sessions, and shall provide for owr owne poore: and if, in some cases, as in rape or treason, as is objected, we shall have occasion for the county prison (which cases have none of them fallen in our time) wee shall be ready to contribute more than our shares, when such occasions shall fall out."

"Fifthly, in regard of the present state of our close and liberties wherein things are thus ordered, as followeth:"

[b] This statement was copied, by the Rev. Dr. Lyon, from a record which existed, in his time, in the registry of this cathedral; I have, however, searched in vain for the original, which, inasmuch as it appears to be important, I have inserted here, at full length, from the Doctors transcript.

" 1. We have no popish recusants inhabiting therein."

" 2. None reside therein, but such as are conformable to church orders, only there are three lutherans, who conform themselves in all things, but only in receiveing the sacrament."

" 3. No common victualling houses therein."

" 4. No vagrant wandering beggars, but such poor as are maintained by, and within, the liberties."

" 5. That, for the space of fowrteen yeares, wee have been soe carefull to see good order kept, and observed within our liberties, that all differences between neighbours have been compounded, withoute suite of lawe."

" 6. That there is no notorious person, known to be guilty of any public crime, amongst us."

1625—This year, Moigne resigned his deanery in favour of Benjamin Culme, who was elected on the 23d of October.

After his resignation, Bishop Moigne [c] resided, chiefly, at a handsome seat, about a mile distant from the town of Cavan, built by himself upon some lands he had acquired, and which was by him denominated, Moigne-hall; it descended to his son, but the name becoming extinct, and the fortune passing to the female heirs, the house fell into ruin. Bishop Moigne lived but three years after his resignation; he died of an apoplexy, in Dublin, on the 1st of January 1628, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; he was buried in the cathedral of St. Patrick. [d]

The family [e] of Moigne suffered considerably from the Irish rebels, in 1641; this appears from the deposition [3] of Dorothy, relict of Roger, the Bishop's only son; who, coming to Dublin in the close of that year, underwent an examination before his Majesties commissioners, on the 5th of March, when she deposed as follows:

That her husband, about the 18th of October, that year, was forcibly dispossessed of his house and lands, by several popish rebels; who said, that Moigne and the undertakers had wrongfully possessed the said lands too long, that it was now full time to regain the possession, and the arrears of rent for the same: she said, further, that after many calamities suffered in her journey to Dublin, her servant, Thomas Gardiner, was cruelly murdered at Dunboyne; and, moreover, to compleat her misfortunes, her husband, Captain Roger Moigne, who headed a party of horse, was slain at that dismal overthrow of our soldiers, going to Drogheda [f]: that she lost in jewels, books, cattle, and other goods, and arrears of rent, to the value of one thousand six hundred and thirteen pounds, besides forty-two poles of land of inheritance; and leases, in yearly value, worth two hundred and forty pounds. [g]

[3] MS. depositions. Cloch. MSS. T. C. D.

[c] Bishop Moigne recovered much of the lands, belonging to the sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, which had been unjustly alienated by the negligence, or corruption, of his predecessors; but, to record these matter here, would be foreign to the subject of this volume.

[d] In the quire, on the 3d January. Isaac Butler's MS. penes me. See also, Ware, de Presulibus.

[e] Bishop Bedel, who succeeded Moigne in the Bishoprick of Kilmore, had a suit with Mrs. Moigne for money, which, if he had recovered, he did intend to employ in editing of the Irish bible; and this appears from his will, wherein he directed his son, William, to apply it in this manner.

[f] Probably at Gellington-bridge, 29th November 1641.

[g] Bishop Moigne had a daughter, Jane, who married Anthony Cope, of Portadown, in the county of Armagh; she died 31st December 1640.

Roger Moigne, the Bishop's son, left two daughters, coheiresses, one married Captain Townly, who lived at Moigne-hall, which was burnt by the rebels when he went to Derry; the other daughter married Major Moore, of the county Louth.

In the church of Cavan, are monumental inscriptions to the memory of both those females, and to that of Samuel Townly above-mentioned: on one stone is inscribed as follows:

Here lyeth the body of Samuel Townley, Esq. who departed this life the 13th of May 1699, in the 70th year of his age.

Here, also, lyeth the body of Dorcas Townley, alias Moyne, wife of the above Samuel, and daughter of Roger Moyne, of Moyne-hall, in the county of Cavan, Esq. who departed this life, the 30th of January 1703, in the 69th year of her age.

On another stone.

Here lyeth the body of Abigail Moore, alias Moyne, wife to Nicholas Moore, late of Ardaghs-town, in the county of Louth, Esq. who departed this life, the 24th of October 1715, in the 79th year of her age.

This Abigail Moigne, alias Moore, was the last of the Moigne family; she bequeathed her estate, of Moigne-hall, to her son-in-law, James Kennedy, Esq. Will, dated 1692.

Sect. XII. BENJAMIN CULME, *Dean.*

1625—Benjamin Culme, in the year 1619, procured a patent for this deanery, whereby it was provided that he should succeed after the resignation of Moigne [a]; but it does not appear that he trusted solely to this title, for he procured himself to be elected, on the 23d of October, this year, and thereby confirmed his right.

Archbishop King was of opinion, however, that from this patent he derived an indisputable right: "The commendam of Moigne," he writes, "being, during pleasure, the patent to Culme determined this grace; the King had a right to present, his turn not being served by a promotion of this kind, which it would, were it 'durante vitâ;' so (he adds) it was determined in the Bishop of London's case, on the promotion of the present Bishop of Canterbury from St. Martin's." [1]

Benjamin Culme was the son of Hugh Culme, of Molland, in Devonshire; he was entered in St. Alban's-hall, Oxford, and there commenced bachelor of arts, in 1602 [2]; he, afterwards, became a member of Lincoln college, and took a master of arts degree, on the 24th of April 1605 [3]; he came over to Ireland before the year 1615, for his name occurs in the regal visitation of that year, as Prebendary of Malahidert; the degree of doctor, in divinity, was shortly after conferred upon him by the university of Dublin: on the 1st of March 1616, he obtained the rectory of Rathmore, in the diocess of Meath.

1634—On the 14th of July, previous to his opening the sessions of parliament, the Lord Deputy, Wentworth, proceeded to this cathedral to hear divine service; the ceremonial observed upon this occasion is worthy of notice, as it determines, accurately, the respective ranks of the several members of nobility; and exhibits moreover, an example of the splendour which this viceroy affected, upon all public occasions; an account of the order of procession is exhibited in the note below. [b]

[1] Original letter, dated 17th March 1704. [2] Fasti Oxon. 295. Bliss's edition. [3] Do. 305.

[a] "Post decessum, resignationem, deprivationem, aut evacuationem, T. Moigne, &c." these words do not indicate that the deanery was granted to Culme, upon the death of Moigne, nor does it appear that an intrusion was made, by this patent, upon the rights of the Chapter.

[b] The following account is taken from Strafford's letters, Vol. I. pag. 282. The MSS. of Dr. Dudley Loftus furnish us with another, less perfect, description. The place to be occupied by each nobleman was determined, previously; such as were absent are distinguished thus †. The order was as follows:

One foot company,
Two Trumpets,
One Troop of Horse,
Two Messengers,
Gentlemen, two and two,
Esquires, two and two,
The six Clerks of Chancery, two and two,
Clerk of the Council and Clerk of the House of Commons,
Clerk of the upper house and Clerk of the Crown,
Secretaries two, [1]
Steward and Comptroller,
The King's puisné Serjeant at Law,
Masters of the Chancery,
The King's Solicitor and Attorney,
The King's ancientest Serjeants at Law,
Knights Batchelors,
Barons of the Exchequer,
Judges of the Common Pleas,
Judges of the King's Bench,
Two Trumpets,
Two Messengers,
Privy Counsellors not Barons, viz.
Knights, according to the seniority of their knighthood,
Baronets,
Principal Secretary,
The Master of the Ordnance, [2]
Master of the Rolls,
Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer,
Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas,
The Master of the Court of Wards,
The Lord Chief Justice of the chief place,
The Treasurer at War, [3]
Vice Treasurer, [4]
The Marshall, [5]
The Lord President of Munster,
Two Messengers,
Barons in their robes, two and two, the youngest foremost, viz.
Lord Mountnorris of Mountnorris.
Lord M'Guier, Baron of Iniskillin.
Lord Boyle, Baron of Broghill, inf. ætat.
† Lord Sherard, of Letrim.
† Lord Colraine, of Colraine.
† Lord Breriton, of Laghlin.
† Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore.
† Lord Herbert, of Castle Island.
† Lord of Glean-Molune and Cuerchy.
Lord Esmond, Baron of Lymerick.
Lord Blany, Baron of Monaghan.
† Lord Aunger, Baron of Longford.
† Lord Dockwray, of Culmore.
† Lord Caulfield, Baron of Charlemont.
† Lord Fitzwilliam, of Liffer.

As soon as the Lord Deputy arrived at St. Patrick's-church, he was received by the Dean, the Prebendaries and Choristers, going before the Lords Archbishop of Tuam and Cashel, singing "Te Deum laudamus." When the Lord Deputy came

† Lord Hervy, of Rosse.
Lord Digbey, Baron of Geashill.
† Lord Gorges, of Dundalke.
† Lord Mainard, of Wicklogh.
Lord Folliot, Baron of Ballishannon.
† Lord Balfour, Baron of Glanawley.
Lord of Castle-Steward.
† Lord Bourke, of Brittas.
† Lord Lambert, Baron of Cavan.
† Lord Mountjoy, Baron of Mountjoy.
Lord of Cahir.
Lord Bourke, of Castleconnel.
Lord of Inchiquin, infra ætat.
Lord of Lowth.
Lord of Upper Ossery.
† Lord of Dunboine.
† Lord Power and Coroghmore.
Lord of Dunsany. [6]
Lord of Trimbleston.
Lord of Howthe.
† Lord of Slane.
Lord of Kerry and Lixnawe.
Lord Courcy, of Kinsale.
Lord Bremingham, of Athenry.

Bishops (twenty in number) according to their consecration, two and two, the youngest foremost; except the Bishop of Meath, who preceeds the rest without respect to consecration.

Two Trumpets.

Athlone, pursuivant at arms.

Visc. in their parl. robes, 2 and 2, the youngest foremost, viz.

Viscount Glanmaleira.
Viscount Fitzwilliam, of Meryoung.
Viscount of Ikerine.
Viscount Bourke, of Clanmorris.
† Viscount Fairfax, of Emmely.
† Viscount Mullineux, of Mariburg.
Viscount Carty, of Muskery.
Viscount of Ranelagh.
† Viscount Mounson, of Castlemaine.
Viscount Taffe, of Corine.
† Viscount Wenman, of Tuam.
† Viscount Strangford.
† Viscount Lumley, of Waterford.
† Viscount Cholmondeley, of Kellis.
† Viscount Scudamore, of Sligo.
† Viscount Saville.
† Viscount Carlingford.
† Viscount Chaworth, of Ardmagh.
Viscount Boyle, of Kinalmeakie, inf. ætat.
† Viscount of Castletowne.
Viscount of Baltinglasse.
† Viscount Burgh, of Majo.
Viscount of Kilultagh.
† Viscount Somerset, of Cashell.
† Viscount Sarsfield, of Killmallocke.
† Viscount Killmurry.
Viscount Chichester, of Carrickfergus.
† Viscount Lecale.
† Viscount Magennis, of Evagh.
Viscount Beaumont, of Swords, inf. ætat.
Viscount Loftus, of Ely.
Viscount Claneboy.
† Viscount Montgomery, of the Ards.
Viscount Netterville, of Dowth.
Viscount Dillon, of Costillo Gallene.
Viscount More, of Drogheda.
† Viscount Valentia.
† Viscount Wilmot, of Athlone.

† Viscount Grandison.
† Viscount Powerscourt.
Viscount Mountgarret.
† Viscount of Fermoy.
Viscount of Gormandstown.

Earls in their parliament robes, two and two, the youngest foremost, viz.

† Earl of Downe.
Earl of Fingall.
† Earl of Carberye.
Earl of Barrymore.
Earl of Meath.
Earl of Desmond, inf. ætat.
† Earl of Londonderry.
Earl of Roscommon.
Earl of Westmeath.
Earl of Antrim.
Earl of Corke. [7]
† Earl of Castlehaven.
† Earl of Clanrickard.
Earl of Thomond.
Earl of Ormond and Ossory. [8]
Earl of Kildare. [9]

Lord Treasurer.
Archbishop of Tuam.
Archbishop of Cashel.
Archbishop of Dublin.

Archbishop of Ardmagh, Lord Primate of all Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor, with the seal, alone.

A Gent. Usher. Ulster, King at arms. A Gent. Usher.

A Sergeant at arms to flank the Sword. | The Sword born by the Earl of Ormond. | A Sergeant at arms to flank the Sword.

A cap of estate, born by the Earl of Kildare.

Footmen, Yeomen of the horse. | The Lord Deputy, his train born by the Lord Brabazon, Sir Robert Loftus, and Mr. Arthur Jones. | A Secretary on foot, Foot-men, Yeomen of the horse.

A Gentleman of the horse, leading an horse of estate.

The Colonel,
The Guard,
Two Trumpets.
A Troop of Horse.

Notes.

1 The Secretaries went in another place, being Troopers.
2 His Lordship went in another place, being a Baron.
3 His Lordship went in another place, being a Baron.
4 His Lordship went in another place, being a Baron.
5 His Lordship went in another place, being a Viscount.
6 The Lord Dunsany did precede Lord Trimbleston the first day, but afterwards, by order of the Deputy and Council, the Lord of Trimbleston preceded the Lord Dunsany.
7 His Lordship went in another place being Lord Treasurer.
8 His Lordship went in another place as he bore the Sword.
9 His Lordship went in another place as he bore the Cap.

to his seat, then the lords took their places, the bishops being by themselves, and the temporal lords by themselves; but all the lords did stand, till the Lord Deputy was seated: when the sermon was ended, they proceeded to the castle, in the same manner that they went to the church; the sermon, on this occasion, was preached by Primate Usher, who chose for his text the 10th verse of XLIX chapter of Genesis. [4]

1635—On the 16th of May, this year, George Andrew, Precentor, was consecrated, in this cathedral, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin; and, on the 25th of Feb. Robert Usher, Prebendary of St. Audoen's, was consecrated Bishop of Kildare.

1638—Dean Culme was, about this time, appointed Commissioner for ecclesiastical causes: it appears, from several citations, that this court held sessions, at St. Patrick's cathedral, during this and the following year.

1644—On the 1st of December, William Golbourne, Prebendary of Dunlavan, was consecrated Bishop of Kildare, in this cathedral.

1646—The Marquis of Ormond having concluded a peace with the Irish rebels, Dean Culme, with about four score more of the clergy, met at the castle of Dublin, and joined in an affectionate address to his Excellency; they expressed sincere gratitude for his vigilant care, exercised to preserve, not only within the city of Dublin, but also in out garrisons, the free exercise of the true reformed religion according to the liturgy and canons of the church of England, at a time when the use of that liturgy was prohibited, both in England and Scotland; "and withal" say they "we do ingenuously profess, that out of your piety and nobleness, you have vindicated our callings and places from contempt, protected us from personal injuries, and provided for us a subsistance, without which many had undoubtedly starved." [5]

1647—On the 24th of June, this year, the use of the book of common-prayer was altogether prohibited, by the Commissioners of parliament; and the clergy of the city received a messuage, by Anthony Dopping, (father of an eminent prelate of that name,) demanding, whether the ministers would officiate in their respective churches, using the "Directory, or such service as is agreeable to GOD's word," and declaring those, that should disobey, out of protection of the government. Edward Parry, Bishop of Killaloe, the Deans of St. Patrick's and of Christ-church, with fifteen more of the clergy, had several conferences upon this occasion; they, moreover, drew up a declaration, which they presented on the 9th July following.

The firm and manly tone of this remonstrance will excite, in the mind of the reader, sensations of veneration and surprize; it is impossible to peruse the sound arguments urged by these men, in favour of this purest model of religious worship, without feeling that reverence and affection, which christians have, at all times, expressed for the champions of their faith; at the same time, our surprize will be excited, when we contemplate so small a number of persons, opposing the positive ordinance of a faction, armed with all the force of civil and military power: trusting that, neither their resolutions, nor the names of the subscribing persons, will be considered as matter of indifference, I have given this document at length, in the note annexed hereto. [c]

[4] Parr's life of Usher.

[5] Carte's Ormond, Vol. III. pag. 493.

[c] "To the Honourable Commissioners from the parliament of England."

"The humble answer and petition of the Protestant Clergy of the City of Dublin."

"Humbly shewing,

"That whereas we having received from your Honours, by Anthony Dopping, Esq. a messuage consisting of two branches; one of demand, Whether the ministers will officiate in their several churches, not using the book of common-prayer?"

"The other a concession to this effect; that such as will officiate, may use the directory, or such service as is agreeable to the word of GOD, but not use the book of common-prayer."

"We, hereto, with all meekness and lowliness of minds, return this, our joint answer."

1. "That forasmuch as we see and know, that the protestants of this city, for the most part, are much grieved in heart for the want of the daily accustomed service of GOD in the two cathedrals, and the parish churches of this city, and for their

1649—Although the parliament commissioners had forbid the public use of the established ritual, it does not appear that they, at once, deprived the clergy of their temporal possessions; the acts of a chapter are recorded, which met on the 5th of

late being deprived of us and our ministry, which they have long enjoyed; we are very much troubled, and are very sorrowful in ourselves for their grief: we acknowledge ourselves bound to preach the Gospel of Christ unto the people, and are so far from a voluntary desertion of our churches, people, ministry, and the exercise thereof, as that we shall rejoyce in nothing more, than that we may finish our course with joy, and the ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the grace of God."

"2. That we have been, and still are, effectually debarred from our churches, and the exercise of our ministry by your Honour's injunction and command, bearing date the 24th of June 1647, wherein you require the discontinuance of the book of common-prayer, and the receiving of the directory, &c. which injunction lies still upon us, with the danger of non-protection in case we disobey the same."

"3. That we cannot consent with a good conscience to the discontinuance of the book of common-prayer, and receiving the directory in lieu thereof, or any other private form of public service, for the reasons exhibited, and alledged in our answer the 22d of June last,* whereto we humbly annex these reasons following, amongst others which we debated upon in our mutual conference the 25th of June, and on the same day touched some of the heads of them before your Honours."

"I. We all, at our ordination, or being made presbyters, have among other things, made this solemn promise before God, which we account the same with or little different from an oath; "that we would so minister the doctrine and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same."

"II. We have often taken the oath of supremacy, and sworn that the 'King's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that we shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, &c. granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this kingdom.' Now, should we receive a directory printed, or any other form, without royal authority, we do not conceive how this can stand with this, our oath."

"III. As an act of parliament, the second of Elizabeth, still in force in this kingdom, expressly commands the use of this book of common-prayer, so it forbids common-prayer or administration of the sacraments otherwise, or after any other manner of form; with any private dispensation whereof we cannot comply, we being bound to the obedience thereof, not only for fear of penalty, but for conscience sake. Rom. xiii. 5."

"IV. Whereas the book of common-prayer is one main part of the reformation, established in the churches of England and Ireland; the laying aside thereof and the receiving of the directory or any other form, would be, we conceive, considering the present state and circumstances of things, a departing in this from the communion of the church of England and Ireland."

"V. It is evident, that as the constitution of a law in any matter ecclesiastical, the order ever observed in the church, since kings became nursing fathers thereto, was, is, and ought to be this, that it first pass the consultation and determination of a lawful ecclesiastical council; and then, that it receive the sanction and confirmation of the civil supreme magistrate; for this gives it the formal strength and vigour of a law outwardly obliging, and that gives it materiality and substance, and supplies ground sufficient to make it a law inwardly obliging christian people to receive it. So in the promulgation and execution of that law, concerning a matter ecclesiastical, there was and is this order observed: first, the supreme civil magistrate remands and recommends it to the ecclesiastical governors, and they deliver it to the rest of the pastors, and they to the people; so that the immediate actual reception of an order ecclesiastical by the ministers, is from the hand of the bishop or ordinary; and, upon this is founded that solemn promise made before God by every minister at his ordination, that he will reverently obey his ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom, the government and charge over him is committed, following, with a glad mind, their godly admonitions, and submitting himself to their godly judgments."

"Since, then, in this matter, concerning the book of common-prayer, all the required premisses were fulfilled, and that any other form, that for the present we can use, wants all of them, we cannot without breach of our promise fore-mentioned, and disordered anticipation or neglect of the judgment of our ordinances, receive any such or other form, considering the King's command concerning the only use of the book of common-prayer, expressed in the act of parliament, is still in force, and the commands and constitutions of our lawful convocation of the bishops and clergy, still live and speak unto us, in the canons made in the year 1634, whereof the third thus expressly; 'That form of liturgy or divine service, and no other, shall be used in any church of this realm, but that which is established by law, and comprised in the book of common-prayer, and administration of the sacraments:' which canon, with all the rest; is confirmed and published by his Majesty's authority, under the great seal of Ireland."

"VI. It maybe added, that the reformed church of Ireland, under the government of our dread sovereign the King, is, and ever was, reputed a free national church, and not subordinate unto, or depending upon, the convocation of any other church: and, hence it was, that till the convocation held at Dublin, anno 1634, the articles of the church of England were not held, or reputed the articles of the church of Ireland, and when they were received, they were not received in any acknowledged subordination to the church of England, but for manifestation of our agreement with that church in the confession of the same christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as is expressed in the first canon. Hence it is, besides that our canons were not imposed by the church of England, nay, when somewhat highly the clergy was invited to submit to the book of English canons, the convocation utterly refused the same, and framed a new book of canons for the church of Ireland. Should we, therefore, receive or admit of any other form, without the authority of this church, we should be held and esteemed before God and the world, guilty of unconscionably betraying of the liberty of the free national church of Ireland."

"VII. The book of common-prayer hath been in use in this church from the beginning of the reformation; we have preached for it, and recommended it to the people as a form of God's publick worship and service; the people of God, in this city, for the most part, generally do love it, have been edified by it, are loth to part from it, and earnestly desire the continuance of it. Now, should we consent to the taking it away, and receive or use any other form, not established by law, we should not avoid the guilt of sin, it being all one to destroy that which is well built, as to build that which a man once destroyed, which, in the Apostles judgment, Gal. II. 8. renders a man a transgressor."

"And withal we should, as matters stand, give great offence and scandal to the consciences of our brethren, and so, sin against them, who deserve better at our hand, and for whom Christ died."

"VIII. Lastly, that reason given by the university of Oxford, in this point, is not to be forgotten, that by our leaving of the book of common-prayer, and receiving any other form, we should condemn the church and state for the penalties and censures against recusants, and justifie them in their accusations and imputations of injustice and tyranny, wherewith they boldly charge both our churches of England and Ireland."

"The premisses considered, as we hope your Honours discern hereby, that we have not lightly, or obstinately, or out of faction,

February [d] 1649, previous to Dean Culme's departure to England; he there nominated Ambrose Aungier, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, his Sub-dean, and appointed Dudley Loftus, by commission, to exercise his jurisdiction within St. Patrick's-close. A lease to John Pue, the chapter-clerk, of the rectorial tithes of St. Kevin's parish, was perfected on that day, which was probably the last time of their meeting, until the joyful event of the restoration.

Dean Culme, after he had retired to England, resided at Mudghill, near Lidiard Tregooze, [e] in Wiltshire; he died there at the age of seventy-six, on the 21st of October 1657, and was buried in the parish church-yard; his heirs erected an altar-tomb over his body, on which is the following inscription:

Siste Viator!
vir, non mediocris, hic jacet;
BENJAMIN CULME,
prænobilis Culmiorum Devoniensium familiæ
singulare ornamentum;
S. S. Theologiæ Doctor;
Sancti Patricii Dubliniensis Decanus postremus,
non ultimus:
utriusq. fortunæ particeps; utrumq. honestavit:
idem semper in prosperis, in adversis idem:
in omnibus,
antiquæ fidei, pietatis, patientiæ, moderaminis,
imitandum exemplar, in seculo non imitando:
in Patriam Exul, Exul in Patria:
Nec inaudita Hibernorum feritate perterritus;
nec inopinato Anglorum successu seductus;
satur curis, annis satur, neutros pertæsus,
sed spe plenus & coelo,
rerum mundanorum vanitatem expertus plus satis,
ut æterna frueretur quiete & gloria,
In Christo placide obdormiit:
Anno Domini, M. D. C. L. VII.
Ætatis, LXXVI.
Octobris, XXI.
futuram præstolans Beatorum resurrectionem.

or any spirit of opposition forborn the exercise of our ministry, since your Honour's injunction; so we do now, with all humility, present these, our fervent petitions, to your Honours."

"1. That you would be pleased, in pity and compassion to the protestants of this city, and to us the ministers, who else by your injunction aforesaid, are indangered to be exposed to banishment, loss of estate, and of present subsistance, with our wives and families, to restore us to our churches, ministry, and exercise thereof; by permiting of us to use the book of common-prayer, in our several cathedral and parish churches, as formerly we used the same, before your injunction aforesaid, and to grant us your protection therein, till such time as further order be taken by a convocation of the clergy, and an act of parliament in this kingdom: and in the mean time we shall endeavour to demean ourselves, in the whole course of our ministry, with such christian faithfulness and moderation, as that we shall, by the help of God, give no just occasion of offence."

"2. That in case your Honours shall be pleased to grant this petition, which we hope you will, if after our stay and residence here, we, or any of us shall, by the imposal of any thing against our consciences, be forced hereafter to depart the kingdom, we may then respectively have free passes, and convenient time to remove our persons, families, and goods."

"3. That during the time of our residence here, we may enjoy the profits, benefits and means of our several church-livings, for our subsistance, which are due or allotted to us by the law of the land and acts of state."

"4. That whereas the monthly fast † observed hitherto by command of authority on a Friday, was grounded upon the horrid rebellion of the Irish papists, begun, and the danger we were all in, as on that day, wherein the rebels came to this city to surprize it, and the evening of that day, was the time wherein that bloody treachery and conspiracy was discovered, that we may be permitted still to keep the monthly fast on that day, being a day of preparation for the monthly communion, according to our custom these five years past."

"And we shall ever pray, &c.

"Delivered the 9th day of July 1647: subscribed as followeth:

Edward Laonensis. Gilbert Deane.
Jac. Margetson. Dudley Bosweh

Dean Culme was, in his life-time, esteemed an excellent preacher and a good divine. From his will, which was begun in 1642, we learn, that he was married to Deborah Pleydell, who survived him, and of whose affection he bears ample testimony; by her he had one son, named Benjamin, [f] and one daughter, Elizabeth: his lands of inheritance, called Duffbaly and Aughrim, in the county of Cavan, with his inheritance of Odder and his lease of Castleboy, in the county of Meath, he left to his wife for her jointure, during her life; and, in failure of issue to his own children, he bequeathed them to those of Sir Hugh Culme; and, in failure of his issue, to that his brother, Richard Culme, Esq. of Canonleigh, in Devon [g]: from this document we find, that he possessed a moiety of the lands of Lissomogan, in the county of Cavan, the other moiety being the property of his brother, Philip Culme; he had purchased, likewise, from Mr. Richard Finglass, the two Newtons, in the county of Dublin; and from James May, the lands of Ratoath, in the county of Meath; these lands he left to his son: to his daughter he bequeathed four hundred pounds, to be raised off his lands, "provided they be enjoyed quietly again:" by codicils annexed, which are in date subsequent, the latest being 1657, he increased the portion of his daughter to one thousand pounds; "GOD, of his goodness, having blessed his estate with increase:" to raise this sum he left to her his estate, in Yorkshire: besides the above mentioned, he acquired considerable personal property; one third of which he, likewise, bequeathed to his wife Deborah, during her natural life; adding, "that she deserved more, if his estate would bear it:" he says, moreover, that it was through her care and pains, that a great part of his estate had been preserved: he desired that his funeral should be decent, "little mourning, for he had outlived the age of man." [h]

As soon as the usurpers had established themselves, they assigned to certain trustees, [i] to whom were confided all matters concerning the university, the possessions of the Archbishop, and of the Dean and Chapter, of this cathedral; those persons

Benjamin Culme.
Amber. Anngier.
James Sybold.
Godf. Rhodes.
Henry Hall.
Jos. War.
Jo. Brookbank.
Robert Parry.
Joan. Creighton, Can.
Edward Syng.
Robert Dickson.
Rand. Ince.
Henry Byrch.
Richard Powel."

"* Which being given in writing, the copies cannot be recovered, though the main of what is there insisted on, is here repeated." "† 30th of April 1642."
Borlace, Reduction of Ireland, pag. 236.

[d] There is, extant, a counterpart of a lease, signed by Dean Culme, the 5th February 1649.

[e] Lidiard St. John's. Fasti Oxon. 305. Bliss's edition.

[f] Benjamin Culme, of Canonlee, in the county of Devon, gave a letter of attorney to his mother Deborah, of Mudge-hall, to demise and settle all his estate in Ireland, for any term whatever, that was by him granteable, and under what rents or conditions she should agree for. This power, granted 28th June 1661, was enrolled, 27th March 1662. Rot. Canc. 14 Cha. II.

[g] In his will he mentions others of his name, his brothers Richard, Lewis and Arthur Culme of Cloghouter, whom, with others, he nominates overseers of his will, and prays that they be "carefull of the breeding of his son and daughter." Arthur Culme was his Majesties Captain of the fort of Cloghouter, in 1641; he was taken therein by stratagem, by one of the O'Reilly's, who detained him a prisoner, commiting him to the charge of one of his name, on whom he conferred the title of constable. Dr. H. Jones's account of rebellion. Arthur Culme obtained his liberty by an exchange of prisoners; his examination was taken 11th May 1642, before Sir Robert Meredyth, Chanc. of the Exchequer. Some account of Hugh, the brother of Arthur, is to be found in Dr. Jones's account of the commencement of the rebellion.

[h] His will was proved by his widow, 5th February 1657, in London; and, at Dublin, 4th May 1658.

[i] This appears from Scobell's statutes, fol. London 1658, pag. 104.

Hence it is that, in the Down-survey, we find the college of Dublin noted as proprietors of several tracts which belong, properly, to the Archbishop and others; and in the survey of the half-barony of Rathdown, made in 1654, by order of C. Fleetwood, Lord Deputy, (printed in Desid. Cur. Hib. Vol. II. pag. 531,) the college are reported to be proprietors of the tithes of Tannee and Rathmichael, parishes in that barony, which did previously belong to St. Patrick's; and those of Connagh, which were parcel of the Archbishop's mensals; the tithes of Lepperstown and Glanmuck are said, likewise, to belong to the college; but, I apprehend the Commissioners report is erroneous in respect of those latter: it does not appear that the tithes which belonged to the Dean of Christ church, were appropriated in this way.

I have seen two orders by the Parliament Commissioners, during the usurpation, which relate to this church, both dated 15th December 1651; by the first, instructions were given to Sir Robert King and the Attorney-general, trustees for Trinity college, Dublin, to let the houses of Dr. Aungier and the late Dean of St. Patrick's, which had fallen much into decay, so that they might be kept in good repair, for the advantage of the said college: by the second, Mr. Winter, Provost, and four other persons, were desired to take care, that the Gospel should be preached at St. Patrick's church, every Lord's-day, by themselves or others, until Mr. Chambers should return, who had been appointed to attend the Commissioners into Connaught.

seem, moreover, to have been chiefly trusted by them, in all matters which concerned religion: that St. Patrick's-church was by them converted, occasionally, to profane uses, appears from a MS. in the library of Archbishop Marsh, formerly the property of Dr. Dudley Loftus. [k]

CHAPTER IV.

Annals of the Cathedral, from the restoration of King Charles II. to the promotion of Jonathan Swift, to the Deanery, in 1713.

Sect. I. WILLIAM FULLER, *Dean.*

1660—On the 3d of July, scarcely more than a month after the restoration of King Charles II. William Fuller, bachelor of laws, obtained the deanery of St. Patrick's, by letters patent.

The right of presentation was, at that time, unquestionably in the crown, as well by reason of lapse of time, as by the see being then vacant; but, the unlucky insertion of the words, "pleno jure ad nostram donationem, &c." which seem to indicate an hereditary right in the crown, to present to this dignity, went near to destroying the chapter's ancient privilege of election. The insertion of these words is, however, easily accounted for; this patent was made out in England, (for Lords Justices had not been, as yet, sworn, for government of this realm); in that kingdom the privilege, of a chapter electing their dean, is totally unknown, the words abovementioned were, therefore, to the framers of the patent, words of course, usual in all such presentations. That the patent should be received, when presented to the chapter, will not appear extraordinary when we consider, that, of the ancient body, there remained only three Prebendaries, Seele, Hall and Pullein, of whom, the two former were never before present at chapter, and the latter but once; they might easily, therefore, have been strangers to the customs of this church; indeed it would have been truly wonderful if they had been, at all, acquainted with them. If, however, these arguments be not deemed of sufficient strength to overrule this case being cited as a fair precedent, and that the hurry of the moment be not admitted as furnishing presumptive proof of irregularity, let us consider how it would have accorded with the sentiments of general joy, which then prevailed, to oppose the King's appointment, where his right was unquestionable, on account of an informality of expression. How unpopular such an act would have been, we may judge

[k] This document records the proceedings of a court martial, which began to sit here, on the 11th February 1651; the names of the President and his assistants were as follows:

The Right Hon. Lieut. Gen. Ludlow, President.

Colonel Hewson.	Captain Sankey.
Colonel Cook.	Captain Scrimshoe.
Colonel Jones.	Captain Packhouse.
Colonel Laurence.	Captain Hore.
Scout Master General.	Captain Carter.
Adjutant General.	Captain Jaycock.
Colonel Long.	Captain Taylor.
Lieut. Col. Arnop.	Captain Johnson.
Major Jones.	Captain Mansell.
Captain Oland.	Captain Nicholas.
Captain Ivory.	Captain Sands.

Captain Spelman.

The court sat, that day, on Major Elliott, who was accused of detaining his soldiers oats, cloth and pay; of not taking care to bring up provision to his troop, when in want thereof, and not calling the Quartermaster to an account for the same; of discharging his soldiers, and giving them passes to go for England, without leave of the Commander in Chief; and of selling one Brumwell's horse to another of his troop, which horse belonged to the state; of which several articles he was found guilty, and was, on the next court-day, viz. 13th February, dismissed from his command.

The court was held, I presume, in the chapter-house, and met, several times, between the 11th and 26th of February; but, although the proceedings of many other courts martial are recorded in this volume, which were held in the years 1651 and 1652, yet it does not appear that any more sat in this place; from that time forward the court was held, either in the Castle, or at Cork-house.

from the following incident, related by Bishop Kennet in his register, (page 880): Bishop Wren, notwithstanding an informality in Dr. Richard Love's patent, for the deanery of Ely, admitted, nevertheless, the presentation, adding the following words; "hanc tuam præsentationem potius pro valido sumpsimus, quam in deploratis hiis afflictæ Ecclesiæ tempestatibus, restitutioni ejusdem aliquam moram imponere; te admittimus, &c." We may judge how little inclined the three members of the chapter, above-mentioned, were, to question the will of their sovereign in this respect, when we find, that in the same year two of them were promoted to the episcopal bench, and the third to the rank of Provost of the university.

William Fuller, the son of Thomas Fuller, was born in London, A. D. 1608, and educated in the collegiate school of Westminster; he became a commoner, in 1626, in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, and having studied there and at Edmonds-hall, during fifteen years, commenced bachelor of laws, on the 27th Nov. 1632;[1] during this interval of time he had entered into holy orders, and was made one of the petty-canons of Christ-church. When the King fixed his head quarters at Oxford, in the time of the rebellion, Fuller became chaplain to Edward, Lord Littleton, Lord Keeper of the great seal: afterwards, upon the declension of the King's cause, he had his share of sufferings with other loyalists; being compelled, for his subsistance, to teach in a private school, at Twickenham. At length, upon the restoration of King Charles II. he was, almost immediately, nominated to the deanery of St. Patrick's: in August, the same year, he was created doctor of civil law, as a member of St. Edmonds-hall, by virtue of the Chancellor's letters in his behalf, which say "that he is a worthy and learned person, and hath suffered much for his loyalty to his Majesty;" after this he passed over to Ireland, and was installed, Dean, on the 22d of October following. On the 26th of January he was incorporated doctor of laws in the university of Dublin; and, on the 22d of February, was presented to the Chancellorship of the church of Christ the Redeemer, at Dromore.

1660—On the 27th day of January the ceremonial of consecrating twelve bishops took place at this cathedral; an event, the like of which had never occurred at any preceding period of time.[a] The manuscript collections of Dr. Dudley Loftus, at that time Vicar-general, and a public paper, called the Kingdom's Intelligencer," of the 11th of February, furnish the materials, from whence the following description of this ceremonial is drawn.

His Grace, the Lord Primate, Bramhall, was desirous that this consecration should be celebrated, as decency, and the dignity of so holy an office, did require; by his order, the twelve Bishops elect, in their albs and caps, and the Bishops[b] consecraters, in their caps, rockets and chimers, attended at seven o'clock in the morning at the house of the Dean of Christ-church; Dr. Mossom, Dean of that cathedral, and Dr. Fuller, Dean of St. Patrick's, repaired thither likewise, dressed in their formalities; all other Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Canons, Petit-canons, and Vicars-choral, and Choristers, of the said two churches, attended in their respective formalities, as directed, in the body of the same cathedral; the Pro-vice-chancellor

[1] Fasti Oxon. 465. Bliss's edition.

[a] Dr. Dudley Loftus published an account of this ceremonial; his tract is entitled, "The proceedings observed in order to, and in the consecration of, the twelve Bishops, in St. Patrick's-church in Dublin, on the 27th of Jan. 1660." Lond. 1661, 4to.

[b] Only three did impose hands; the Bishop of Clogher, being junior, did, according to his own desire, perform the office of holding and presenting the Bible to the Lord Primate, during the ceremony.

of the university, the Doctors of divinity and of law, Bachelors of divinity, and all other inferior graduates, the ministers and civilians of the city, with the whole University, by the like direction and notice, attended at the west gate of Christ-church in their several gowns and formalities.

Being collected together, they proceeded to the cathedral of St. Patrick in the following order:

1st. The Lords Justices guards, horse and foot, after whom went their Lordships and the Nobility, in their coaches.

Then the Mayor and Aldermen on foot, in their scarlet robes, the Sheriffs and Common Council of the city in their respective habits; the city sword and mace being born before them.

2d. The General Convention of Ireland led by their Speaker, Sir Will. Domville, having the mace carried before him, and their officers walking bare-headed; all these were so desirous to shew their respect to the bishops, that they voluntarily gave their presence to the whole solemnity, without the least invitation: then followed,

The Pursuivant of the court of prerogative, and the Apparitor-general, bare-headed.
The Virgers of the two cathedrals, bare-headed.
The Choristers two and two.
The rest of the procedents also in order, two and two, as followeth:
Vicars-choral,
Petty-canons,
Prebendaries,
Dignitaries,
The two Deans.
The Bishops elect, in their albs, the juniors preceding, viz. in the following order:
Edward Worth, D. D. Bishop elect, of Killaloe.
Robert Leslie, D. D. Bishop elect, of Dromore.
George Baker, D. D. Bishop elect, of Waterford.
Henry Hall, D. D. Bishop elect, of Killala.
John Parker, D. D. Bishop elect, of Elphin.
Edward Synge, D. D. Bishop elect, of Limerick, &c.
George Wild, D. J. U. Bishop elect, of Derry.
Robert Pryce, D. J. U. Bishop elect, of Ferns, &c.
Jeremiah Taylor, D. D. Bishop elect, of Down, &c.
Michael Boyle, D. D. Bishop elect, of Cork, &c.
Samuel Pullein, D. D. Archbishop elect, of Tuam.
James Margetson, D. D. Archbishop elect, of Dublin.
The Lord Primate's Gentleman Usher and Secretary, bare-headed.
LORD PRIMATE.
The Bishops consecraters, two and two, viz.
Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher; Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore.
Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory; John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe.
Beadle of the University.
Dr. Loftus, Vic. Gen. and Pro-vice-chan. of the University, with the Provost.
Deans.
Doctors of Divinity.

The abovementioned orders proceeded with silent, solemn gravity, until the time of entrance into the west gate of St. Patrick's church, when the Vicars and Choristers did proceed, singing, into the choir, and there continued singing the hymn, "Te Deum," accompanied with the organ, until the Archbishops, Bishops and other

principal procedents, were placed in their respective seats, and the Vicar-general had placed the deans, doctors of divinity, and others of the principal clergy, in order, on each side of the enclosure, from the first ascent toward the altar, unto the east end.

The office of morning-prayer was then celebrated by the Dean of the cathedral; which ended, Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, Lord Bishop elect, of Down,[c] appointed to preach the "concio ad clerum," ascended the pulpit during the singing of the hymn "Præveni nobis;" after the sermon, an anthem was sung, and at the end thereof the organ continued to play, until the Lord Primate and the Bishops consecraters had ascended the enclosure within the rails, and had taken their seats; then the Vicar-general, being sent by the Lord Primate, went to the Bishops elect, sitting in their stalls, and so, with the Dean of St. Patrick's, conducted their lordships to the enclosure, and then ranged them in order.

Then the office of consecration was celebrated, after which the anthem, composed for that purpose by the Dean of St. Patrick's, called, "quum denuo exaltavit Dominus coronam," was sung.[d]

During the time that the hymn, "Veni Creator" was singing, the Bishops to be consecrated had their rotchets and chiniers put on, which done, and the consecration ended, the aforesaid anthem was sung, and then the holy communion followed, with a solemn offertory; after the communion, the blessing was pronounced, by the Lord Primate.

The hymn, "Lætificetur cor regis," was sung before the Lord Primate, as he went from the choir to the west gate of the church, and the whole procession attended him to his house; the Bishops, in their return, proceeding all together, according to their order of dignity or seniority.

The whole ceremony took place without any confusion, or the least clamour heard, save many prayers and blessings from the people, although the throng was great, and the windows, throughout the whole passage, filled with spectators.

The fabrick of this cathedral having suffered much, from the application thereof to profane uses, during the usurpation, the inhabitants of the city and county of Dublin entered into a voluntary contribution for its repair; by this timely assistance it was, in some degree, prevented from falling entirely into ruin. The address to their fellow citizens, published by certain of the inhabitants, upon this occasion, represents the decayed state to which it was then reduced: "With doleful regret," say they, "we look upon the decayed and ruinous state of the ancient, and once most famous and beautiful cathedral church of St. Patrick, occasioned by the sacrilege and neglectful impiety of these latter times." This age of neglectful impiety did not terminate with that of usurpation, we still behold the tottering fabricks of this, and other edifices, dedicated to the worship of GOD, whilst palaces are erected, for profane uses, in all parts of our metropolis.

[c] Text, Luke XII. 42, 43; published, Lond. 1660, 4to. at the request of the Lords Justices, the Bishops and general convention: "it was," says Dudley Loftus, "so elegantly, religiously, and prudently composed, and so convincingly satisfying to the judgements of those who opposed the order and jurisdiction of episcopacy, that it gave great and general satisfaction."

[d] The words of the anthem, composed by Dean Fuller, were as follows:

Treble.
"Now, that the Lord hath re-advanc'd the crown,
Which thirste of spoyle and frantick zeal threw down.
Tenor.
Now, that the Lord the miter hath restor'd,
Which with the crown lay in the dust abhorr'd.
Treble. Tenor.
Praise him ye Kings.—Praise him ye Priests.
Chorus.
Glory to Christ our high Priest, highest King.
Treble.
May Judah's royal scepter still shine clear,
Tenor.
May Aaron's holy rod still blossoms bear;
Treble and Tenor.
Scepter and rod rule still and guide our land!
And those whom GOD annoints feel no rude hand!
May love, peace, plenty, wait on crown and chair,
And may both share in blessings as in care.
Chorus.
Angels, look down, and joy to see,
Like that above, a monarchie.
Angels, look down, and joy to see,
Like that above, an hierarchie."

1661—On the 8th of May, [e] the two houses of parliament rode in great state to St. Patrick's church; before the Lords Justices, the robe royal was born by the Earl of Kildare, the cap of maintenance by Viscount Montgomery, and the sword by Lord Baltinglass; the sermon was preached by Jeremy, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. [2] A national synod was held, this year, by Primate Bramhall, in St. Mary's chapel; and, on the 16th June, the same Prelate preached, at this cathedral, before both the houses of parliament, who received the sacrament from his hands; on the next day the house of commons ordered, that five members of their body should wait upon his Grace, and return their thanks, for his great pains taken in preaching, and administering the sacrament.

On the 11th of July, this year, Dean Fuller was presented, by the crown, to the Treasurership of Christ's-church, which he was permitted to hold with this deanery; and, on the 28th of October, in the following year, he obtained a grant, by letters patent, of all arrears of rents or tithes, due before the 24th of June 1660, which remained yet unpaid; this record mentions, that the late usurpers had granted to certain persons, in trust for the use of Trinity college, all the rents and profits of both those dignities, a great portion whereof remained still in the hands of the tenants and farmers; in consideration of the Dean's house being, by the iniquity of the late times, utterly ruined and demolished, his Majesty granted the said arrears, to be applied, however, solely to the re-edification of the said manse.

1663—On the 16th of March, [f] William Fuller obtained a patent for the united diocesses of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe; he was consecrated in Christ-church on the 20th; with those sees he was permitted to hold the rectory of Tradery, in the diocess of Killaloe, in commendam; and the deanery of this church, by dispensation, for two years, from the 25th of the same month; to be disposed of, then, as if actually void. [g]

1664—On the 29th of April, the Chapter ordered, that the stall-money, paid by ancient custom of the church to the Vicars-chorals, should be restored.

By reason of encroachments made upon the Poddle river, inundations had become more frequent and dangerous than before; accordingly an act of parliament was, this year, passed, whereby the Archbishop of Dublin, the Deans of the two cathedrals, the Earl of Meath, the Chief Justices, Chief Baron, Principal Secretary of State, the Attorney and Solicitor-general, or any five of them (whereof the Archbishop to be one) were invested with sufficient powers, to remove all nuisances, and to fine the persons committing the same, and likewise, to assess those inhabitants of the adjoining liberties, who resided within the level and danger of inundation, in such sums as they should deem expedient or necessary; it was provided, however, that such assessment should not exceed the sum of five pounds, to be paid by any person in one year. [3] [h]

[2] Public Intelligencer, 4to. No. 19.

[3] 17 and 18 Chas. II. Ir. Stat. Vol. III. pag. 191.

[e] On the day following the convocation met, in St. Mary's chapel, when a sermon was preached by Thomas Hacket, D. D. Vicar of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, on I Cor. xiv. 16. This sermon was afterwards printed. London, 1662, 4to. dedicated to Michael Boyle, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross; the preacher was, at that time, dean of Cork: he concludes his discourse with the following words:

"GOD will bless us for doing our duties, and we shall bless GOD for restoring unto us our liberties, and his sacred Majesty for setling and defending us in them, and our most reverend Father, the Lord Primate his Grace, for his effectual contributions towards them, who, like another Zerubbabel, or prince of our captivity, made it his care, in England to seek out all this poor church's exiles, and has led them with him into the land of their nativity or possessions."

[f] On the 14th of May 1663, on the 8th July 1664, and, likewise, on the 8th February following, William Fuller served the office of Pro-vice-chancellor, to the university of Dublin.

[g] Privy seal, dated 4th March 1663.

[h] By another act of the same year, the Precentor, Treasurer, and Archdeacon were impowered, within five years from the date thereof, to grant leases, for sixty years, of their yards or gardens within the close; provided the same should be made with consent of the Chief Governor for time being, and for such rent as he should allow, and provided the lots, so demised, did not extend beyond sixty yards backward from the street.

On the 23d of December, the Dean and Chapter granted St. Mary's-chapel to the congregation of French protestant refugees, provided that the congregation did adhere to the rites and discipline of the church of Ireland, and continue subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin; the Chapter, likewise, reserved to themselves a right to revoke this grant, which was for twenty one years, giving previous notice of three years, and conditioned, moreover, that it should still be made use of, as it was at that time, for a convocation-house to the Lords Bishops; this grant was, from time to time, renewed, and the chapel continued to be appropriated to the use of the same congregation, until the year 1816.

William Fuller was elected to the see of Lincoln, on the 17th, and confirmed the 26th of September 1667; he had, previously, resigned the deanery of St. Patrick's into the hands of the crown[i]: during the period he held this dignity, he attended but little to its duties, spending a great portion of his time in England; Robert Mossom, Precentor, presided generally at the chapter meetings, as Sub-dean.

He paid the last debt of nature at Kensington, on the 22d of April 1675, he was then aged, sixty-seven years; his body was carried to Lincoln and interred behind the high altar of his own cathedral.[k]

Sect. II. THOMAS SEELE, *Dean.*

1666—Thomas Seele obtained this deanery by letters patent, dated the 30th of March, his predecessor having resigned it on the 25th, according to the condition of his dispensation when promoted to the Bishoprick of Limerick; he was installed at the cathedral, on the 7th of April.

Thomas Seele was the son of —— Seele, who, on the 8th of October 1622, was chosen Sexton and Virger of Christ-church cathedral, and who, though born in an humble sphere of life, contrived to give his son the advantage of a liberal education. Thomas Seele was admitted a member of the university of Dublin, 15th October 1625; commenced bachelor of arts in 1629, master in that faculty 1632,[a] and, on the 31st of January 1633, was elected a junior fellow: about Easter 1635,[b] he was instituted to a benefice, but finding it did not answer his expectations, he resigned it, and solicited to be re-established in his fellowship; his request was acceded to with readiness by the provost and four of the fellows, on the 4th of June, "in tender respect," as they express themselves, "of an hopeful member of their society;" but, that all exceptions against such an act might be removed, they requested the consent and ratification of the same, by their visitors and vice-chancellor, which was accordingly obtained.[l] On the 31st of January 1637, Seele

[i] Col. regist.

The preamble recites, as the cause of passing of this act, the noisome and offensive state of those tracts, which lay along the sides of Bride-street and the Poddle, which were neither built on or paved, although the opposite sides of the same streets were; nor was there any convenient passage for water, or common sewer, by reason of which, those tracts continued in a state, unprofitable to the church and offensive to the inhabitants. Irish Stat. Vol. III. pag. 166.

[i] He resigned the Deanery in March 1666.

[k] Vesey, in his life of Primate Bramhall says, that Fuller did once design to write the life of that eminent Prelate, and had stored his mind with many materials for so doing, an act in which he apprehends he would have "excellently acquitted himself, as much to the instruction of the living as honour of the dead." Introduct. pag. 1.

Bishop Fuller repaired some of the monuments of his predecessors at Lincoln, which had been defaced in the time of the rebellion. Walker, Sufferings of the clergy.

[a] He commenced bachelor in divinity in 1640, and doctor, on the 26th January 1660: in 1637 he was junior Dean, in 1641 senior Dean and Catechist. Col. regist.

[b] Probably the rectory of Bewly, in the diocess of Armagh, to which I find he was, this year, collated. First fruits office. At the visitation of 1639 we find him serving the cures of Cowlock and Raheny, which he continued to do, till 1648. Ant. Visit. Book Consist. office, Dublin.

became a senior fellow, and, in the year following, was presented to the vicarage of Cowlock, by Sir Paul Davys, who had obtained a grant of the advowson, for that turn, from Charles, Lord Moore of Drogheda. In the year 1647 he occurs as Vice-provost of the university, but did not sign any act at the board after Winter's preferment, by the Parliament Commissioners, to the government of that seminary: upon that occasion, rather than submit to every change in the government, he chose to quit his post in the university, and was, in May 1648, collated to the prebend of Rathmichael, although not installed till October 1649. During the usurpation, he used to preach often to so many of the communion of the established church as could be assembled together; for this talent he was eminently distinguished, and treated all subjects that he handled with clearness and freedom: it is related, that at one time, in the college chapel, drawing up a comparison between the Law and the Gospel, he used the words, "that the sacrificing in the old law was a prodigious butchery;" this expression gave much offence, the Provost and Fellows took the matter under consideration, and required that he should make a publick recantation of the words, in the chapel where they were spoken.

The freedom with which Seele exercised the duties of his ecclesiastical office was by no means agreeable, to the then reigning powers; accordingly, on the 15th of December 1658, the Lord Deputy, Henry Cromwell, and the Council, prohibited him from exercising the sacerdotal function; their order was, "that Mr. Seele, who officiates in St. Nicholas church, Dublin, do desist to preach or exercise any ministerial function in the same, after the 19th of this month, not having past any tryal of his ability, or other qualifications, for the duty; nor hath received any allowance, or other approbation, from this board." [3]

Upon the restoration of King Charles, he was promoted to the Provost-ship [c] of the college, which was conferred upon him for life, although he was, at that time, a married man; his Majesty promoted him, as he expresses it, on account of the ample testimony he had received of his learning and piety, as also of his ability and fitness to exercise this office of Provost, he having been trained up, from his youth, in that society, and thereby well acquainted with the laws and statutes, and experienced in the best ways and means of governing the said society, and causing the students there to be trained up in piety, learning and good manners. [4]

Seele was promoted to the Chancellorship, in this cathedral, soon after the restoration, if not before the usurpation; for he appeared at chapter, in that capacity, on the 22d of October 1660, on which day the first meeting was held, or at least the first of which we have any account: on the 30th of April, in the following year, he was chosen to represent this body, as their Proctor, in the convocation. [5]

1668—Soon after Seele's installation, the chapter commenced the work of repairing their ruinous cathedral; the edifice had suffered so much, during the usurpation, that in April, this year, it became necessary to adjourn the chapter-meetings to the virger's house; in February following, the artificers reported that the whole roof was likely to fall, it was, therefore, ordered, that it should be taken down and the organs removed; in this expensive, but necessary, work of repair, they received

[2] MS. by Dr. John Lyon. [3] Orders of Council, MS. [4] Rot. Pat. 12 Car. II. dorso. [5] Min. of Chapt.

[c] The letter of privy seal was dated, Whitehall, 24th July 1660; there being no great seal, a patent could not be made out until the 19th of January following; the Commissioners for government of the kingdom, accordingly issued an order, dated 6th of November, that Seele should, forthwith, take the government of the university upon him, by reason of the great disorders that then prevailed therein.

very seasonable aid from the donation of forty tons of timber, which was granted to them by the Earl of Strafford, from his woods at Shillelagh. In June 1670, the bells of that cathedral were re-cast, and in the following year the roof of the nave was compleated, and exterior buttresses were built by a voluntary contribution of the members of the chapter[d]; by these accumulated expenses the oeconomy funds were much exhausted; many of the artificers were, accordingly, paid by assignments of a portion of the church revenues for a stated number of years[6]: it appears, however, that before the close of the year 1685, the fabrick of the cathedral was placed in a state of tolerable repair.[e]

1669—Seele was, in this year, presented by the crown to a dignity in the sister cathedral, and was installed, on the 17th of September, Precentor of Christ's-church cathedral.

1671—There is, in the rolls office, a letter from King Charles II. to John, Lord Berkeley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated, Windsor, 2d July, ordering, at the humble suit of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, that letters patent should pass the great seal, granting to them a confirmation of all their lands, advowsons, tithes, or other property; and, also, all their privileges, liberties and jurisdictions, expressed or mentioned to have been granted, in an ancient book or statute, called "Dignitas Decani," and in several letters patent of his Majesty's progenitors, and in the grants of the most reverend fathers, John, Henry and Luke, or in an act of parliament of the 14th of King Edward IV. all which were to be holden of the King, as of his castle of Dublin, in free and common soccage, together with a court, in the nature of a court leet and baron. This letter commands, further, that an act of parliament, confirming these liberties, should be prepared to pass, at the next session, and that Commissioners should be appointed to investigate, by inquisition, what lands, tithes or other possessions did properly belong to the said Dean and Chapter.[f]

1674—Dean Seele, who had, for many years, laboured under bodily infirmities, which, in some measure, disabled him from attending to the government of the university, was seized with the dead palsy on 30th of January 1674; he died on the 2d of February,[g] and was interred on the following day, in the College chapel; over his body there was placed a stone of black marble, fixed in the north wall, on the inside of the chapel, with the following inscription, underneath his arms.[h]

[6] Min. of Chapt.

[d] In 1668, the Chapter agreed for new-roofing the chapter-house: in 1671, they new-roofed the whole nave and built the buttresses on the north and south sides of the nave: in 1670, the bells were re-cast; the charge, for this last, was reported to the Chapter to be two hundred and eighty pounds: in 1681, the choir was new-roofed; and, in 1685, the interior of that part of the building supplied with seats, stalls, galleries, &c. Min. of Chapt.

[e] Subscriptions were entered into to promote this work of repair; I have, in my possession, a list of contributors names, (chiefly clergymen, and of this cathedral,) made in 1671.

[f] There was no meeting of parliament, in Ireland, after the date of this letter, during the remainder of the reign of King Charles II. this may, perhaps, account for that which is here meditated, not having been carried into effect.

[g] It appears that Dean Seele died poor, for there is an order on the Chapter-books of Christ-church, dated 20th March 1687, "to give five pounds to his widow, for her present support." And, in the same year, she was voted, by the Provost and senior Fellows, the sum of ten pounds, to enable her to go to England.

[h] This monument was taken down when the old chapel was destroyed; it is now fixed on the exterior of the east wall of the new chapel.

Dr. Borlace, who was Seeles cotemporary, bears testimony that he was "a person, in morals and true literature, signally eminent;" and, to this character he adds a prayer, "that he may long live to the benefit and honour of that college;" Seele, however, died before the publication of Borlace's work, which was in 1675. Borlace, Reduction of Ireland, &c. 12mo. page 163.

Some manuscript memoranda, of Doctor John Lyon's, which are in my possession, mention a tract with the following title, "Elogium ad Tho. Seele, per R. C. captivum apud Ultonienses," A. D. 1647; he, moreover, refers for the volume to the library of the university, P. 20, 21; where I have searched for it in vain.

There is a portrait of Dean Seele at the Provost's house, and another of his wife; they were purchased lately, from a relative of the latter, named Kyan, which was, I apprehend, her family name.

P. M. S.
THOMÆ SEELE, S. T. D.
Hujusce Collegii
Dignissimi Præsidis
Et Instauratoris;
Qui obiit Feb. II.
Anno Domini, MDCLXXIV.
Ætatis suæ, LXIII.

Nuper ab Exilio cum Principe Regna redibant,
Et posuere suas Prælia lassa minas.
His solis deerant tam publica commoda tectis,
Exilium Ars passa est, exiliumque Fides.
Præposuit SEELUM Carolus; quo præside Musæ
Proscriptæ veteres incoluere Lares.
Tecta Chalonerus pia condidit; obruta Seelus
Instauravit, erat forte creasse minus.
Magna viri doctrina, modestia magna, ruberet
Si sua perlegeret carmine justa cinis.
Convenit urna loco, debebaturq. sacello,
Non alio sterni pulvere templa decet.

Sect. III. BENJAMIN PARRY, *Dean.*

1674—On the 17th of February, Benjamin Parry, D. D. produced to the Chapter letters patent, conferring upon him the deanery of this cathedral; his brother John, Bishop of Ossory, held, at that time, the Precentorship in commendam, and was President of the chapter; he, no doubt, connived in betraying the rights of the church, for the advancement of his near relative; there were present, besides the two brothers, but three members of the chapter, Archdeacon Delaune, and the Prebendaries of Monmohenoc and Dunlavin, a number unusually small, and, when we consider the haste with which the business was performed, we shall be induced to think it was intentionally so: the letters patent passed the great seal the same morning, the Chapter could not, therefore, have been fairly advertised of the occasion of their meeting; however, possession of this dignity having been obtained and confirmed by installation,[a] it was not likely that any member of the Chapter would dispute its legality, as it must have been done at his own private cost; besides, the interest of this family was, at that time, very considerable, and the Dean himself was chaplain to the Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is scarce necessary to inform the reader, that this was the first time the deanery had been conferred by letters patent, except where the right of presentation was unquestionably in the crown; moreover, the verdicts of two juries have, since that time, determined this act to have been an usurpation, and encroachment upon an ancient undoubted privilege of this cathedral.

Benjamin Parry was the second son of Edward Parry, Bishop of Killaloe; he was born in Dublin, in February 1634,[b] and admitted a pensioner in the university there, 5th December 1648; from thence he went, with his brother John, to Jesus

[a] He was installed the same day, by Archdeacon Delaune. Minutes of Chapter, College Library.

[b] Benjamin, son of Mr. Edward Parry, baptized 1st March 1634. Regist. of St. Mich. of Pole.

College, Oxford, where he commenced bachelor of arts,[c] 10th February 1651: he was elected a fellow of Corpus Christi College, became greek professor, and after the restoration, was, by favour of the King's commissioners, appointed to visit the university of Oxford. In February 1663, he was installed prebendary of Knaresborough, in the cathedral of York, which he resigned in February 1673, when he came over to Ireland, having been elected, on the 30th of March 1672, prebendary of St. Michans,[d] by the chapter of Christ's-church, through the influence of his brother John, at that time Dean: on the 28th November 1673, he was installed prebendary of Castleknock, in this cathedral; and, on the 1st of May 1674, his brother, then Bishop of Ossory, conferred upon him the deanery of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and the rich rectories of Aghaboe and Callan.

1677—Benjamin Parry held the deanery but for a short time; through the influence of James, Duke of Ormond, he was advanced to the see of Ossory in the place of his deceased brother, by privy seal of 29th December, and letters patent, dated 27th January 1677; he was consecrated in Christ-church cathedral: a few days before the date of his patent, he resigned the deanery, and was presented to the precentorship[e] of this cathedral, which dignity he was permitted to hold, in commendam, with the Bishoprick; he enjoyed these promotions only a few months, for he died at his palace of Kilkenny, 4th October 1678[f]; his body was conveyed to Dublin, and deposited in St. Audoen's church, near the remains of his father and brother.

Benjamin Parry was author of a work intitled, "Chymia Cælestis, drops from Heaven; or, pious meditations on several places in scripture," Lond. 1659, 1672, 12mo. He also made fit for the press, and published, "Holy rules and helps for devotion, both in prayer and practice;" in two parts; written by John Duppa, Bishop of Worcester. Lond. 1674, 18mo.[1]

Sect. IV. JOHN WORTH, *Dean.*

1677—On the 17th of January, John Worth, B. D. presented to this Chapter, letters patent conferring upon him the deanery of this cathedral; which being, with due reverence, admitted by that body, he was installed after the usual form.

John Worth was educated in the university of Dublin, where he commenced bachelor of arts, on the 7th February 1666[a]: in August 1670, he obtained the prebend of Tullowe and the rectory of Ogashin, in the county of Clare; on the 8th of December 1671, he was installed Chancellor of this cathedral; in August 1672, the prebend of Crosspatrick, in the diocess of Ferns, was conferred upon him: in September 1675, he was presented to the rectories of Pollardstown, Dun-

[1] Kennet, Regist. fol. 650.

[c] Likewise B. D. 12th July 1662, and D. D. 9th July 1670.

[d] He resigned this prebend on 23d February 1674.

[e] Rot. Pat. 30 Cha. II. facie—His presentation to this dignity was likewise an intrusion, the Archbishop of Dublin being sole patron thereof.

[f] He had married a little before, but not to his content, his widow, Elizabeth, was buried beside him, on the 16th April 1679; and, his son Thomas, on the 28th of March preceding. Reg. St. Audoen. From his will we learn that he left two sons, Benjamin and George, to whom, and to his wife, he bequeathed all his personal estate; his wife was left sole executrix, but his will does not appear to have been proved until the 29th July 1679.

[a] He commenced A. M. 14th February 1669; B. D. 11th February 1677; and D. D. 13th July 1680; and on the 11th July 1682, he was incorporated D. D. in the university of Oxford. He was the son of Edward Worth, Bishop of Killaloe; concerning whom see note f.

murry, &c. in the diocess of Kildare, of which diocess he was installed Dean in the following month. Worth had been chaplain to Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, through whose influence he probably obtained these preferments.

1679—Dean Worth was involved, this year, in a dispute with William King, Chancellor of this cathedral, who contested the Dean's right of visiting, independantly of the Chapter.

On the 12th of January, which, being Monday next after the Epiphany, was the "dies natus" for the Dean's visitation; the Chancellor and the Prebendaries of Malahidert, Tipperkevin, Manouth, Stagonil and Wicklow neglected to appear, although they had been cited; the Dean pronounced them contumacious, caused them to be cited a second time, to appear on the 28th of the same month, to shew reasonable and just cause why they should not be suspended and canonically punished; the five latter persons appeared on the day fixed, and the Dean relaxed his sentence as to them; William King being called, he protested against the visitation of the Dean, and asserted that he had no right to hold any such, without consent of the Chapter. Dean Worth commanded him, that, in conformity to his oath of canonical obedience, he should submit to his jurisdiction as Dean, according to what, he asserted, were the ancient and laudable customs of the church, beginning beyond the memory of man; but King persisted in refusing to abide his visitation, accordingly the Dean pronounced him contumacious, and suspended him "ab officio et beneficiis;" he then adjourned his visitation to 10th February next ensuing, "quoad hanc causam;" the Chancellor protested against this visitation, and appealed to the Archbishop; in his letter of appeal, he denied the Dean's right to exercise any jurisdiction over the members of the Chapter, unless with consent of the said Chapter, capitularly assembled. On the 3d of March, in consequence of the Archbishop's monition, Worth relaxed his sentence of suspension, with a reservation, however, which is expressed in the following words, "quatinus de jure tenetur, et non aliter."

The business came to a hearing in the consistorial court of Dublin, before which the matter was debated, between 7th May and 25th of June: from such records as exist of this cause, we learn, that King did not, altogether, deny the Dean's visitatorial power, he acknowledged it "causâ inspectionis;" but not "causâ correctionis," without the concurring judgment of the Chapter; this, he asserts, was likewise the sense of the Chapter, to whose vote he offered to submit, but the Dean refused to put the question. The Archdeacon of Dublin testified, that though he submitted to the Dean's visitation, yet it was with a reservation, "quatinus de jure tenetur."

The Dean exhibited, in defence of his asserted rights, several instances from the books of chapter-minutes, and particularly one, where Dean Culme, in 1640, pronounced sentence of suspension against Donat Connor, Prebendary of Donoughmore, for contumacy; he likewise produced a clause in the act of parliament, 14 Edw. IV. and Pope Leo X. confirmation thereof, from the register called Dignitas Decani, which strongly confirmed the Dean's power of suspending. After several prorogations and adjournments, the Archbishop, on the 25th of June 1681, pronounced sentence in favour of the Chancellor, and decreed that the Dean had not power, in his proper name, to suspend the Chancellor "ab officio et beneficio." Dean Worth declared, immediately, his resolution of appealing to the King.

In consequence of Dean Worth's appeal, a commission was issued, dated 18th July following, which delegated a power to the following persons, or any three of

them, to meet and determine this cause in the exchequer chamber, on the 8th of November following, viz. the Bishops of Kildare, Cork and Killala; Sir Richard Reynell, Bart. and Oliver Jones, Justices; the Dean of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin; and the Dean of the cathedral church of Armagh.

This court of Delegates, after hearing the matter argued, declared their sentence on the 16th of February, whereby they reversed the decree of the Archbishop, and declared that King was guilty of contumacy for refusing to appear at the Dean's visitation. They further pronounced that the Dean had a right of visiting the Chapter, and had acted lawfully when, of his own proper authority, without requiring the consent of the Chapter, he had suspended King for contempt and contumacy; they likewise decreed that King should pay the costs of suit, reserving to themselves the taxation.

In consequence of this decree, William King appeared in the chapter-house, on the 23d, and submitted to the jurisdiction of the Dean, acknowledged his temerity in protesting, and refusing to appear at the Dean's visitation; he confessed, moreover, that it was an high offence in him to alledge that the Dean had not power to visit or punish the members of the chapter; he promised obedience in future, and further declared it to be his sense, that the Dean was, by virtue of the statute, 14 Edw. IV. immediate ordinary of every member of the cathedral; that, by ancient custom he had power to punish, upon just cause, all members of the chapter, and to sequester the fruits of their benefices, and finally, he admitted the justice of his own condemnation: upon consideration of this humble submission, Dean Worth relaxed the sentence of suspension.[1] [b]

1685—The Chapter had heretofore been occupied in preserving from ruin, the body of the church and chapter-house; this year they turned their consideration to the choir; the books of chapter-minutes record an agreement which they made, on the 11th of January, with John Barlow, who, for the sum of five hundred and thirty-nine pounds ten shillings, conditioned to perform all necessary repairs in that part; to front the pews, partitions, the Archbishop's throne, and galleries, with Dantzick oak, and to floor the choir with black and white marble; the funds of the oeconomy were, at this time, so much exhausted, that they were obliged to assign a portion of their rents, for a limited time, to the contractor, to discharge the debt which they had thus necessarily incurred.[2]

1686--The cure of St. Nicholas without, having become vacant by the death of Doctor Joseph Golborne, the Archbishop was desirous of voting in the Chapter, as Treasurer, (which dignity he held in commendam with the Archbishoprick, it having been conferred upon him by letters patent, dated 14th February, 34 Cha. II.) this desire he communicated to the Chapter, on the 10th of November, but the Dean and Chapter, having deliberated thereupon, refused to allow him to vote, he not having taken the accustomed oaths, whereupon his Grace withdrew, protesting against the acts of that day: however, we find, that on the 12th, he presented to the Dean, a mandate from himself, as Archbishop, to be installed Treasurer; and,

[1] Vellum book of Chapter-minutes.

[2] Book of Chapter-minutes.

[b] The following extract is taken from a deposition of Dr. John Pooley's, dated 6th March 1704. Pooley had been Preb. of St. Michans, and was, at that time, Bishop of Raphoe. I am ignorant upon what occasion this examination was held, the words are given upon the authority of a MS. in the hand-writing of Dr. John Lyon.

"He doth remember, he was against the Dean's visiting alone at any time, till he heard the case before the Delegates, between Dean Worth, late Dean of St. Patrick's, and Dr. King, now the Archbishop of Dublin, who denyed the power of the said Dean to visit or punish alone; the case was brought before the Delegates, and Mr. Justice Jones, one of the Delegates, convinced this respondent that a Dean, as such, had power over the members to punish, &c. or else the visiting power would be vain; and the said Dean did make the said Dr. King build stalls in the chapter-house, as a mulct for his contentiousness."

after he had, in due form, taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and that of canonical obedience to the Dean, he was installed in the choir, and it was decreed that he should have a voice in the chapter; after this we find he voted in the chapter-house, when Henry Price was elected to the curacy of St. Nicholas without; he likewise appeared in his place, as Treasurer, at the Dean's visitation, which was held the 10th of January following, and often after this period, both in person and by his proxy.

The Dean and Chapter displayed, this year, a manly and intrepid spirit, in defence of their liberties and privileges, against the unconstitutional measures that infatuated Monarch, James II. Bartholomew Isaac,[c] one of the college of Vicars, encouraged by the hopes of favour from his prince, chose to absent himself from the service of the choir; he was admonished, at the Dean's visitation, to give due attendance at divine service, and to perform his duty of a Vicar-choral, in the choir. On the 17th of January, being required to account for his continued neglect, he gave in his defence,[d] wherein he avowed that he had embraced the Roman-catholic religion, being that of his sovereign, which forbade him to pray, or to officiate, with the Chapter, in divine offices; notwithstanding this declaration, he demanded that he might be allowed to enjoy the fruits and emoluments of his vicarage, as before; he was, nevertheless, admonished, and the business was prorogued until the 24th of January: the Chapter accordingly met on the 24th, and certain witnesses having deposed, that Isaac still neglected to perform his duty, notwithstanding former admonitions, he was called upon to appear personally, but he refused to answer, whether he would, for the future, attend his duty in the choir; the Chapter accordingly repeated the admonition, and desired his personal attendance before them, on the 1st of February next following; on that day, a like report being made of his negligence, he was ordered to appear, on the following Thursday, to hear sentence pronounced against him. On Thursday, the 3d of February, his letter of dismissal was read, and formally proclaimed, in his presence; it began with reciting his manifest neglect of those duties which, by law and custom, he was bound to perform; it then pronounced him contumacious, and also incorrigibly disobedient to frequent monitions, and finally it declared that, by the universal consent of all present, he was deprived of the office and benefice of a Vicar-choral; this judgment was signed by seventeen members then present, among whom was the Archbishop's proxy as Treasurer. Isaac appealed, "viva voce," from this sentence, to the King in his court of chancery.

1687—On the 17th of October following, Bartholomew Isaac appeared again before the Dean and Chapter, to whom he presented a letter from his Majesty, and desired that an answer should be forthwith returned to the same; the King's letter is copied in the book of Chapter-minutes, and is as follows:

"James R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; whereas Bartholomew Isaac, one of the Vicars-choral of our cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, hath been deprived of his office and benefice, by the Deane and Chapter of our said cathedral church, for that the said Bartholomew Isaac hath neglected to perform the duty of

[c] He was Vicar to the Preb. of Monmohenoc and Yago.

[d] This document is entered on the book of Chapter-minutes, as follows:

"Reverendo admodum domino, Johanni Worth, S. T. D. Decano ecclesiæ metrop. Dublin, vulgo S. Patricii, et Capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ, &c. Cum intellexerim me a vobis fuisse citatum, ut personaliter compearem coram vobis in domo capitulari, rationem absentiæ meæ redditurus, ideo huc accessi ut rationem absentiæ meæ vobis reddam. Sum jam Catholicus Apostolicus Romanus, ejusdem religionis cum Rege nostro, Jacobo Secundo; quæ, religio mea, vobiscum orare, vel communicare in divinis, non permittit: quare humilimé peto a vobis, ut permittatis me fructus et emolumenta vicarii choralis recipere, sicut hactenus recepi."

the said office in our said cathedral church, according to the constitution, laws and usages of our said cathedral church; and whereas the said Bartholomew Isaac hath, by his humble petition unto us, set forth, that he hath been deprived of said office and benefice, because he is, and for some time past hath been, a Roman catholic; and therein hath supplicated us, that we would, out of our princely clemency, in consideration of the condition of the said Bart. Isaac, (he having a wife and family, and little, besides the profits of the said office, to maintaine them,) interpose our royal authority in behalf of the said B. Isaac, that he may be restored to his said office and benefice, and the profits thereof; and we, being informed of the truth of the said petition, and that the said Bart. Isaac hath been deprived of his said office and benefice, merely for his religion, doe hereby signifie unto you, the Dean and Chapter of our said cathedral church, that it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby will and require of you, that the said Bart. Isaac be forthwith restored unto the office of one of the Vicars-choral, of our said cathedral church, and the benefits thereof, and unto all profits, emoluments and advantages whatsoever, to the said office belonging, or in any wise appertaining, in as large and ample a manner as the said Bart. Isaac held and enjoyed the same; and we further signify unto you, the Dean and Chapter of our said cathedral, that it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby, by our supreme authority, dispense with the said Bart. Isaac's attendance in the said choir of the said cathedral church, and with his officiating therein, as long as we, in our princely wisdom, shall think fit, until we shall signify our royal pleasure to the contrary; and that the said Bart. Isaac shall and may hold the said office, of one of the Vicars-choral of our said cathedral church, and the benefits thereof, notwithstanding any laws, orders, constitutions, or usages, of our said cathedral church to the contrary, or any laws, statutes, customs, or constitutions, in our kingdom of Ireland to the contrary notwithstanding; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our court of Windsor, 10th July, in the third year of our reign,

"By his Majesties command,

"Sunderland."

As soon as the Chapter had perused this letter, they made an order, "that a public edict should forthwith issue, and all other due means be used, whereby the members might be summoned to appear, personally or by proxy, on the 1st of November, in order to consult the answer to be given to the said letter."

By means of this summons, which was issued according to order, a full meeting of the Chapter was obtained on the day appointed; all the Dignitaries and fifteen of the Prebendaries were present, either personally or by proxy, (the Archbishop, as Treasurer, also appeared by proxy); they appointed the Dean, Chancellor, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, and the Prebendary of Wicklow, to be a committee, who were authorised, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter, "either by suit of law, agreement, composition, or otherwise, to answer his Majesties letter exhibited to them on the 17th of October, and likewise to do, advise, or cause to be done, all other acts necessary to defend the Dean and Chapter." On the next chapter-meeting, viz. on the 2d of December, they further ordered, that each member should be apportioned twelve pence per pound, according to the payment of the twentieth parts, to discharge the costs necessary for vindicating the rights and privileges of the cathedral." [3]

It does not appear that any further proceedings were taken in this business, it was not, perhaps, thought prudent to press the matter further; and, probably, this

[3] Minutes of Chapter.

turbulent Vicar received a reward for his apostacy, by the donation of a more valuable benefice, in some other place.

In the beginning of December 1687, the whole city, but particularly the close of this cathedral, suffered grievously from an inundation, which far exceeded any thing that had before been known in Dublin; it had rained incessantly for two months, and on Saturday, the 3d of December, in the evening, there arose a sudden storm of wind from the south east, accompanied with rain, which continued with violence, so that the houses, in the lower parts of the city, were filled with water above the first floor; the flood continued to rise during the two following days, and during that period boats plied in Patrick-street and the Coombe; the Liffey also raged with tempestuous fury, overflowing its banks, and carrying away men, cattle, timber, and other matters; it bore away a mill which stood at the foot of the bridge, called Bloody-bridge, broke down Essex-bridge and carried away a coach and horses which were at that time crossing over it. The cathedral and its chapels suffered much, as the water rose above the desks, and the books were almost all destroyed.[4]

On the 9th of January Dean Worth held his last visitation, before the termination of which he was compelled to go to England, by reason of his ill state of health, leaving William King his Sub-dean[e]: from this appointment it appears, that all former enmities, between those persons, had entirely subsided, and subsequent events prove, that he made choice of the person best qualified to defend, during these troublesome times, the rights and privileges of this church. Dean Worth died on the 12th of April 1688.[f]

[4] MS. by Isaac Butler, penes me.

[e] When Dean Worth was absent in 1682, and likewise in 1686, he nominated Samuel Synge, the Precentor, to be his Sub-dean; but from November 1686, until 9th February 1690, Synge never once made his appearance in chapter; he was one of those who fled when the day was over-cast, but returned with the sun-shine; nevertheless, on that day, he entered his protest against all acts of Chapter performed during his absence, as being done, "absque seniore dignitate dictæ ecclesiæ, &c. allegans se fuisse et esse seniorem (vacante decanatu) et priorem, ac caput capituli dictæ ecclesiæ." Chapter-minutes.

[f] By his will, which is dated 3d February 1687, and was proved 5th May 1688, he ordered, that he should be buried in the burying place which had been granted to his family, by the Chapter of St. Patrick, "where is buried," as he expresses himself, "my dear Comfort Worth and six of our children; I request that my bones may be laid by her bones who was lovely to me in her life, and in our death let us not be divided." I I do not find that, in this respect, his will was obeyed, probably on account of his dying in England; at least the registry of this cathedral makes no mention of his interment here.

From the same document we learn that he left two sons; to the eldest, Michael, then aged fourteen years, he left all his property, real and personal, except a mortgage and some houses in Dublin and two hundred pounds in money, which he left to his son Edward. He "desires that his sons, if it shall please God to enable them, may serve at God's altar, as ministers of his holy word and sacraments;" to whichever should obey that part of his will, he bequeathed his library, but if neither should be of that profession, he bequeathed it to his nephew, Edward, the son of his brother, William Worth, second Baron of the Exchequer, provided he did embrace that profession before the age of thirty-one years.

Edward Worth, Bishop of Killaloe, the father of William, second Baron of the Exchequer, and of John, the subject of this memoir, was the son of James Worth, Clerc. of Newmarket, Co. Cork, whose father was Jasper Worth, of Tytherington, in the parish of Prestbury and county of Cheshire, where the family had resided, as we learn from Lysons (Cheshire, pag. 732,) upwards of three hundred years. The Bishop married Susannah Pepper, and had by her, a daughter, Susannah, who married Epenetus Cross, whose daughter, named likewise Susannah, married John Griffith, Clerc. and their daughter, Susannah, married George, fourth Earl of Castlecomer, from whom the present Marquis of Ormond is descended.

William Worth, Baron of the Exchequer, elder son of Bishop Worth, married, first, Alicia, co-heiress of William Barnet, of Yocksford, in Sussex, by whom he had a son, Edward, who lived at Rathfarnham, and had a son named William, who died in the life-time of his father, and was buried in this cathedral in 1725; Edward died in 1741, and his four daughters shared his estates amongst them: some account of their descendants is to be found in Archdall, Peerage, Vol. vii. pag. 245. The Baron married, secondly, Mabell Tynte, fourth daughter of Sir Henry Tynte, of Ballymacrenane, county Cork, by whom he had a son named James, who, upon the death of his mother's only brother, succeeded to the estates of that family, whose name he likewise took; he was a Privy Counsellor, and married Hester Bulkeley, descended from the Archbishop and Archdeacon of that name, to whose property she became heiress by the death of Sir Richard Bulkeley, without male issue: this James Tynte, of Old-bawn, died in 1758, and left all his estates, real and personal, to Robert Tynte, Esq. Councellor at law. The Baron's third wife was Lucy, Lady Bulkeley, widow of Sir Richard Bulkeley.

John Worth, Dean of this cathedral, was the Bishop's second son, to whom he left considerable estates in Clare, Limerick, and Cork; he had, likewise, two sons, Michael, who died in London, and Edward, who became a Physician, and dying in Dublin, 3d March 1732, was buried in this cathedral; he left his valuable library to the hospital of Dr. Stevens, in this city, for use of the Chaplain, Physician and Surgeon, except such books as were his father's, which he bequeathed to his cousin, Edward Worth, of Rathfarnam, whom he nominated his executor, and left him all his property, real and personal, after payment of a few legacies, of which, the chief was, two thousand pounds to Merton college, Oxford. Wills, in Prerog. office. Funeral entries, in Ulster office. See addit. notes, page lix.

Sect. V. WILLIAM KING, *Dean.*

1688—The Chapter being assembled on the 24th of April, at the Archbishop's visitation, passed a resolution that the church was now deprived of its Ordinary, by the death of John Worth, late Dean; who having, during his last illness, when he was proceeding to England, nominated William King, Chancellor, his Sub-dean, they continued and confirmed him in the same charge, constituting him President of the Chapter, so long as the deanery should continue vacant or during their pleasure; this vote was, moreover, confirmed by the assent of the Archbishop, then present in the chapter, holding his archiepiscopal visitation. [a]

On the 26th the Chapter resolved, that a petition should be presented to the Earl of Tirconnell, Lord Deputy, representing the Chapter's right to elect their Dean, a privilege which was apparent from their ancient records, and had been confirmed, in express terms, by their last charter of Philip and Mary: they moreover state, that notwithstanding this, their undoubted right, they had generally paid so great deference to his Majesties Chief Governor, as to accept the person recommended by him; "and, being willing to outdoe rather than come short, in all respects heretofore paid to the Chief Governor; they humbly inform his Excellency, that the late Dean is dead in England, and beseech his Excellency to recommend some fit member of their Chapter, or to suffer them, with his good liking and approbation, to pass to a free election, according to their ancient privilege."

To this petition the Lord Deputy replied, that he would consult the Attorney-general concerning the legality of their request; it appears that afterwards he promised to hear the case tried, in presence of the Judges; for this latter promise the Chapter, in a subsequent petition preferred 7th of May, returned their grateful thanks, and entreated that his Excellency would fix upon some day when they might wait upon him with their Council. On the 2d of June they consented that the fruits of the deanery should be sequestered, by the Archbishop, for the use of the next incumbent; the Chancellor, Prebendary of Wicklow, and Register of the chapter were appointed sequestrators. [1]

[1] Vellum Chapter-book.

[a] As I apprehend that the words of this instrument of nomination are important, I shall give them at full length.

"Cum Ecclesia Sti Patricii, per mortem naturalem venerabilis viri Johan. Worth, S. T. D. ejusdem ecclesiæ nuper Decani, Rectore Ordinario viduata sit; cumque dictus Johannes Worth, Gulielmum King, A. M. ejusdem ecclesiæ Cancellarium, vice sua, durante sua absentia, cum consensu Capituli dictæ ecclesiæ, priusquam Angliam, salutis suæ causa, adiit, in Subdecanum substituit; cumque per laudabiles dictæ ecclesiæ consuetudines, ipsiusque rei exigentiam, opus sit presidente aliquo Capituli, et Ecclesiæ Rectore, qui necessaria, ad ejusdem capituli presidentiam, et ecclesiæ regimen, durante vacatione dicti decanatus, curet. Nos, Capitulum dictæ ecclesiæ, sub reverendissimo in Christo patre, Francisco, providentia divina, Dublin. Archiepiscopo, et Hiberniæ Metropolitano, in visitatione sua archiepiscopali capitulariter congregati, cum assensu et consensu ejusdem Archiepiscopi, dictum Gulielmum King in prædictam vicariam continuamus et confirmamus, illique presidentiam Capituli et regimen dictæ ecclesiæ et omnium membrorum ad eandem pertinentium, quantum in nobis est, committimus; ipsumque præsidem per presentes constituimus, potestatemque illi concedimus, quamtenus in nobis concedere est, capitula congregare et in iis presidere, omniaque alia facere quæ factu necessaria sunt ad regimen et conservantiam dictæ ecclesiæ, aut privilegiorum, jurium, immunitatum et possessionum, dictæ ecclesiæ conservantiam, necessaria sunt; omnia que membra dictæ ecclesiæ hortamur, illisque injungimus, ut dicto Presidenti ejusque salutaribus mandatis et correctionibus alacriter sese subjiciant; quæ omnia predicta statuimus, ordinamus, et per presentes firmiter injungimus, durante vacatione ejusdem decanatus, et nostro beneplacito."

"Et Nos, Franciscus, providentia divina, Dublin. Archiepiscopus, Hiberniæ Primatus et Metropolitanus, predictum actum Capituli Sti Patricii, in visitatione nostra archiepiscopali, per presentes, quatenus per nos fieri potest, confirmamus, ratumque habemus, et archiepiscopali nostra auctoritate munimus, in quantum nobis fieri potest; omnibus dictæ ecclesiæ membris, aliisque quorum interierit, per presentes injungentes, ne in aliquo negligere, aut contraire presentibus presumant, sub pæna juris, et contemptus, et gravis nostræ indignationis." Vellum book of Chapter-minutes.

Several other important acts were performed at this chapter-meeting; amongst others we find that Peter Isaac, a Vicar-choral, was deprived for neglect of duty, and John Worral was nominated to succeed him, and installed, with the consent, however, of the Chapter: these proceedings are of a nature wholly unprecedented, neither do the records of this church furnish us with any other instance of the Archbishop's interfering, so intimately, with the Chapter's concerns; it appears, moreover, from subsequent proceedings, that these measures were not deemed quite regular, for the title of John Worral, to the place of Vicar-choral, was esteemed not to be good; and, the Chapter, on the 10th of May 1692, voted it expedient that a new order should be passed for his admission; "he having hitherto," as they resolved, "not been admitted according to the constitution of the church." Book of Chapt. minutes.

The perplexed state of public affairs, in all probability, deprived the Lord Deputy of leisure time to perform his promise; but, from whatever cause it may have arisen, it is certain that the deanery continued vacant during the remainder of this year; and the time of the Dean's visitation drawing near, the Chapter found it necessary to provide a visitor in his place; accordingly we find, that, on the 15th of December, the President and Chapter sealed a process for the Dean's visitation, to be held by the Archbishop, "loco Decani," on the accustomed day, or as it is called, the "dies natus," being Monday next following the feast of Epiphany. [b]

On the 7th of January the Archbishop held this visitation, which was prorogued to the 24th, on which latter day the Chapter solicited his Grace to issue a "congè d'elire," authorising them to proceed to election of a Dean; this being obtained, they decreed, that a citation should issue to the Dignitaries and Prebendaries, to appear on the 26th, the day appointed to hold the election. [2]

Upon this occasion there were present. the Chancellor, Archdeacon of Dublin, Prebendaries of St. Audoens, Wicklow, Tassagard, Howth, Clonmethan, Monmahenoc, Tipperkevin, and Stagonil; the suffrages of those present were given unanimously to William King; the Archdeacon of Dublin, however, and the Prebendary of Monmahenoc accompanied their votes, with "a saving to the King of his rights;" the other forms, usual in such cases, were then performed, and the election having received the Archbishop's confirmation, William King was installed Dean on the 1st of February 1688. [c]

William King was born at Antrim, on the 1st of May 1650, his father having removed to that place from the north of Scotland, to avoid engaging in the solemn league and covenant, at that time imposed under a kind of excommunication; he was of an ancient family of the house of Burras, [d] and lived to see his son promoted to the Bishoprick of Derry. [3]

In 1662, William King was sent to a Latin school at Dungannon, and on the 7th of April 1666, [e] was admitted into Trinity College, Dublin, a sizer, or servitor; there he remarkably distinguished himself, and obtained a scholarship and native's place. On the 23d February 1670, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and in 1673, that of master [f]; in this latter year he received deacons orders from the hands

[2] Vellum Chapter-book, fol. 75.

[3] Harris's Ware, page 363.

[b] The process mentions, that, when there was no Dean, or in case of the Dean's absence or neglect, the Archbishop, according to the usages of the church, might visit, if there was a necessity for his so doing, and that there were precedents on their register to that effect: that he had signified his willingness to do so, and would supply the place of the Dean, on account of the exigency of the times, and would perform in the chapter-house, with consent of the Chapter, what it was fit and right should be done.

[c] William King remarks, that although it might be objected against his election being cited as a proof of the Chapter's right, that it was done in time of confusion; yet, inasmuch as he was afterwards allowed to enjoy it undisturbed for two years, and was, during that time, acknowledged to be Dean, his title was, by that admission, confirmed; moreover, the patent nominating his successor, acknowledges the deanery to have been vested in him, and to have been rendered vacant by his promotion; for the patent to Jephson has the words, "vacantem per promotionem ultimi ibidem Decani, &c." Orig. MS. among archives of St. Patrick's cathedral.

Alan Broderick (afterwards Lord Chancellor) remarks upon Dean King's election in the following words:

"The presentation of Parry does seem to have wrought an usurpation; but, if Dr. King, in 1688, was in due form elected and installed, and continued in possession till his promotion, I see no reason why that should not revest their right, and purge the usurpation, especially considering that, in the nomination of Lindsay, the crown affirms the title of the Archbishop." Case for an opinion, &c. among the archives of St. Patrick's cathedral.

[d] It is said that his father was, by trade, a miller, and Noble, in his continuation of Grainger, Vol. II. page 103, adds his testimony, such as it is, to confirm that fact; for he says, that, notwithstanding his elevation, "he never forgot he was a miller's son;" but, be the profession of his father what it may, it is certain, from his entering college a sizer, it must have been very low.

[e] From the entry in the college register it appears, that his father's name was James; his school-master's name was Dilgardno; his college tutor was John Christian. It is remarkable that his admission into the university was not registered at the time, but at a subsequent period, after he had been nominated to the Archbishoprick of Dublin.

[f] He commenced Doctor in divinity in 1688. Col. regist.

of Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry. At this early period he contracted an intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Henry Dodwell, by whom he was instructed in logic and history; they continued ever after to keep up a close correspondence, and his letters to Mr. Dodwell shew what pains he took to convince that divine of the evil tendency of some of his whimsical speculations. At the Provost's command, King offered himself as candidate for a vacant fellowship, at a week's warning; in this he did not succeed, yet he acquitted himself so well, that it served as a recommendation in his favour to John Parker, Archbishop of Tuam, who ordained him a priest, admitted him into his family in quality of chaplain, [4] and, on the 28th of July 1673, collated him to the prebend and vicarage of Kilmainmore, the rectory and vicarage of Kilmainbeg, the vicarages of Cong, Ross, Moregageh, Killmolarah and Ballincalla, all in the diocess of Tuam and county of Mayo. [5] On the 26th of October 1676, he was promoted, by the same patron, to the provostship of the cathedral church of that diocess, and to the rectories and vicarages of Killareran, Templeduresmore alias Knockmoy, Kilkerin, Ballimakilly, Aghiart, and the vicarage of Annaghdown, in the county of Galway. [6]

Whilst he was chaplain in the family of Archbishop Parker, he applied closely to the acquisition of all useful learning, an inclination which his patron sedulously encouraged, having conceived an high opinion of his superior talents and excellent qualifications; his Grace being translated, in 1678, to the see of Dublin, he collated Mr. King to the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's, on the 27th of October 1679. [e] In the cure of St. Werburgh's parish, which is annexed to this dignity, William King laboured, with exemplary diligence and success, to keep his flock safe from being perverted to the church of Rome, by those emissaries, who, encouraged by the prospect of the Duke of York's accession to the throne, exerted indefatigable industry to make proselites: at this time he was engaged in a controversy with Peter Manby, Dean of Derry, who, being disappointed in his expectation of obtaining a Bishoprick, conformed to the church of Rome, hoping, through the popish interest, to rise to that dignity; to Manby's work, intitled, "Considerations, which obliged him to embrace the catholic religion," published 1687, 4to, William King published an answer in the same year; [h] and in the year following, two other tracts, in answer to the same number of publications by the same Manby.

1689—That knowledge of the Chapter's rights, whereof William King exhibited so remarkable a specimen, during this contest, was derived, probably, from the investigation which he was obliged to make, during his dispute with Dean Worth, relative to his visitatorial power. His opposition to the extension of royal prerogative, was by no means agreeable to the monarchic principles of the

[4] Harris's Ware, page 363. [5] First Fruits office. [6] First Fruits office.

[e] His dispute with Dean Worth, whose right of visitation he refused to admit, is already related at full, anno 1679.

[h] King's answer to this pamphlet was intitled; "An answer to the considerations which obliged Peter Manby, late Dean of Londonderry, (as he pretends,) to embrace what he calls, the catholic religion." Dublin 1687, 4to. To this there came forth a reply, under the following title; "A reformed catechism, in two dialogues, concerning the English reformation; collected, for the most part, word for word, out of Dr. Burnet, John Fox, and other protestant Historians, for the information of the people; in reply to Mr. William King's answer to Dean Manby's considerations, &c. by Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry." Dublin 1687, 4to. King's rejoinder appeared under the name of; "A vindication of the answer to the considerations, &c. being an answer to the first dialogue, already printed, of the reformed catechism." Dublin 1688, 4to. In his next, the Dean changed his mode of attack, and without directly facing his adversary, published; "A letter to a friend, shewing the vanity of this opinion, that every man's sense and reason are to guide him in matters of faith." March 30, 1688. 4to. To this pamphlet, King brought forth, in answer, a tract intitled, "A Vindication of the Christian Religion and Reformation, against the attempts of a late letter, pretending to shew, that all religions have a like plea, and that there can be no such sins as heresy and schism, if every man's sense and reason are to guide him in matters of faith." 1688. 4to. Biog. Brit. p. 2839.

Viceroy[i]; he was, accordingly, on the 24th of July following, put into close confinement in the castle of Dublin, and remained there for some months; on the same day he appointed Mr. Henry Price his Sub-dean, the letter of nomination is in the book of Chapter-minutes, and is as follows:

"Rev. Sir,

"I am now under confinement, and cannot execute the place of Deane, in person, let me beseech you to take the trouble and place of Sub-deane upon you, during my confinement, and do what you can to keep the church in order; if a more formall and ample deputation be necessary, let Mr. Jones[k] draw it up; if ffree intercourse be allowed with me, I will signe it, if not, I doe hereby appoint Mr. Richard Jones my Atturney, to put to my name and seale, as shall be necessary; I desire the assistance of your prayers, and am

Your most harty friend, and humble Servant,

To the Rev. Mr. Henry Price, these William King."

William King, and Samuel Foley, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, had been appointed Commissioners for administration of the affairs of the diocess, during the Archbishop's absence; as the Dean's confinement prevented him from executing this charge, he urged the Chapters of St. Patrick and Christ-church to elect a proper person to perform the necessary duty; and his letter, written upon this occasion, from his place of confinement, is likewise entered upon the book of Chapter-minutes, as follows:

"For the Rev. Mr. Henry Price, Sub-deane of St. Patrick's.

"Sir,

"I am very much concerned that the Chapters are soe backward in their owne affaires, and I doe not see how they can answer it, either to GOD or man, to let the affaires of the diæces, whereof they have by law the administration, ly in the present confusion, to the greate scandall of our churche, and to the greate bleamish of its constitution; I know it is a difficult and dangerous time, and I doe not blame them for being circumspect, but withal, I am sure doeing their duty can never hurt any body, and the vindication of the church and ourselves is soe material and necessary, in our present circumstances, that we cannot venter too much in it; I cannot imagine what the members of the chapter should feare, or how the appointing of an administrator for the affaires of the diæces, which certainely belongs to them to doe, should offend or provoke any: I doubt not but all prudent men will condemn them, and if they will not, for the honour of GOD and religion, doe what they may and ought to doe, to rescue the authority of the church from contempt, which it cannot avoyd while such a person prætends to administer it, I believe GOD will find another way to justifie us, but those persons who have declined their duty, if they avoyd other punishment, will never avoyd being infamous: if the lawes were all against us, we ought to keep up discipline, to excommunicate the refractory, and refuse[l] submission to any sentence of that nature, so far as concerns the communion of the church, much rather ought we to doe this, when the lawes are for us, and it will be just with GOD to deprive us of the protection of the lawes, at least put the execution of them into other hands, when we, out of cowardize or interest, betray ourselves and them. I knowe that some doe not thinke this matter worth your while,

[i] Four days after he was installed Dean, the Archbishop issued a commission, nominating him and Samuel Foley, Custodees of the spiritualities, during his absence. Dioc. regist. office.

[k] Mr. Richard Jones, register and chapter clerk.

[l] I apprehend this word should be, *enforce*; in its present form the sentence is unintelligible.

or despair to doe any good in it, but I am affraide they have not duly considered the matter, or have not sufficient confidence in God's assistance[m]; what will our own people (not to speake of Dissenters) say to us, when they finde the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction administered by —— R. and the clergy quietly and tamely submitt to and execute his sentences? and execute them they must, if not prevented by us, or be deprived legally without any plea. I thanke you for the care and zeale you have already shewen in this busines, and I beseech you to be further industrious in it, till you bring it to a good effect; I begg your prayers, and assure you of the continuall kind wishes of,

Deare Sir,

Youre affectionate friend and servant,

October 10th, 1689. William King."

On the 22d of October the Chapter met, but so great a terror possessed the minds of the greater number, that, besides the Sub-dean, only two other members, Mr. Syddall and Mr. Finglass appeared; they accordingly issued an order for a general meeting, to be held on the 24th, under pain of suspension; but this menace scarcely encreased their numbers, for, on that day, there appeared only one more (Mr. Jackson) personally, and three others by proxy; they, however, read and approved of an instrument, nominating Anthony, Bishop of Meath, administrator of the spiritualities, during the absence of the Archbishop.[7]

Dean King, after a confinement of several months, obtained his liberty in December, this year; he appeared at Chapter, on the 9th, with those few members whom the popish persecutions had not dispersed; he even held a visitation on Monday, the 13th of January, at which there were personally present, the Prebendaries of Yago, St. Audoens, Howth, Tipperkevin and Stagonil; this and one other, held the 17th of February,[n] were the only meetings of the Chapter until the entire overthrow of the papal government, by the defeat of King James, at the Boyne: soon after the last mentioned meeting, the Dean was, without any pretence, again cast into prison; being previously thrown into the guard-house, to lie with the common soldiers, for several nights, without bed or other conveniency; he was, at last, enlarged through the interest and good offices of Herbert, appointed, by King James, Lord High Chancellor of England; who, though attached to that Monarch's interest, was yet a zealous protestant, and the chief patron and protector of the distressed people of his own religion.[o] After that Dean King had thus obtained his liberty, many attempts

[7] Minutes of Chapter.

[m] At the conclusion of a letter from Archbishop King to Dr. Swift, dated 20th November 1708, he writes as follows: "I thank God I never was much frightened by any alterations; neither King James or the Earl of Tyrconnell shocked me, I always comforted myself with the 112th psalm, 7th verse." * Swift's works, Vol. XV. pag. 285.

* "He shall not be affraid of evil tidings; his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

[n] On that day the Chapter nominated a Vicar to the cure of Luske, which had become vacant by the death of John Archdall; this they did, as the instrument sets forth, by right of the jurisdiction which they possessed over their prebendal churches, the perpetual Vicars in the same, and their appendant chapels. Minutes of Chapter.

[o] C. Leslie tells us, in his answer to Dean King's pamphlet, intitled, "The State of the Protestants, &c." "That he was accused to King James of holding a correspondence with, and giving intelligence to, the rebels, as they were then called, both in England and in the north of Ireland; particularly it is said, that he gave frequent intelligence to Marshall Schomberg, by one Sherman, and kept a constant correspondence with one Tolet and others in London:" he adds, that "King James was disposed to shew him mercy, the rather because his Majesty had once so good an opinion of him, that he had him frequently in private, and trusted him in his affairs; and that Lord Chief Justice Herbert, vouched for him at the council table, with so much zeal as to say, that he was as loyal a man as any at that board, which attestation actually relieved him from some inconveniences that then lay upon him (imprisonment) and continued him some time longer in the King's good opinion." Leslie's "Answer, &c." p. 105 et seq. How James, after his abdication, could have trusted King in his affairs, is a matter difficult to comprehend, when Herbert himself, although high in office, had little of his master's confidence. "Sir Edward Herbert," says King, in the book above-mentioned, Chapt. III. sect. 1, "was made Chanc. of England, and a new seal was cut for him, but he was never allowed to have that interest with the King, nor had his Majesty that regard for him, in his councils, that his place required. The puny papist judges had more influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he; he was not admitted to the secret of affairs at all, and at the publick councils he was set below Fitton, Chancellor of Ireland, and

were made upon his person; at one time he was assaulted in the streets and a musquet fired at him: the public service of his church was often disturbed, particularly on Candlemas-day 1689, by seven officers, who swore aloud they would cut his throat [p]: the rout of King James and his army, at the Boyne, restored, soon after, the diocess to peace and security [q]; accordingly we find the numbers convened at chapter, on the 4th of August, encreased to seven members, and some business done. King continued, however, no longer at the chapter than to see all matters restored to their ancient footing, being promoted, on the 9th of the next following January, to the Bishoprick of Derry: he received consecration at Christ's-church, on the 25th of the same month, from the hands of Francis, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Meath, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Killaloe; previous, however, to that event, on the 16th of November, which had been appointed as a thanks-giving day for the preservation of King William's person, he preached the sermon in his own cathedral.

several others, whom, whilst employed as Chancellor of England, and in his master's presence, he ought to have preceded."

In a letter from King, when Bishop of Derry, to Dean Trench, dated Londonderry, 23d February 1699, we meet with some observations upon Leslie's work, and a denial of what he insinuates against him: I give his words from the original manuscript which has not been published.

"Mr. Lesly would charge me with a great many insinuations, for he could find nothing direct, but they are the figments of his own brains, as is the rest of his booke, soe far as it concerns me; being nothing else but the chatt of the Jacobites' coffee-houses, without truth or vouchers, as you very well know. Such another is your second objection, of being taken into King James's favour, and intrusted by him as one particularly confided in; which is soe ridiculous a falshood, that it must stare in the face of any one that ever was in Dublin; the case was soe far otherwise, that I never spoke one word to his Majesty in my life, never received any message from him, nor had any item from any body about him, that he had any confidence in me; on the contrary, I was often cautioned to take care of myself, for if any advantage could be gotten against me 'twou'd certainly be made use of; and accordingly I was one of the first was imprisoned, and when I pressed for a tryall, the Lord Chiefe Justice, Nugent, told me, that truly they could prove nothing against me, but he believed in his conscience I was guilty, for the King look'd on me as a dangerous man; to which I only replyed, that it was very hard I shou'd loose my liberty for his Lordship's belief: and when they endeavoured all they could, on examinations notoriously false, to find a bill against me and others, the Grand Jury could not find ground for it, and soe brought it in, "Ignoramus." As for their finding any of my letters, it's most horribly false, they never had nor cou'd have any such, nor did my Lord Chiefe Justice, Herbert, ever tax me with any such thing; I was much obliged to him to the last, and he offered to be baile for me, but was rejected by my Lord Chiefe Justice Nugent, because he was a protestant, which heartily vexed him; at last, in December, after I had lyen near half a year, he procured my liberty from King James, which, when it was debated in council, Chiefe Justice Nugent objected, that I preached sedition, (that is against popery,) my Lord Chiefe Justice Herbert, answered, that the objector had never heard me preach, but he himself had, and assured his Majesty that I meddled with nothing of state matters; but added, that it were better to let me out and preach treason as much as I cou'd, than to keep me in prison, my confinement doing his Majesty more hurt, in the opinion of his protestant subjects, than my preaching wou'd; on which the Lord Tirconnell took the matter to himselfe, and assured the King I was a very honest fellow, and thereon I was released for that time. This I had from my Lord Chiefe Justice Herbert, and put it amongst my memorandums."

[p] About this time he was attacked by a weekly paper, called "The Weekly Abhorrence," licensed by one of the Secretaries, Richard Nagle or Albeville, and written by one Yalden, a converted lawyer. The same person had published a collection of passages out of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely's sermon, and several others in favour of passive obedience; which he laboured to recommend to the public by the following advertisement: "There was lately published, by John Yalden, Esq. the substance of fifteen sermons, entituled 'an Abhorrence from the Bishop of Ely, &c. of the proceedings of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords and Commons that invited him;' but, some protestants believing the said book to be a popish contrivance, and that such doctrines, as were therein, were never preached by the divines there named; upon which, a gentleman of quality, to satisfie these doubts, applied himself to two reverend divines of this city, viz. Dr. King and Dr. Foy, who both certified, under their hands, that the doctrines contained in the said book, were honest, and true christian divinity, and obliging to all christians to put immediately in practise, upon the peril of their salvation; which certificate satisfied several protestants here, and confirmed them in an unchangeable loyalty." This paper occasioned a letter from Dean King to Dr. Foy, wherein he declared, that he never had signed any such certificate, nor had any gentleman of quality, as the advertisement set forth, applied to him to satisfy his doubts concerning the contents of this volume, which he professed he had never read, nor did he know its contents; the whole advertisement, so far as it concerned him, he declared to be false and groundless. In answer to this, he received a letter from Dr. Foy, acknowledging his surprize to see himself thus in print, although glad to find he should appear there in such good company, declared he had never read the book, and so far from giving any such certificate, assured him that none such had been ever required of him. By the dispersion of these letters every body came to know the matter of fact, and those divines avoided the snare laid for them, it being supposed that they would either refute the doctrines, or let them pass in silence. "State of Prot. &c." Ch. III. §. 20, & Ap. 29.

[q] On Sunday, the 6th of July 1690, King William made his triumphant entry into Dublin, from his camp at Finglass, and proceeded to this cathedral, attended by the Bishops, where he heard prayers, and a sermon, preached by Dean King, on the power and wisdom of the providence of God, in protecting his people and defeating their enemies; he afterwards returned to the camp to dinner. Story's hist. page 91, and Harris's life of King William, page 277.

Sect. VI. MICHAEL JEPHSON, *Dean.*

1690—William King being promoted to the see of Derry, the deanery of this cathedral was conferred by letters patent, dated 15th January, upon Michael Jephson, A. M. who was installed on the 9th of February 1690.[a]

Michael Jephson was educated in the university of Dublin, to which he was admitted a pensioner on the 9th of May 1672; he commenced bachelor of arts on the 8th July 1675, and master on the 14th July 1679; in February following he was collated to the rectory of Clonkene, in the diocess of Armagh; on the 6th of October 1680, he obtained the Archdeaconry of Leighlin, the vicarages of St. Kill and Powerstown, in the county Kilkenny, and immediately after, the Precentorship of Armagh and rectory of Kilsleive, from the Lord Primate, Boyle, who, moreover, in May 1682, promoted him to the rectory of Ardmulchan, in the diocess of Meath, which he found vacant upon his triennial visitation of that diocess; to this Prelate Jephson was domestic chaplain, an office which he continued to exercise after his promotion to the Chancellorship[b] of Christ's-church, which was conferred on him by letters patent, dated 8th October 1683; through his care the plate of this latter cathedral was preserved, during the civil wars, being buried under the coffin of Thomas Cartwright,[c] Bishop of Chester, who came over with King James, and dying in Dublin, was buried in Christ's-church, on the 15th of April 1689.

1691—This year William Fitzgerald, Prebendary of Tipper, was consecrated Bishop of Clonfert, and Nathaniel Foy, Curate of St. Brides, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; upon promotion of the latter, the Chapter voted the cure of St. Brides vacant, and elected their Dean to the same, on the 14th of January; he continued, however, to hold it only till October following.

1693—Henry Rider, Prebendary of Malahidert, who had been master of the free-school in this cathedral, was, in June, this year, consecrated Bishop of Killaloe; and, on the 4th of January, Dean Jephson died; the Chapter met thereupon, and appointed the Treasurer, Jeremy William Marsh, to be President, during the vacancy, who held a visitation of the Chapter on the 8th of the same month.

By his last will, which was proved on the 7th of February, it appears that Jephson died unmarried, inasmuch as he appointed his niece, Martha Becket, his sole executrix. Administration was granted to Sir John Topham, Knt. on account of the minority of Martha Becket; Topham, at that time Guardian of the spiritualities of the see of Dublin, and Vicar-general of the diocess, had married the sister of Jephson, to whose five daughters, by her first husband, he bequeathed his fortune, which was not considerable.

Michael Jephson was the author of a sermon on the text, I. Peter, chap. 3. verse 11. preached, when he was Chancellor of Christ's-church, on the 23d of October 1690, before their Excellencies the Lords Justices, and printed by their command; he stiles himself, in the title page, "Chaplain to his Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland."

[a] He was installed by Samuel Synge, Precentor, who, on the same day, entered a protest against all the acts of chapter during the late vacancy; being performed without the concurrence of the senior Dignitary, alledging that he was, in the vacancy of the deanery, "Prior ac Caput Ecclesiæ." Min. of Chapt.

[b] He was instituted to the vicarage of Davidstown, on the 25th of the same month.

[c] This Cartwright advised King James to extort an oath from all his subjects in Ireland, to abjure King William and Queen Mary; but James made answer, that an oath would not bind the conscience of a disaffected man. and might be a snare to a good man. Cartwright was buried, as Dr. John Lyon writes, at the expense of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath.

Sect. VII. THOMAS LINDESAY, *Dean.*

1693—Dean Jephson having died without being promoted to a Bishoprick, the Chapter imagined that they had a right to elect his successor, and appointed a committee of their own body, consisting of the President, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Prebendary of Tassagard, whom they required to give the Lords Justices an account of their right to elect a Dean: upon this representation those Governors directed their Secretary to write to William King, Lord Bishop of Derry, for his opinion; which he communicated in a letter,[a] dated 23d of January; he therein

[a] Bishop King's letter was as follows:

" Londonderry, January 23d.

" Sir,

" I received the favour of yours, of the 20th instant, about the deanry of St. Patrick's; I have some notes concerning it, which I hope will enable me to give satisfaction to my Lord Capel's commands, though I gave up all the matteriall papers to my successor. I am under the highest obligations to be serviceable to that church, and not to lessen any of its rights; yet, as to the present case, I think there is no doubt at all but the donation is in the crown, and that my Lords Justices may give it to whom they please; for, in the vacancy of the Archbishoprick, the Chapter can, neither by their original constitution, nor by their present charter, nor by the common law, elect a Dean; not by their constitution, because in their original foundation by the Archbishop, which is recited and confirmed in their present charter, the Archbishop reserves a privilege to himself, to be present, at the election; and in the registry, called the black book, fol. 20, 'tis noted, that the Archbishop must give licence to elect, or the election is voyd; and fol. 14, the Archbishop is said to be patron of the deanry and not the King, " nisi simul vacaret cum ar 'epatu, tanquam membrum ex membro: when, therefore, there is no Archbishop to be present at the election to license it, they have no power, by their constitution, to elect, and the King supplies the defect. Neither can they claim it, by their present charter; for, tho it gives them power to elect their Dean, and he is to be elected out of the members of the chapter, yet it is " ritu, forma, et jure, quibus antea usitatum fuit," so this doth not take off the restriction that was upon them, by their foundation, which requires the Archbishop's presence or licence, nor take away the King's patronage, in the vacancy; and with this agreeth the common law, as appears from severall cases cited by Godolphin, page 263; and the reason is, because the crown is patron of the Archbishoprick, and when it happens to be voyd, all the temporalities of it fall to the King, during the vacancy. Now, the Archbishop having endowed and founded the deanry, and by agreement granted the election to the Chapter, this composition shall not bind the King, but he shall have the patronage clear, and without these restrictions, which may oblige the Archbishop and his successors, as being their own act, but shall not bind the King, whose right was paramount to theirs, and cannot be lessened by their act."

" But if you consult the rolls office, you will find the practise agreeable to this. Thomas Leverous is made Dean by patent, 1555, and the King's title is expressed thus, in the words of the patent, " ad nostram donationem, hac vice, ratione vacationis ar 'epatus spectantem," which shews that the King claims only a title, for that time, and that on account of the vacancy of the Archbishoprick, which is exactly the present case."

" But then, whereas you say it appears by all the precedents that the crown has granted this deanry, by letters patent, ever since the reformation, only in my case, I must desire leave to dissent from you, for I am well assured 'tis otherwise, and that from the year 1555 till the year 1660, there were only two Deans made by patents; that is, Thomas Leverous, on account of the vacancy of the Archbishoprick as before, and Richard Meredith 1585, and his patent runs thus; " ad decanatum, ratione promotionis T. Jones jam vacantem, et pro hac vice, jure prærogativæ coronæ nostræ ad nostram donationem spectantem;" which sufficiently shews, that where there was no promotion of the Dean, or vacancy of the Archbishoprick, the King did not claim the donation; for in this time, besides these two, there were seven Deans, viz. Alexander Craike, Adam Loftus, Robert Weston, Will. Gerrard, Thomas Moignes, John Rider and Benjamin Culme, all elected, and you will find no patents for any of them in the rolls office; but I own that since the restauration, 1660, the case has bin otherwise. I asked a great man, how the election of this and some other deanries came to be laid aside? and he answered me, that Lord Strafford commanded all deanries to be donatives for the future, tho' elective before. I could not well digest this answer, and I believe you will think it a little too arbitrary; but the truth is, on the restoration, Dr. Fuller got a grant of the deanry, and passed his patent in England, at a time when there was neither Archbishop nor Chapter to oppose him; and this patent, dated July 3d. 1660, is quite of another tenour from the old patents that were before, as will appear by comparing them, and they have continued in the same strain since; and indeed the election never fell to the Chapter, but once, before I was elected, and there was not one in the chapter that knew any thing of their rights, till I discovered it; no wonder, therefore, that they slipped it once, neither is it like often to fall to them, considering how near it is to a Bishoprick."

" For my own part, I am heartily desirous that their Majesties should have their right, and the Chapter theirs, and I believe it is agreeable to my Lords' sense that it should be so, and I think that will be done, if they grant the deanry to a fit man, and take care that the patent run in the ancient form, according to the precedent of Dr. Liverous, and not in the new strain, which is plainly an incroachment on the rights of the Chapter, which ought to be preserved as well as the property of other subjects."

" As to my election, you will find it at large with Mr. Richard Jones, of Bride-st. among the records of the Chapter. 'Twas in my Lord Tirconnell's time, and against his mind; I cannot exactly remember the day, but 'twas either the latter end of Jan. 1688, or the beginning of February; they are much wrong that say, it was after the rout of the Boyn. I appointed Mr. Henry Price Sub-dean, whilst I was confined by King James, and he behaved himself with great courage and prudence, in very difficult circumstances; and, indeed, in my opinion, he is a very good man and worthy of your notice, he is one of the oldest members of the Chapter, and has attended the church almost as much as all the rest; before he came to the parish of St. Nicholaus, where he is now, it had the thinnest congregation in Dublin, I reckoned one Sunday, when were only thirteen and the minister; but since he came, he has built two galleries, and yet wants room, which is due to his care, piety and diligence; such men ought to be encouraged, and if, on this or any other occasion, you could serve him, I am confident you will find you have done a good worke, and gratefull to GOD and his church, as well as to me. I must beg your pardon for the tediousness of this, which I could not well make shorter. I desire my most humble duty may be presented to my Lord Capel; I pray GOD to assist his Lordship in his good methods, for the advantage of the church and kingdome; I desire the

informed their Excellencies, that they had an undoubted right to present to the deanery, for that turn, the Archbishoprick being vacant and the temporalities of the see, therefore, vested in the crown; the arguments of this learned Prelate convinced the Chapter of their error, and Thomas Lindesay, D. D. having obtained letters patent for the deanery, dated the 6th of February, the Chapter received them with due reverence, and Lindesay was installed on the following day: it is to be observed, that those letters patent mention the grounds whereupon the King's claim to present, for that turn, were founded; they expressly say that it was, "by reason of the see being then vacant." [b]

Thomas Lindesay was the son of John Lindesay, a Scots Minister of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, in that town he was born and educated, and was of the same class with Dr. William Wake, who was Primate of England when Dr. Lindesay was Primate of Ireland. In Midsummer term 1672, he was admitted a commoner of Wadham college, Oxon, then aged fifteen years: in September 1673, he was elected a scholar of that house, and fellow in 1678. [c]

By the favour of Thomas, Lord Bishop of Rochester, Lindesay became minister of Woolwich, in Kent, and soon after chaplain to Henry, Lord Capel, Baron of Tewksbury; he came into Ireland, in June 1693, with that nobleman, when he, together with Sir Cyril Wich and William Duncomb, Esq. were nominated Lords Justices.

1694—Samuel Foley, Chancellor of this cathedral, was, in September this year, consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor.

1695—The improvement of church music appears to have been a matter to which Lindesay, during his ecclesiastical career, paid much attention. [d] On the 12th of August, this year, articles were signed, with Renatus Harris, for constructing in the great organ case lately put up, an organ with eight hundred pipes of metal and wood; for which he was to receive five hundred and five pounds, besides the old organ, valued at sixty-five pounds; this instrument was, by these indentures, to be furnished with the following stops; in the great organ, an open diapason of metal, stopt diapason of wood, a principal of metal, a great twelfth of metal, a nason [e] of wood, a fifteenth of metal, a sesquialtera of metal, a cornet of metal, and a mixture of metal. In the little organ, a principal of metal, a stopt diapason of wood, a nason of wood, a fifteenth of metal; in a memorandum annexed, he promised to give a stop called the echo, over and above those agreed for. On the 18th of May 1697, [f] the organ being finished, it was viewed and approved of by the Vicars-choral,

like for his fellow Justices, which you may let them know if you have an opportunity, and pray accept of the respects of,

Sir,

Your's, &c.

To Mr. Aldworth. William Derry.

Watson, in his "Compleat Incumbent," Lond. 1701, p. 49, has the following passage. "The priviledge that the King hath of presenting, by reason of the temporalities of a Bishoprick being in his hands, shall be extended to such preferments, unto which the Bishop, of common right, might present, tho' by his composition he hath transferred his power unto others; and, therefore, when the temporalities of the Archbishoprick of York are in the King's hands, the King shall present to the deanry of York, although, by composition betwixt the Archbishop and the Chapter there, the Chapter are to elect him." And, in truth, this is very reasonable doctrine, where the right of election rests solely upon a composition, because such composition cannot bind the King who was not a party thereto; but I think it may admit of a question, where the right of election has been confirmed by royal charter.

[b] "Jam vacantem per mortem naturalem Michaelis Jephson, nuper Decani, et in nostra dispositione, ratione vacationis Archiepiscopatus Dublin. &c."

[c] He commenced A. B. April 6th 1676; A. M. 13th March 1678; and, on the 1st July 1693, diplomated B. D. and D. D. of the university of Oxford.

[d] After he was elevated to the primacy, he obtained a license to endow the college of Vicars-choral of Armagh, with lands which he had purchased; he, likewise, in other respects, improved the choral service there, as will be related more at large in its proper place.

[e] I apprehend this word should be, *basoon*.

[f] Payment of these sums, to Harris, was conditioned to be made "at the tomb of Strongbow, in Christchurch." Min. of Chapt.

who reported that it contained, besides the stops originally agreed for, the following; a trumpet stop, an echo stop, the tierce stop, the entire open diapason on the choir organ, a flute stop of metal, and the great furniture stop of three ranks; for these latter he was paid the further sum of three hundred and fifty pounds.

On the 2d of March Dean Lindesay was advanced, by letters patent, to the see of Killaloe, and, on the 22d, was consecrated in this cathedral; for this preferment he was indebted to his patron, Henry, Lord Capel, then Lord Deputy; he was, afterwards, in June 1713, translated to Raphoe, and to Armagh, in January following. Primate Lindesay died in Dublin, on the 13th of July 1724, having laboured, during many years before, under an ill state of health; he was buried in Christ's-church cathedral. [g]

The only published work of Primate Lindesay's that I have seen, is a sermon, preached by himself at the anniversary meeting of the Dorsetshire Gentlemen, in the church of St. Mary Le Bow, on the 1st December 1691; the text was from Gal. vi. 10. It was printed, London, 1692. quarto.

Sect. VIII. EDWARD SMITH, *Dean.*

1695—On the 4th of March, Edward Smith presented to the Chapter letters patent, dated 3d March, conferring upon him the deanery of this cathedral, which being admitted, he was installed by Dives Downs, Archdeacon of Dublin.

Edward Smith was born at Lisburne, [a] in the county of Antrim, and received his education at the university of Dublin, to which he was admitted a pensioner, 12th September 1676; on the 27th of May 1678, he was chosen a scholar of the house; and, on the 26th of May 1684, was elected a junior fellow. [b]

On the 1st of March 1688, Smith embarked for England along with some other members of the university; the college being at that time filled with soldiers by order of the government, and, on the 6th of September following, used both as a garrison and a prison. When in England he obtained a recommendation to the Smyrna company, and was made chaplain to their factories at Constantinople and Smyrna;

The sum which they were to pay for this embellishment of their cathedral was, however, felt to be a great incumbrance to their oeconomy fund; it was paid by instalments, the last whereof was not discharged until the year 1702. It is commonly supposed that this organ was the donation of James, first Duke of Ormond; his arms being placed over it, probably gave rise to that opinion, but this was no more than a compliment, paid by the Chapter, to the extraordinary merit of that distinguished nobleman. In the reign of George I. when his son, the second Duke, was attainted, it was required of Swift to remove this escutcheon, but this he positively refused to do; it remained, therefore, in the same honourable situation, during the whole period of his disgrace.

The present generation have in remembrance, more the merits of the father than the errors of the son; it is not likely, therefore, that this trophy will be hastily removed from the place it has so long occupied.

[g] Aaron Crosly, in his Peerage, page 184, describes the solemnity observed at his funeral, which was follows: "First, the beadle of St. Anns; second, two conductors; third, seventy old men in black gowns and caps, the number of his age; fourth, his porter with a truncheon, sable, fourteen servants in cloaks, and steward with a white rod; fifth, two conductors; sixth, the crosier and pastoral staff, both guilt; forty-two elergy, two and two; the mitre carried on a cushion by Will. Hawkins; the hearse with the body in it, with escoucheons on both; four mourning coaches with six horses, and eleven coaches with pairs, &c."

Primate Lindesay died unmarrried, he bequeathed one thousand pounds to purchase fifty pounds per annum, for the oeconomy of the cathedral church of Armagh; and three hundred pounds to his successor, provided he did not renew the lease of a house in Armagh, which his predecessor meant for a see-house; thirty pounds a year to Richard Toole, formerly organist at Armagh, for teaching the boys to chant; the rest of his property, which appears to have been but small, (except two legacies, of one hundred pounds each, to the poor of Armagh and Drogheda,) he divided among his sisters and their children; among whom the names occur of Oughterlony, Thorn, Berry, Goldsborough, Kingsman and Dobbins, none of which are very indicative of high birth or splendid alliance.

[a] His father's name was James, a gentleman, and as the college register further informs us, he was aged 14 at time of admission; educated under Thomas Haslame; his college tutor, Patrick Christian. There was another Edward Smith admitted a pensioner in 1681, but the latter person was a native of Co. Cork; the resemblance between their names, probably, gave rise to the error into which Walter Harris and his other biographers have fallen, who state, that he was in his nineteenth year when elected a junior fellow; it is pretty manifest that their calculations are grounded upon the age of the last mentioned Edward Smith, who, when he entered college, was aged fifteen years.

[b] He commenced bachelor of arts, 9th February 1680; on the 15th July 1684, master of arts; on 5th February 1686, had the grace of the house for his degree of bachelor of law; and on the 25th February 1695, obtained that of doctor in divinity.

after continuing some years in their service, he returned, in 1693, to England, and was made Chaplain to King William, whom he attended in Flanders and England, and attained to an high degree of favour with that Prince; he continued to hold this office after his promotion to the deanery; for, on the 13th of March, a few days after his installation, he exhibited to the Chapter the King's letter, granting him licence of absence for twelve months, in order that he might attend upon the person of his Majesty; accordingly he appointed Dr. Henry Price his Sub-dean. During the short time he presided over this church Dean Smith was seldom present at chapter, spending most of his time beyond seas; Dr. Price generally represented him at the chapter-board, as appears by his appointments to the office of Sub-dean, in April 1697, and in June 1698; in the interim he paid a short visit to Ireland, and was, on the 20th November 1697, constituted Vice-chancellor of the university, for the next ensuing commencement, by the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor.

Edward Smith was promoted, by letters patent of 21st February 1698, to the united diocesses of Down and Connor, and was, soon after, admitted of the privy council; he died at Bath, in October 1720, and left large estates to his children, by both his wives. In 1696 he married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Dr. William Smith, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh: from the words of his will, it appears his large fortune was acquired after this period; for he had nothing to settle on his first wife and her issue, "but what GOD should please to give him, during their joint coverture:" by her, who died some time before 1710, he had a son, Edward, and two daughters; on each of the latter he settled two thousand pounds.[c] His second marriage, after a widowhood of some years, was, in 1710, with Mary, eldest daughter of Viscount Massareene; by her he had three sons, on the eldest[d] of whom he settled the lordship of Lea, in the Queen's county, on the others, and his two daughters, by this marriage, nearly two thousand pounds each.

Besides several communications to the Dublin Philosophical Society, which was established in the year 1683, just before Smith obtained his fellowship, he likewise contributed several essays to the Royal Society in London, both before and after the year 1695, when he was elected a member[f]: of those latter pieces, which are published among their transactions, Walter Harris, in his history of the Irish writers, has furnished us with the following list, viz.[e]

Answers to queries about Loughneagh; April 22d, 1685, No. 174.

A relation of the extraordinary effect of the power of imagination; July and August 1687.

Account of soap earth, near Smyrna, No. 220.

The use of opium among the Turks, No. 221.

Of Rusma, a black earth, No. 243.

[f] Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary.

[c] Previous to his second marriage, on 13th April 1710, he executed this deed, whereby he likewise settled upon Edward, his eldest son, the lands of Powerstown and Palmerstown, in county Dublin; several town-lands in counties Kildare, Roscommon and Wexford; his lease of Derrincose, in the county of Armagh, and of Kilberry and Cloney, in Kildare: he left his library to which ever of his sons should first enter holy orders; his will was dated 20th June 1720, and proved the 14th Jan. following.

[d] Skeffington Randal Smith, the eldest son, married, 21st August 1735, Mary, grand-daughter, by her father Dr. John Moore, to Henry, third Earl of Drogheda, and by her mother, to Sir Charles Porter, Lord Chancellor; he died, leaving her a widow, in Oct. 1748. Archdall, Peerage, Vol. II. pag. 111.

[e] It appears, from the manuscript transactions of the Dublin Philosophical Society, that Dr. Smith had communicated some essays to the Royal Society of London, previous to any of those mentioned by Walter Harris. I find the following note of proceedings on 30th June 1684. "Mr. Smith's account in Phil. Trans. of Jan. last, of the ignorance of the Turks, in political literature, being read; it was moved, by Mr. Molineux, that it be compared with what Wheeler relates, in his travels, page 199 and 200, and Mr. Smith's thoughts thereon are desired."

On the 21st July 1684, "thanks were returned to Mr. Smith, for the honour he did the society, in the public act, at the college, on this lemma paradoxon vetus Ægyptiacum, "quod sol nonunquam oritur in occidente" demonstratum de Societate ad Promov. Scient. Nat. Dublin. nuper constituta."

He, moreover, published some sermons, viz.

1. A sermon preached before the Deputy-governor and Company of Merchants trading to the Levant seas, 1st May 1689, on Isaiah, xxvi chapt. latter part of verse 9. London, 1689. 4to.

2. A sermon preached at Christ-church, Dublin, before the Lords Justices, on the 29th May 1698, on II Sam. xxii. 2. 3. Dublin, 1698. 4to.

3. A sermon preached at Christ-church, before the Lords Justices, the 3d of December 1702, on Psalm cxviii. 1. 2. 3. beiug for the signal successes of her Majesties forces. Dublin, 1703. 4to.

4. A sermon preached at Christ-church, Dublin, on the 23d of October 1703, before the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, and the house of Lords, on Isaiah lxv. 25. Dublin, 1703. 4to.

Sect. IX. JEROME RYVES, *Dean.*

1698—The deanery being vacant, and in the gift of the crown by promotion of Smith, it was conferred, by letters patent of 22d February 1698, upon Jerome Ryves, D. D. who was installed, on the 24th, by Dives Downes, Archdeacon of Dublin.

Jerome Ryves was educated in the university of Dublin; he was admitted to that seminary on the 22d November 1675, commenced bachelor of arts 19th Feb. 1679, master 10th July 1683, and obtained the degree of doctor in divinity two days before the date of his patent for this deanery, which was not, however, his first promotion in this diocess, for he was presented to the Chancellorship of Christ-church by letters patent, dated 23d February 1690.

1699[a]—In April, this year, Dives Downs, Archdeacon of Dublin, was consecrated Bishop of the united diocesses of Cork and Ross.

1701—A fall of rain, which had continued for many successive days, occasioned an inundation in this cathedral and its environs, which, on Saturday, the 12th of April, had increased to such a degree, that boats plied in the adjoining streets, and much damage was done to the cathedral.[1]

1703—The Dean and Chapter were, this year, involved in a dispute with the Archbishop, who had issued an order to the Petit-canons to appear before him at Leixlip, on the 7th of July; the Chapter resolved, that the Dean and one or two of their body should wait upon his Grace, and desire that the Petit-canons might not be required to appear at the time and place appointed; but, if his Grace would not consent to this request, they gave licence to the Petit-canons to appear, protesting, nevertheless, against the Archbishop's right to visit them, that so it might continue till the Chapter had time to search their records, and end this matter amicably, if possibly it might be done.

On the 20th of September, in obedience to his Grace's admonition, the Chapter chose Dan. Jackson, Prebendary of Stagonil, to appear their proxy at convocation.

1704—On the 8th of January Dean Ryves visited this Chapter for the last time; he died on the 1st of February following, at two in the afternoon, and was interred the next day, in the choir of his own cathedral, within the rails of the altar, on the north side.[2]

[1] Orig. MS. by Isaac Butler.

[2] Minutes of Chapter.

[a] On the 13th December this year, the Dean granted license for the marriage of Joseph Fenton, "Coriacus," to Jane Swift, of Bride-street, within the liberties of St. Patrick's. Min. of Chapt. This Jane was the sister of Dean Swift.

Jerome Ryves was married to Anne, daughter of Anthony Maude, of Tipperary, Esq.[b] sister to Robert, first Baronet of that name, and ancestor to the present Viscount Hawarden; by her he had one only daughter, Anne, who was married to Thomas Le Hunte, Esq. member of parliament for the town of Wexford.

Sect. X. JOHN STEARNE, *Dean.*

1704—The deanery being rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Jerome Ryves, the Chapter met on the 2d of February, and made choice of Sam. Synge, Precentor, to be President, "during the vacancy, or their good pleasure;" they likewise voted that a petition should be presented to his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, by their President and the Prebendaries of Wicklow and Dunlavin, setting forth their right to chose a Dean, which was derived to them from grants of his Majesties ancestors, and particularly confirmed by their last patent of 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary: to this petition his Excellency was pleased to return a gracious answer, intimating, that he would, by no means, take away the churches right, but would rather preserve it; the Chapter communicated to the Archbishop, who was in England, an account of these transactions and prayed his advice, which they promised to regard with due deference and respect: on the 21st they received, in answer, a letter of instructions, in pursuance whereof they transmitted a formal requisition, desiring his licence to proceed to election; this being obtained, the President produced it to the Chapter on the 14th of March; the 20th was fixed on as the day of election and notice was accordingly communicated, by annexing, to the door of the chapter-house, a public citation to all members of the Chapter: in the interim Dr. Jonathan Swift, Prebendary of Dunlavin, was desired to inspect the chapter-books, and to adjust matters according to the forms which had been previously observed upon such like occasions.

On the 20th there was a full meeting of the Chapter, when Dr. Jonathan Swift,[a] and two other members, were nominated compromisers, after taking the suffrages, Swift, in the name of the rest, pronounced that John Stearne, Chancellor, was, by

[b] He had by her three daughters; Anne, who married the Rev. Abraham Symes, of Hillbrook, Co. Wicklow; Alice, to Samuel Hayes, Esq. of Avondale, in the same county; and Jane, to John Lloyd, Esq. of Gloster, in the King's County. Archdall, Peerage, Vol. II. pag. 238, and Vol. VII. pag. 278.

[a] Swift was, as we may judge from this account, a chief agent in Stearne's promotion to the deanery; he was, however, still more instrumental in his elevation to the episcopal bench; neither of these services appear to have been acknowledged by the latter in the manner they should have been, and his disrespectful treatment of the Dean, together with some political measures which did not accord with his principles, wrung from Swift a letter, in which he takes the Bishop pretty freely to task. This severe letter was answered with great temperance by Stearne; and, in truth, they form a remarkable contrast one to the other; Swift's is that of a rigid moralist, he fearlessly arraigns the Bishop, and besides the charge of private ingratitude, seems to insinuate that of political depravity; Stearne's answer is more like that of a courtier, he has recourse to conciliating measures; as some do think, because his conduct was not quite defensible, but as others will say, because more conformable to his softer nature: I have thought fit to annex both these letters, as they are highly illustrative of many points in the lives and characters of those persons, who, we must allow, were among the most distinguished that ever filled the deanery chair of this cathedral. Dean Swift's letter to the Bishop of Clogher was as follows:

"July 1733.

"My Lord,

"I have been often told, by some of our common acquaintance, that you have sometimes expressed your wonder, "that I never waited on you for some years past, as I used to do for many years before; and that you could not guess the reason, because, to your knowledge, you never once disobliged me." As nothing is more common than dropping acquaintance by the usual occurrences of life, without any fault on either side, I never intended to say or think any thing of the matter, until a late proceeding of yours, which no way relates to me, put me upon a desire of finding matter to justify you to your friends here, as well as to my self; because I always wished you well, and because I have been more than once instrumental to your service. When I first came acquainted with you, we were both private clergymen in a neighbourhood: you were afterward chancellor of St. Patrick's; then was chosen dean, in which election I was the most busy of all your solicitors. When the compromise was made between the government and you, to make you easy, and Dr. Synge, chancellor, you absolutely and frequently promised to give me the curacy of St. Nicholas without: but you thought fit, by concert with the Archbishop, to hold it yourself, and apply the revenue to build another church; against which it became me to say nothing, being a party concerned and injured; although it was generally thought by others, as well as myself, that it was an ill and dangerous precedent, to build a church with the revenue

the majority of the Chapter, then present, elected Dean, who forthwith declared his assent and consent; the same compromisers were then deputed to present, to the Archbishop, their decree of election, and to require his Grace's ratification of their choice.

1705—The absence of the Archbishop prevented any progress in the confirmation of this election until the 11th April; on that day the Rev. Ezechiel Burridge, Vicar-general in spirituals, and Enoch Reader, Archdeacon of Dublin, produced his Grace's commission, authorising them to confirm the election, and assign, to the Dean elect, his stall in the choir and voice in the chapter; they proceeded through the usual forms, and at length pronounced the diffinitive sentence of confirmation, which was followed by administration of the oaths and installation of the Dean. [b]

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of the minister. I desire no thanks for being instrumental in your next promotion; because, as things then stood, I consulted my own advantage. However, upon the Queen's death, when I had done for ever with courts, I returned to reside at my post, yet with some kind of hopes of getting some credit with you; very unwisely: because, upon the affair of St. Nicholas, I had told you frankly, "that I would always respect you, but never hope for the least friendship from you." But, trying to forget all former treatment, I came like others to your house; and since you were a Bishop, have once or twice recommended persons to you, who were no relations or friends of mine, but merely for their general good character; which availed so little, that those very persons had the greatest share of your neglect. I then gave over all thoughts of being instrumental to place merit and virtue under your protection by my recommendations; and, as I was ever averse from mingling with multitudes and strangers, I forbore by degrees to be a partaker of your hospitality, rather than purchase a share of it at so dear a rate. This is the history of my conduct with regard to your lordship; and it is now a great comfort to me, that I acted in this manner; for otherwise, when those two abominable bills, for enslaving and beggaring the clergy (which took their birth from hell,) were upon the anvil, if I had found your lordship's name among the Bishops who would have turned them into a law, I might have been apt to discover such marks of indignation, horror, and despair, both in words and deportment, as would have ill become me to a person of your station; for, I call God to witness, that I did then, and do now, and shall for ever, firmly believe, that every Bishop, who gave his vote for either of these bills, did it with no other view (bating farther promotion) than a premeditated design, from the spirit of ambition, and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole body of the clergy; their slaves and vassals, until the day of judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt. I have no room for more charitable thoughts, except for those who will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, hope of future promotion (an argument not to be conquered) or the persuasion of cunninger brethren than themselves; when I saw a Bishop, whom I had known so many years, fall into the same snare, which word I use in partiality to your lordship. Upon this open avowed attempt, in almost the whole bench to destroy the church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who, I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for me that I know the persons of very few Bishops; and it is my constant rule, never to look into a coach; by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with."

"In the beginning of my letter, I told your lordship of a desire to know the particulars of a late proceeding, which is in the mouths of many among your acquaintance; from some of whom I received the following account: that you have the great tithes of two livings in your diocese, which were let to some fanatick knight, whose name I forget. It seems you felt the beginning of a good motion in yourself, which was to give up those tithes to the two incumbents (the fanatick's lease being near out) either for a very small reserved rent, or entirely, provided you could do so without lessening the revenue of the see. And, the condition was, that your tenants among them should raise the rents one hundred and fifty pounds, which was what the fanatick paid you for both the said parishes. It is affirmed, that Sir Ralph Gore, one of your tenants, much approving so generous a proposal, engaged to prevail on the tenants to agree, and offered a large advancement of his own part. The matter was thus fixed, when suddenly you changed your mind, and renewed the lease to the same fanatick for three hundred pounds fine. The reasons of this singular action are said to be two: the first is, that you declared you wanted power to resist the temptation of such a fine; the other, that you were dissuaded from it by some of your brethren, as an example very dangerous, and of ill consequence, if it should be followed by others. This last I do not in the least wonder at, because such advice is of the same leaven with the two enslaving and beggaring bills. I profess to your lordship, that I have no other motive in desiring to be satisfied upon this point, than a resolution to justify you to the world, as far as the truth will give me power."

I am, &c.

In answer to which, Bishop Stearne wrote as follows; his letter is dated 25th June 1734:

"Mr. Dean,

"I have a letter of yours of a very long date, and should, it may be, out of good manners have answered it long since; but I thought it would be better to delay the answer I was then able to make, to our first private meeting, which I thought might be soon; and for the same reason that delayed me then, I shall put off my defence till I have the pleasure of half an hour's private conversation with you, when I think I shall be able to clear myself from the heavy charges you bring against me; and, therefore, not to take any farther notice of that letter, I shall, in answer to your last, which I received by last post, return you my thanks for your having taken the same care about the sixty pounds, which, at your request, I lent Joe Beaumont, whose circumstances at that time I was pretty much a stranger to, as you have taken about the money you lent him on the same occasion, and as this shall serve for a full discharge of all demands I have on Joe's execution, so I shall take it as a favour, if you will take on you the trouble of disposing of that sum of fifty pounds, as an augmentation to your own charitable fund, or to any other charitable use you shall judge proper, and that I desire may be without any mention of my name."

"If you want an acquittance in any other form, be pleased to draw one, and I will sign it. I shall be proud of a visit in this mountainous country, being, notwithstanding any coolness or misunderstanding that has happened between us, as much as ever,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

John Clogher.

Dr. John Stearne was son of an eminent physician of the same name, who had been a fellow of the university of Dublin; from that station he was ejected by one party of the usurpers, [c] but restored by order of another, in October 1651; [1] having returned, as appears by the tenor of the order, from Bedfordshire. In 1659 he married, and resigned his fellowship, but, upon the King's restoration, he was nominated a senior fellow, and appointed, about the same time, by the provost and fellows, president of a new hall for the study of physic: his son, John Stearne, was educated likewise at the university of Dublin, to which he was admitted on the 2d April 1674 [d]: in October 1682, he was ordained a deacon by Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, who soon after appointed him his domestic chaplain: in October 1692, he was instituted to the rectory of Clonmacduffe, in the diocess of Meath; and, in June 1703, to that of Killary, in the same diocess; on the 11th of September 1702, he was installed Chancellor in this cathedral; and, on the 14th of February 1704, he was appointed Vice-chancellor to the university, by the Duke of Ormond. [e]

1705—The members of the lower house of convocation met, in order to chuse a prolocutor, in the chapter-house of St. Patrick's-church; the Dean took the chair, claiming it as his right to preside in that place during the election; the members, however, would not allow his claim, nor did they proceed to elect till he had quitted the chair, which, when he had done, they elected him to preside; accordingly, when the prolocutor was chosen, the Dean of St. Patrick's declared the election, and having left the chair, the prolocutor having put on his doctor's hood, was conducted thereto, by two of the members. [2]

1706—On the 2d of April, a table, settling the turns for preaching in the cathedral, was framed by order of chapter; to the Archbishop and the Dean was apportioned a share of duty more than equal to that of any other member; the former is set down for seven sundays and the Dean for nine sundays in each year. [f]

[1] Orders of Council.

[2] Wilkins, Concil. Tom IV. pag. 632.

See Swift's works, Vol. XVIII. pages 200, &c. and 262. Scott's edition. It is fair to advertise the reader that, the ingenious editor puts a very different construction upon those letters, from that which I have done; his remarks are to be found in the pages to which I refer.

[b] The government had it in contemplation to contest, with the Chapter, their right of election; a patent was accordingly sealed on the 9th of March, 4th of Queen Anne, which conferred the deanery upon Edward Synge, but the matter was afterwards abandoned. It appears the Chapter were very active in defence of their rights; Dean Ryves died on the 1st of February at two in the afternoon; they convened together at two o'clock the next morning, at Dr. Stearne's chamber; they then wrote the letter to the Duke of Ormond, which has been alluded to; at three in the afternoon, they presented it to his Excellency; they took care, moreover, to retain the speaker and recorder as their council, and it appears that those persons appeared for the Chapter, at six o'clock, in the morning of the 9th February, when the matter was pleaded before the Attorney and Solicitor-general. Minutes of Chapter.

[c] He was ejected by the Rump parliament, but restored by Henry Cromwell, to whose party he adhered. Information of Dr. Barret, Vice-provost, Trin. Col. Dublin.

[d] From the college register it appears that he was born in Dublin, educated by Mr. Ryder, (that is in the school of this cathedral,) aged fourteen at the time of his admission; his tutor, at the university, Philip Barbor. He commenced A. B. 11th February 1677; A. M. 12th July 1681, and D. D. 11th July 1705, immediately after his elevation to the deanery.

[e] W. Harris (Hist. of Bishops, pag. 191) says that Stearne was first made Vicar of Trim, perhaps not erroneously; but there was another Dr. John Stearne, who died in 1704, the very year of this Dean's election, who, in 1681, was appointed Curate of St. Nicholas within, and is perhaps the same person who, in 1679, was installed Prebendary of Donoughmore, in Omayle. I find, moreover, that John Stearne was instituted on the 23d May 1685, to the rectory of Stoakstowne alias Mitchellstown, and Syddon, in the county and diocess of Meath, and collated on the same day to the vicarage of Killary, in the same county and diocess, by Michael, Archbishop of Armagh, I presume, at his triennial visitation: those benefices might possibly have been conferred upon the subject of this memoir, but I find that one John Stearne was promoted in the same diocess so early as the year 1640; and again, in May 1682, John Stearne was instituted to the rectory of Stahalmoke, &c. by the Archbishop, at his triennial visitation: some of those promotions are too early, in point of time, to apply to the Dean of St. Patrick's, if the time of his admission into Deacon's orders be correctly stated. The Dean was Curate of St. Nicholas without; he resigned in 1713, about the time that the parish was divided.

[f] On the 13th of January following, a new arrangement of preaching turns took place; the Archbishop and Dean were to preach ten sundays during the year; but, on the 9th of January 1709, the table of preachers was altered, and the Archbishop left out of the list, save for his Prebend of Cullen, for which he was set down, as preacher, on the 13th of August.

On the 18th of May the Dean and Chapter confirmed the grant, made by the Minister and Church-wardens of St. Bride's parish, whereby the church of St. Michael of Pole was conferred upon John Jones, D. D. for the purpose of erecting a school there; this ancient church, which is situated near Sheep-street, had a round tower adjoining; to preserve this interesting building, the Chapter shewed an anxiety, which every antiquarian will think laudable; we observe, in the minutes of chapter of 23d August, an order "that Mr. Jones do not pull down the monument, or tower, of St. Michael of Paul's, near his school-house."

1707—The Chapter having received a monition from the Archbishop to chose a proctor, to represent their body in the house of convocation, in the place of Daniel Jackson, deceased; on the 21st of July, they chose the Rev. Jonathan Swift, at that time Prebendary of Dunlavin: on the 25th of August the Chapter consented to a division of St. Nicholas without the walls (whereof they were rectors,) into two parishes, one to go by the name of St. Luke the Evangelist, and the other to retain the old name; the right of nominating curates was still to continue with the Dean and Chapter: in like manner they signified their consent to that portion of St. Bride's parish which lies east of William-street, being annexed to the new parish of St. Anne. [3]

1712—On the 31st of April the Dean and Chapter made choice of the Prebendary of Clonmethan, to appear as their proctor at a provincial synod of the Archbishop, to be held at the chapter-house of this cathedral. [4]

1713—On the 1st of May [g] Stearne obtained the Bishoprick of Dromore [h] by letters patent, and was consecrated, in this cathedral, on the 10th, by the Arch-

[3] Minutes of Chapter.

[4] Minutes of Chapter.

[g] On the 9th of May the Chapter elected Dr. Edward Syng President, Stearne having resigned on the 4th. Chapt. Min.

[h] As Stearne was assisted in his elevation to the deanery, so likewise he owed his promotion to the episcopal bench, to Swift, for whom the tory ministry were desirous of obtaining this deanery. Swift, in his journal to Stella, April 1713, gives us an account of the negociation, and it appears that Stearne's promotion was a matter of great difficulty, as he was by no means a favourite of the Duke of Ormond's, who at first desired Swift to chuse any other deanery; he, at length, however, consented to the project, but added, "that he would do it for no man else:" again, on the 23d, Swift writes of Stearne, "Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he, I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well, and gently, in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind;" he concludes that day's journal by the following observation; "they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop, in spite of all the world, and to get the best deanery in Ireland." In February preceding, before he had any thought of getting the deanery of St. Patrick's for himself, Stearne was recommended by Swift to a Bishoprick; "I have named Dr. Stearne to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, for a Bishoprick, and I did it heartily." Swift had not then any desire to be promoted in Ireland, and it appears from his remark, 28th October 1712, that he was not on terms of friendship with Stearne; however, "he adds," if I am asked who will make a good bishop I shall name him before any body.

It is rather unaccountable how a man, such as Stearne is described to have been, should fail to enjoy the affections of his cotemporaries. It appears from the passages quoted above, and likewise, from Swift's letter, given in a former note, that he not only contrived to make himself unpopular to some who were but little acquainted with him, but even to forfeit his title to the regards of those who had interested themselves in his behalf, and to whom he owed a suitable return upon the score of gratitude alone; and what makes the case more extraordinary is, that his manner of living was so remarkably hospitable, not only whilst he was Dean of St. Patrick's but after he had obtained a seat on the episcopal bench, that it is celebrated by many of his cotemporaries. Dean Smedley alluding, in his epistle to the Duke of Grafton, to his situation at Clogher, has the following lines:

"Good John, indeed, with beef and claret
"Makes the place warm, that one may bear it;
"He has a purse to keep a table,
"And eke a soul as hospitable."

Gulliveriana, pag. 111.

Swift likewise, in his works, alludes, more than once, to his predecessor's mode of living: in his journal to Stella, 31st March 1711, he mentions his having dined that day with Sir Thomas Mansell, who was a Lord of the Treasury, and had ten thousand pounds a year in land; yet, says he, "the worst dinner I ever saw at the Dean's was better; but so it is with abundance of people here." Again, 15th April, he writes, "My Lord Keeper has sent to invite me to dinner to-morrow, and you will dine better with the Dean." On the 1st of May he writes from Chelsea, where Dean Atterbury was then resident; to him he alludes in that passage, where he says, "I have my Dean and Prolocutor, as well as you, young women, though he has not so good wine nor so much meat."

The merit of Bishop Stearne is well known and has been justly celebrated by many writers; Mr. Duhigg, in his history of the King's Inns, (who, by the way, remarks that he succeeded to the office of Chaplain to that society, in 1709,) writes as follows: "This man is intitled to lasting remembrance for his many excellent qualities. A few such characters would make prelacy popular, even among dissenters; animate civil freedom by religious support; and consecrate literary establishments, by public bounty or personal encouragement."

The Rev. Mark Noble, in his continuation of Grainger's Biographical History of England, Vol. III. page 94, pronounces the following well merited eulogium on this Prelate:

bishop of Dublin: on the 30th of March 1717, he was translated to Clogher[1]; he died on the 6th of June 1745, at the advanced age of eighty-five.[5]

As this excellent man was a considerable benefactor, either during his life or by his will, to almost every establishment of public utility, but particularly to this cathedral, to the university of Dublin and the see of Clogher; I cannot, with

[5] Exshaw's Magazine.

"The generosity, hospitality, and charity of Dr. Sterne, were unbounded; the deanery house of St. Patrick, the palaces of Dromore and Clogher, and the cathedral of Clogher, are lasting monuments of his munificence, and shew us what bishops *can* do in the cause of religion, where they have no families to support. But even here we must not stop; they *may* do more; for he erected the university printing-house of Dublin; and bequeathed all his books to St. Sepulchre's library, of which they had not duplicates; he acted as his own executor, by giving his relations and friends most of the legacies he had designed for them; but the bulk of his fortune (full 30,000*l.*) he left to public institutions; amongst these benefactions were, ten exhibitions to the university, of 50*l.* per annum, each; Mercer's-hospital 200*l.* St. Stephen's hospital 40*l.* for a Chaplain; Dean Swift's hospital 600*l.* towards the spire of St. Patrick's cathedral 1000*l.* such acts as these confer honour on our protestant Prelates." Indeed, this writer seems so fascinated with his character, that he manifests a strong desire to rob this country of the honour of his birth, and his insinuations are intended to impress the idea, that at least his parents were English; this, however, is not the fact, nor is it true that he was of the same family with the celebrated Laurence Sterne; the manner of spelling their names express a difference of descent; a variation, of which Mr. Noble does not appear to have been aware.

Mr. Samuel Burdy, in his life of the Rev. Philip Skelton, (prlnted Dublin, 1792, 8vo.) relates several things of this prelate, some of which do credit to his memory, but others are unfavourable to his character; it is fair to advertise the reader, as an extenuation of the latter sort, that the hero of Burdy's work was never promoted by the Bishop, although he served long as a Curate in his diocess; whatever faults he had we may reasonably suppose they were rather aggravated than suppressed by him in his memoir. Indeed it is possible to conceive faults in Skelton, which might have excused the Bishop not having promoted him, although his character was unquestionably meritorious. I shall proceed to give some extracts from Burdy's work.

In page 29 he gives the following account of the Bishop's strictness at ordinations: "When he (Skelton) was ordained a priest, he and the rest of the candidates were examined by this same bishop and his assistant a whole week in latin, for they would not allow them, all the time of this curious trial, to speak a word of English."

In page 40, he describes Stearne as "an old man (in 1732) of an odd temper, and a little credulous;" but the narrative which follows this preamble, only shews that an ill story had been related of Skelton to the Bishop, who enquired the truth of it, before he would license him to serve as curate in his diocess; but this neither proves the oddness of his temper, nor his credulity.

In page 60; when Skelton had written a work which the Bishop approved of highly, he sent for him and gave him ten guineas; Skelton was then a Curate, whose whole means were but 40*l.* per annum; this donation, which, inasmuch as it exceeded a fourth part of his year's income, must have been very considerable, rather disproves a charge which, in page 64, he urges against this Prelate, "that he gave but little encouragement to literature." Indeed this latter assertion is disproved by more than one act of the life of Bishop Stearne.

In page 63, he insinuates that Stearne ought in reason to have promoted Skelton, who was then celebrated, not only throughout the diocess, but through the north of Ireland, as a preacher and writer, and eminent for acts of charity and goodness: he relates that this Prelate, after he had bestowed a good preferment on another, "usually sent for Skelton, and gave him, by way of a sop, ten guineas;" I think it is pretty manifest, that if the Bishop had thought of Skelton in all respects as his biographer did, he would doubtless have promoted him.

But, in page 65, a heavy charge is brought against this Prelate, of inducing Skelton to remain in the diocess of Clogher (which, on account of his frequent disappointments, he had determined to leave) upon promise of the first living that should fall vacant; because that the Bishop "perceived it would be to his discredit, that a person with such abilities should leave his diocess for want of due encouragement:" it seems, he had been offered the cure of St. Werburgh's by Doctor Delany. "Skelton," continues this writer, "depending on his Lordship's word (for what could be more sacred than the promise of a Bishop?) informed his friend, Dr. Delany, that he would not take the cure of St. Werburgh's, but that he would continue in the diocess of Clogher, on the Bishop's promise of the first living vacant; accordingly the cure of St. Werburgh's was otherwise disposed of. Skelton's only dependance now was upon the Bishop of Clogher, who was bound by every tie of honour to provide for him, but his notions of honour were not over-nice: I am sorry that my regard to truth obliges me to own his Lordship broke his word. The first living that fell was that of Monaghan, (in 1740,) where Mr. Skelton was curate, and his Lordship, disregarding his promise, gave it to his nephew, Mr. Hawkshaw, a young gentleman, who had lately entered into orders."

Such is Burdy's account of this transaction; every circumstance relative to which, he asserts, he had from Mr. Skelton himself, who, he moreover informs us, "did not bear his Lordship's breach of promise with remarkable temper, but railed at him most violently;" and he adds, "that this the Bishop did not regard, his station placed him far above him, therefore he did not care for the censure of a poor curate." There may perhaps be some truth in this narrative, but it does not deserve to be credited to the full extent; the evidence against this Prelate is the assertion of one individual, the evidence for him, his general good conduct, manifested by almost every act of his life: there is, moreover, something contradictory in the account itself; that the Bishop should be, at one time, so quick in perceiving "that it would be to his discredit, that a person of such abilities should leave his diocess for want of encouragement," and at another time so dead to every sense of shame, as to disregard the censures of that very person, is a matter contradictory and incredible: it is, moreover, quite improbable, that the Bishop should offer the first living that should fall vacant, whatever might be its value, merely to retain a curate in his diocess; it is likely enough that a promise was made of speedy promotion, which the other perhaps construed according to his own wishes; it is also very likely, that by his intemperate expressions of resentment, which Skelton admits he did not spare to utter, the Bishop might think himself disengaged from any obligation on his part, for we cannot suppose his original promise to have been given in so unqualified a way, as to have no reference to future conduct. Although no promise had ever been given the Bishop ought to have promoted such a man as Skelton, and doubtless he would have done so, had not the latter, by violence of temper and disrespectfull conduct towards his superior, thrown insurmountable difficulties in the way.

Walter Harris concludes his history of the Bishops of Clogher with this Prelate, who was alive when that volume was published; he finishes with the following paragraph, which is intended as an eulogium on Bishop Stearne:

"As a corollary to this see, I shall take the liberty to add, from a celebrated romance, the feigned character of Antenorius, the high priest of Apollo, leaving it to the fancy of the reader, to make the application to whatever person he thinks it most

propriety, conclude this memoir without a short enumeration of those acts of benificence. Besides entirely re-edifying the episcopal mansion-houses of Dromore and Clogher, he, in 1733, gave to the university one thousand pounds to build a printing-house, to which, in 1735, he added the further donation of two hundred pounds to buy types; by his will he bequeathed two thousand pounds to the Trustees for managing the fund of first fruits, to be laid out in purchasing glebes and impropriations for benefit of the incumbents, and provided against the entire waste of the principal sum, by allowing only one third of the purchased tithes to the incumbent, until the residue had replaced the principal sum expended: he likewise provided, that even that third should not be received longer than during actual residence: for the maintenance of a divine to explain the catechism, twice a week, in the city of Dublin, he bequeathed eighty pounds per annum; to be held from Easter to Michaelmas, at St. Werburgh's-church; and from Michaelmas to Easter, at that of St. Nicholas without; this catechist was to be chosen every three years, by the beneficed Clergymen of the city of Dublin; "I presume (he adds) they will be careful in chusing, from time to time, persons every way equal to so weighty and useful a work, inasmuch as they will be greatly assisted in the discharge of their parochial duties, by his labour:" to the Governors of Dr. Stevens's hospital he left forty pounds a year, for support of a settled minister there, to be a clergyman of the established church of Ireland, who had his education in the university of Dublin; to be subject nevertheless to the government of that house, and removeable for neglect of duty or misbehaviour: he empowered the Governors of that establishment to apply this bequest to any other use, that should seem to them, more beneficial to the foundation; to the same hospital he bequeathed, after the death of his own sisters, and his nephew, Mr. Richard Hall, his paternal estate of Balogh, Co. Dublin, and also his freehold in Luske, subject to the chief rent of six pounds per annum, to the Archbishop of Dublin, and likewise paying twenty pounds per annum, for ever, to Mrs. Mercer's alms-house: towards finishing the cathedral church of Clogher, provided it were not finished by himself and in his life-time, he bequeathed fifteen hundred pounds, or two thousand pounds, as his executors should think proper: he left one hundred pounds per annum, to bind out five children of decayed clergymen to some trade, and willed that no more than twenty pounds should be given with any one of them: to the Blue-coat-hospital he left twenty pounds per annum, or three hundred pounds in money; this legacy he afterwards changed to four hundred pounds, and paid it during his life, as appears by an instrument dated 10th September 1742: to the support of Doctor Swift's intended hospital for lunaticks, he bequeathed six hundred pounds, provided that the house and endowment thereof should be settled to the satisfaction of his trustees within six years after his decease; otherwise that sum to be disposed of to some other charitable use: towards building a spire on the top of the steeple of St. Patrick's cathedral, he left one thousand pounds, provided the Dean and Chapter, within six years after his decease, out of their oeconomy funds or by the help of contributions, did go seriously about the work: he bequeathed fifty pounds per annum for ten exhibitions, at the choice of the Provost and senior Fellows of Trinity college, and desired that a deference should be had to such as were out of the diocess of Clogher: he left thirty pounds per annum as an addition to the funds of Mr.

suitable. "In placidissimâ senectute vacuus curis, et ad arbitrium fælix; aderat ei litterarum copia ingens, acre acumen et celere; quæ omnia vitæ integritas honestabat in jucundissimo sene, &c." Harris's Ware, page 192.

[1] There is a portrait of John Stearne, when Bishop of Clogher, in mez. own hair, black cap, band, a half sheet; Carleton, pinxt. T. Beard, sculpt. Noble's continuation of Grainger. Vol. III. page 94.

There are portraits of him at the Provost's house, Trinity college; and, as I am informed, at the see house of Clogher.

Chetwood's charity: to the library of Primate Marsh, at St. Sepulchre's, all such books as were in his library, which they were not before provided with; the remainder he desired should be disposed of by auction, and the money divided among the curate's assistant of the diocess of Clogher [k]: the overplus of his fortune he desired should be applied to charitable purposes, according to the judgment of his trustees, and particularly to the support of blind children: he bequeathed two hundred pounds to Mrs. Mercer's poor-house, which money was paid by his executor to the Governors of Mercer's charitable hospital, but the testator's intention was questioned, by the trustees for her charitable foundation now fixed at Rathcoole; to this, his will, he nominated, for executors and trustees, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Newport; Arthur Price, Archbishop of Cashel; Lord Chief Justice Marlay; and Richard Vincent, Esq. who were required to keep up the same number perpetually existing, and for this purpose the survivors were to meet at the death of any one, and elect a joint trustee in room of the deceased; all those, except the last, died before the testator himself. [l] Stearne was author of the following works:

"Tractatus de visitatione infirmorum, seu de iis parochorum officiis quæ infermos et moribundos respiciunt. In gratiam juniorum, et in visitandis infirmos minus exercitatorum editus." Dublinii, 1697, 12mo. [m]

"Concio habita ad reverendissimos Archiepiscopos, vere-reverendos Episcopos, et Clerum inferioris domus Convocationis, Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ; in ecclesiâ cathedrali S. Patricii, Dublin. 4to. nonas Februarii, 1703." Dublinii, 1704, 4to. For this tract he received the thanks of the lower house of convocation.

[k] When he finished the deanery-house, he fitted out one large room, in the upper story, which had a fire-place at each end; in this room he deposited his library, which, however, he afterwards increased considerably: after his death the curates of his diocess, chose rather to have the books, than the money, divided amongst them, their request was complied with by the Bishop's executors; they were accordingly divided into lots, as nearly equal as possible in value, and nailed up in boxes that were numbered; duplicates of those numbers were written on pieces of paper, and the curates drew for them. Note on Swift's works, Vol. XV. page 470. His valuable collection of manuscripts, however, had been, previously, in 1741, presented by him to the university, of which he was at that time Vice-chancellor.

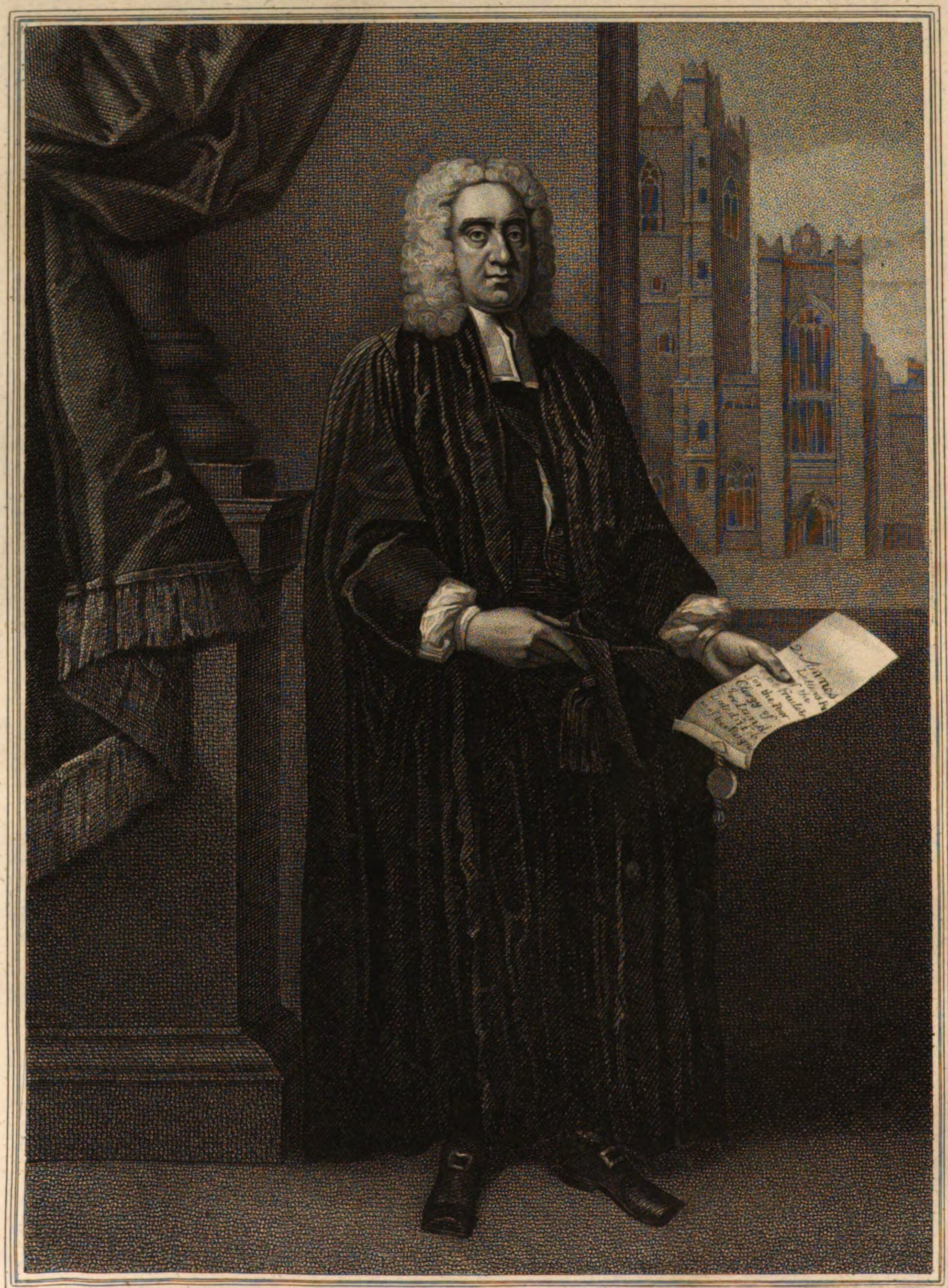
[l] Bishop Stearne's will, whereby he disposed of his free-hold property, is dated 13th May 1741; to this he annexed three codicils; the first, dated 14th September 1742; the second, 3d December 1742; the third, 4th May 1743; that whereby he disposed of his personal estate, is dated 7th March 1744; he left considerable freehold estates in the counties of Armagh, Monaghan and Dublin: his wills were proved by Richard Vincent, of New-abbey, in the county of Kildare, his only surviving executor: Richard Vincent died in 1762, appointing Thomas Vincent his sole executor, who died in that same year, or the next following, without issue; he appointed his brother, the Rev. Richard Vincent, who was his heir at law, to be his executor: the Rev. Richard Vincent died in 1764, leaving his eldest son, Richard, his heir; he appointed his wife, Anne, and his son, joint executors.

In the year 1764, the Right Honourable Philip Tisdall, Attorney-general, filed a bill to discover any misapplication that might be, of the property which Bishop Stearne had bequeathed to charitable uses; and we find, that in the 11th and 12th of Geo. III. an act of parliament was passed, vesting these funds in the hands of trustees, to the intent that the purposes of his will should be carried into effect.

The preamble to this act mentions, that the Bishop's pious intentions had not been executed, that the trustees had all died, and no new ones had been appointed, and that the heir of the last was then a minor.

It was therefore enacted, at the suit of Rich. Archbishop of Armagh, and John, Bishop of Clogher, that a corporation should be formed, with the usual privileges annexed to a body corporate and politic, who might sue and be sued in all courts, &c. under the name and appellation of "The Trustees of the charities of Dr. John Stearne, Bishop of Clogher," which corporation was to continue for ever, for the execution of the wills and codicils above-mentioned, so far as they had reference to his real estates. This corporation was to consist of the following persons, viz. the Primate, Bishop of Clogher, Lord Chancellor, Chief Justices of King's Bench and Common Pleas, Chief Baron, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Prebendary of Tynan, in the diocess of Armagh, and Vicar of Donogh, in the diocess of Clogher, all for the time being; the Rt. Hon. Thos. Lord Dartry, Rt. Hon. Edm. Sexton Pery, Sir Capel Molineux, Bart. John Rotton, Esq. Rev. John Maxwell, D. D. Archdeacon of Clogher, and John Putland, Esq. In those persons, and the successors of those appointed for time being, the estates above-mentioned were vested for the purposes of the Bishop's will and codicils; the major part of those persons assembled, provided that number should not be fewer than three, (of which, either the Primate or Bishop of Clogher should be one,) were to have power to make such reasonable orders or regulations, for carrying into effect the testamentary dispositions of the Bishop, as should be by them deemed necessary, they might likewise sue for sums of money due to the corporation, appoint agents, and pay necessary expenses; they were rendered incapable of forfeiting, selling or otherwise disposing of said lands; but the major part of those assembled, provided not fewer than five were present, and of that five, the Primate or Bishop were of the number, might demise any part of the estate, for thirty-one years, to a solvant tenant, getting the highest rent, without a fine, in possession, but not in reversion; and all leases not so made, were declared by this act, "ipso facto," null and void.

[m] "Short indeed, but comprehensive and valuably useful." Such is the character given of this book by Nichols; Lit. Anecd. Vol. IV. page 170. He adds his belief, that it is translated into English, or blended with some other work of the same kind, in that language.



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JONATHON SWIFT, D. S. P. D.

Dublin, Published for the Author, Aug.t 1, 1818.

CHAPTER V.

Annals of the Cathedral, from the promotion of Jonathan Swift, in 1713, *to the death of John William Keatinge, in* 1817.

Sect. 1. JONATHAN SWIFT, *Dean.*

1713--John Stearne having been promoted to the Bishoprick of Dromore, the right of nominating to this deanery became, by virtue of the royal prerogative, vested in the crown; it was conferred, by letters patent, dated 1713, upon Dr. Jonathan Swift, Prebendary of Dunlavin: on the 13th of June these letters were presented by him to the Chapter, the authority of which being, with due reverence, admitted, he was forthwith installed Dean of this cathedral.

Jonathan Swift was descended from an ancient family of that name, in Yorkshire; the elder [a] branch of which was ennobled in the person of Barnham Swift, who was

[a] Pedigree of the elder branch of the family of Swyfte, of Rotherham, in Yorkshire.

Robert Swyfte, of Rotherham, in county York, Esq. *b.* about 1478, *d.* 8 August 1561, in the 84 year of his age, bur. in the north chancel of Rotherham, where yet his monument remains. = Anne, daughter of William Taylor, of Sheffield, county York, *d.* in June 1539, in the 67 year of her age, bur. at Rotherham.

The arms of Visc. Carlingford are tricked in a MS. of the Harl. Collect. Numb. 2109, page 73, they may be thus emblazoned—per pale, or and vert; on a chevron between three bucks current, as many pheons heads; all counterchanged. Edmondson gives to the Swifts of Yorkshire the same arms, with the addition of a chief, azure; three escallops, or.

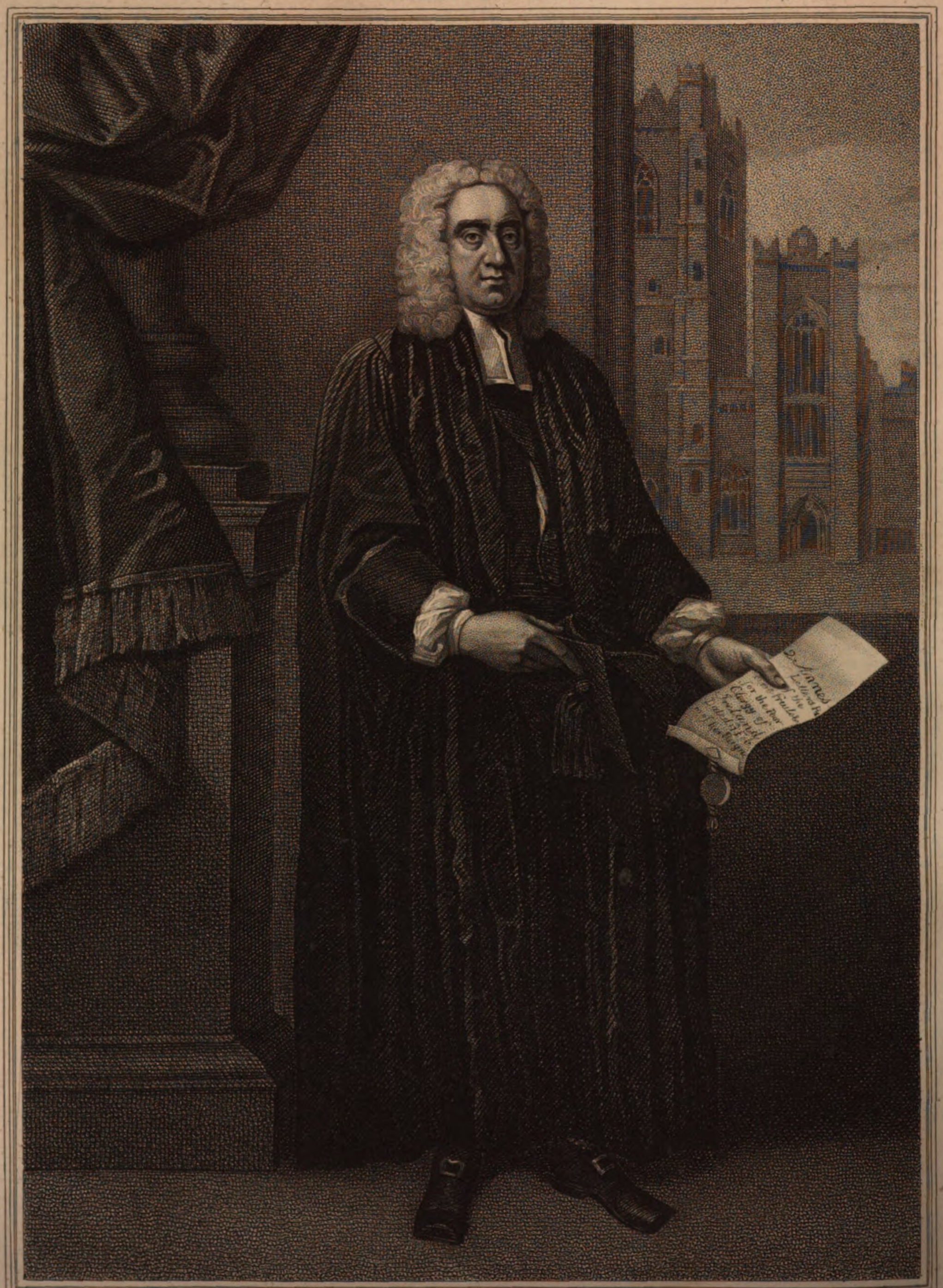
- Robert Swyfte, of Rotherham, Esq. eldest son and heir. = Ellen, daughter and heir of Nicholas Wickersley, of Wickersley, in the county of York, Esq.
  - Frances Swyfte, *m.* to Francis Leake, of Sutton, in Scarsdale, Co. Derby, Esquire.
  - Mary Swyfte, *m.* to Francis Wortley, of Wortley, in county York, Esquire.
  - Anne Swyfte, *m.* to Richard Jessop, of Broom-hall, county York, Gent.
- Anne Swyfte, *m.* to Lionel Reresby, of Thrybergh, in Co. York, Esquire.
- William Swyfte, second son *d.* 10 May, 11 Eliz. = Margaret, daughter of Hugh Worrall, of Lovershall, in Co. York, Esquire.
  - Bridget, young. of the three dau. & co-heirs of Franc. Hastings, of Fenwick, in county York, knt. first wife. = Robert Swyfte, of Rotherham, knt. baptiz. at Sheffield, 5th Decemb. 1568, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 42 Eliz. Just. of the Peace, 16 Jac. I. *d.* at Doncaster, 14 March 1625, adm. granted 16th Jan. 1628, at York.
    - Edward Swyfte, of Rotherham, knt. eldest son & heir, *ob. s. p.* = Elizabeth, dau. of Edm. Lord Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Ld. President of the North K. G. re-*m.* to Jn. Bourchier, knt.
    - Mary Swyfte, *m.* to Robert Ryther, of Harewood-castle, Co. York, Esq. *ob. s. p.* will proved at York, 22d of Sept. 1632.
    - Mary Swyfte, eld. daur. of her mother, *m.* to Sir Rob. Anstruther. Ursula Swyfte, second daughter by second wife, 1612. living un-*m.* 1634.
    - Barnham Swyfte, eld. son by second wife, created Viscount Carlingford, of the kingdom of Ireland, 20th March 1627, *d.* 28th Jan. 1634, adm. granted 19 January 1636. = Lady Mary Crichton surviv. her husband *d.* his widow her will proved at York, 19th Oct. 1675.
      - Robert Fielding, Esquire. = Mary Swyfte, only issue and heir, aged 7 months, her father's *d.* 1634, *m.* late in life, *ob. s. p.* about or before 1682.
    - Darcy Swyfte, second son, under age, 1626, died un-*mar.* adm. granted 31st Dec. 1629. Anne Swyfte, third daughter 1612, under age 1626.
  - Ursula, dau. of Ste. Barnham, of Lewes, Co. Sussex, & co-heiress of her brother, Mart. Barnham, Esq *d.* at Doncaster, 28 of May 1632, and bur. 4th of June following, at Rotherham. = William Creighton, Earl of Dumfrees, in Scotland, second husband of Ursula, *d.* 1641.
    - William Crichton, 2d Earl of Dumfries, Priv. Councellor to Charles II. = Penelope Swyfte, 4th daug. born after 1612. Rosamund Swyfte, 5th & youngest dau. of her mother *b.* aft. 1612.
  - Eupheme, dau. of Jas. Seaton, of Touch, in Sterlingshire, North Britain, first wife of W. Earl of Dumfries.
  - Anne Swyfte, *m.* to Ralph Beeston, of Beeston, Co. York, Esq. Barbara Swyfte, *m.* to —— Gunby. Jane Swyfte.
- Margaret Swyfte, *m* to Richard Waterton, of Walton, in the county of York, Esquire.

From a collection of Yorkshire Pedigrees, in the possession of Sir Will. Betham, Dep. Ulst. K. of arms.

I have seen, in the possession of Sir Will. Betham, another genealogy of this family, which extends the pedigree one degree higher, to another Robert, who married Agnes, daughter of Martin Anne of Frickley, mother to Robert first above mentioned, who remarried with one Holmes. In this manuscript the name of Thomas Swifte is noted as witness to a deed of Sir Ralph de Normanville, in the year 1252.

It appears, from Thoroton, that this branch of the family had considerable possessions in Nottinghamshire. By letters patent, 36 Henry VIII. the manor of Bollome, &c. parcel of the possessions of the priory of Wirkesop were granted to Robert Swifte and William his heir; in 7th Eliz. they were conveyed to heirs of Sir Francis Worteley and Mary his wife. (page 409.) In the 11th year of Elizabeth, the manor of Stokeham was the

FOR MASON'S HIBERNIA.



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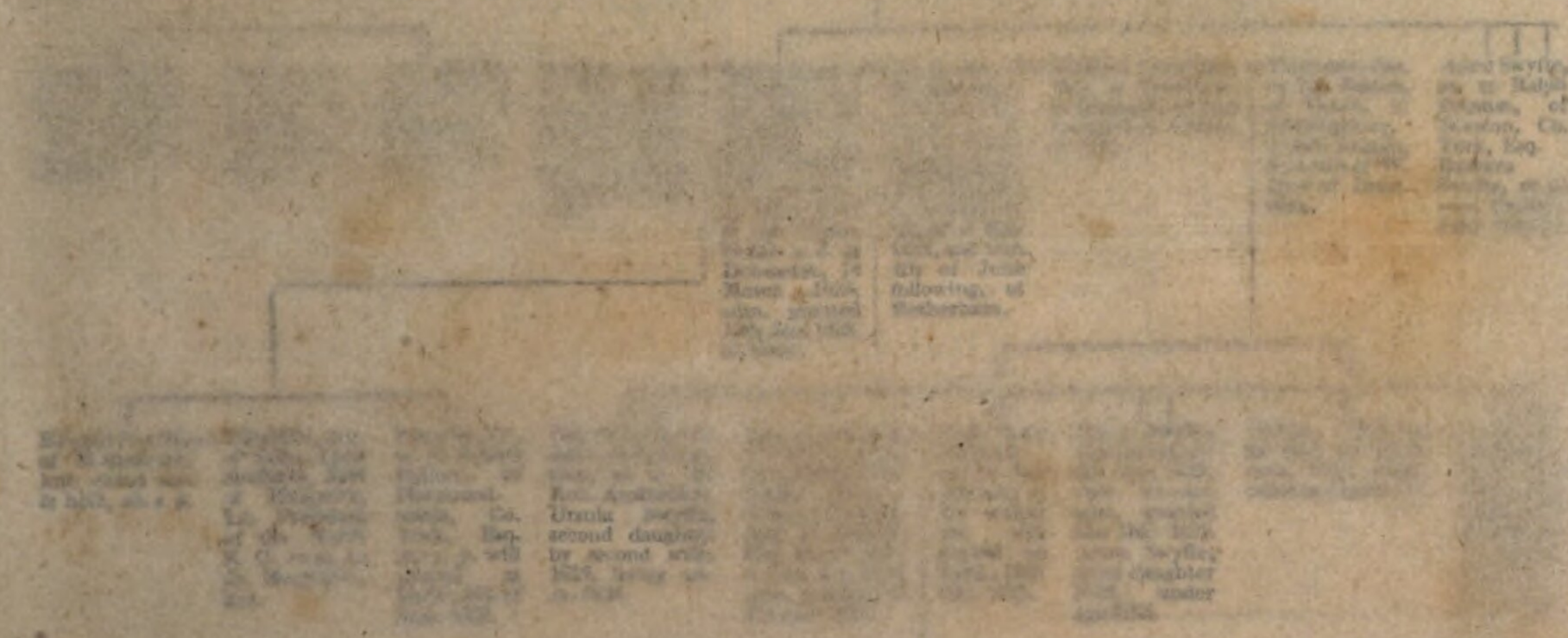

created Viscount Carlingford on the 20th March 1627, a title which became extinct upon his decease without male issue.

From a younger [b] branch of this family descended the Rev. Thomas Swift, Vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, a person distinguished by his courage as well as

inheritance of William Swift, ancestor of Sir Robert; it afterwards passed to Sir Rob. Anstrudder, who married his daughter. (page 394.) In 2d of Edward VI. the free chapel of Tylné was granted, "inter alia," to Robert and William Swift. (page 411.) In the year 1612, Robert Swift was one of the owners of East and West Drayton, Gamston, Elkesley, Bothumsell, Babworthtown, and others. Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, pages 390, 398, 444, 445, 484.

Dean Swift, in his MS. account of the family, notices Barnham Swift, who passed under the name of Cavaliero Swift, "and was a man of wit and humour." He likewise mentions Robert Fielding, called, as he tells us, "handsome Fielding," who squandered the estate brought him by his wife. He likewise mentions Sir Edward Swift; and we find a person of that name was knighted at Bever Castle 22d April 1603; as was likewise, on the 17th, at York, Robert, the father of Lord Carlingford; both by King James then on his progress to take possession of the crown of England. There was a Francis Swift, of Essex, knighted 18th March 1616. Anthony Deering's catalogue of Knights, and Q. Elizabeth's progresses, Vol. III. All these families bear the chevron and three bucks current, but varied as to colours and in other respects.

[b] Pedigree of the younger branch of the family of *Swyfte*, of Rotherham, in Yorkshire.

John Swyfte, of Tinslowe, in the parish of Rotherham, Gent. temp. Edw. IV. *d.* intestate before 12 April, 1493, when adm. of his goods was granted. = Margaret, his widow and relict, obtained licence to take the mantle and ring 10 May 1496, and with her son administered to her late husband's goods at York, 1493.

"Ricardus et Rogerus Swyfte, Testes, 54 Hen. III."
"Joh. Swyfte & Rog. fil Rog. Swifte, Testes, 1304."
"Joh. Swifte 19 Ric. II. Will. Swifte, 35 Hen. VI."
"Joh. Swifte de Tynnesley Generosus, 28 Hen. VIII. &c."

William Swyfte, = ; Jane, wife of —— Walker. ; Thomas Swyfte, priest, rector of Burnsall, in Craven, Co. York. ; Alice, wife of —— Wade. ; John Swyfte, of the parish of Silkston, Co. York, temp. Hen. VII. will dat. 16 June, 1536, prov. at York. = Elizabeth —— living a widow and executrix 16 June 1536.

John Stanley, of Melling, in Co. Pal. Lancaster, Knt. first husband. = Elizabeth, elder dau. and at length sole heir of Sir John Harrington, of Hornby Castle, Co. Pal. Lancaster, Knt. *d.* 7 Hen. VIII. = Richard Beaumont, of Whitley Beaumont, in Co. York, Esq. second husband, *d.* 1540.

Anne Swyfte,

John Swyfte, of Tinnesley, als Tynslowe, aforesaid, gent. 1493, living 28 Hen. VIII. = Catherine, daugh. of Richard Bosville of Gunthwaite, county York, Esq.

William Swyfte

Thomas Swyfte, living 1494.

John Swyfte, of Nabbs hall, par. Silkston, temp. Hen. VIII. exec. to will of his father 1536, his will dated 1558, proved at York. = Anne Stanley, dau. & coheiress, *m.* after 10 March, 7 Hen. VIII. her husband released lands, &c. in Hornby to Thomas Lord Mountegle, 24 Hen. VIII.

Joanna Stanley, dau. and coheiress, *m.* to Thomas Halsall of county Pal. Lancaster.

Margaret Stanley, dau. and coheiress, *m.* to Thomas Grimshaw, of co. Pal. Lancaster.

Anne Swyfte, *m.* to John Hobson, of Dodworth, co. York, gent. living 1583.

Robert Swyfte, of Midhop Hall, in county York, gent. eldest son and heir 1536, *d.* without issue, will dat. 30 May 1583, proved at York. = Margaret, widow of William Coldwell, of Walder-shelf, county York by whom she had issue, and was living 1583.

William Swyfte, of Nabbs Hall, second son 1536, sole executor to his father's will 1558, his will dat. 2 June 1598, prov. at York. = Rosamund —— widow and executrix 1599 by her will dat. 24 Nov. 1613, directs "inter alia" to be bur. near her husband in Silkston Church.

Elizabeth Swyfte, under age 1558. *m.* at Silkston 6 June 1563 to Richard Oxley, of Clayton, county York, living 1583.

Jennet Swyfte, under age 1558. *m.* to Thomas Denton of Burton upon Trent in county Stafford, living 1583.

William Green, of Banks, in Cawthorne, co. York, gent. = Elizabeth Swyfte, eldest dau. bap. 24 April 1561, and *m.* at Silkston 29 May 1580, first wife.

Robert Swyfte, of Nabbs Hall, gent. eldest son & heir. bap. 16 March 1562, will dated 20 Aug. and prov. 21 Oct. 1609. = Anne —— widow & exec. 1609 re-*m* Rev. Nicholas Brodley, ck. vic. of Silkston, living his wid. 1660.

Henry Swyfte, 2d son, bap. at Silkston, 28th Aug. 1565, not not named in the wills of his father or mother.

Anne Swyfte, bap. 18 Jan. 1567, *m.* before 2 June, 1598, to John Howle, and was then living.

Joanna Swyfte, bap. 24 May, 1570, and *m.* at Silkston 1 Sept. 1595, to John Hawkehirst. =

Katharine Swyft, bap. at Silkston 22 Aug. 1574, *m.* after 2 June 1598, to Thos. Johnston both living 24 Nov. 1613.

William Swyfte, 2d surviving son, bap. at Silkston 18 Aug. 1576, living 26 May 1614. =

Robert Swyfte, of Nabbs Hall, gent. eld. son & heir, a minor, 20 Aug. 1609, *d.* before 5 Apr. 1627, when letters of adm. grant. at York. = Frances —— living a widow and administratrix 5 April 1627, living 8 Januaay 1653. = John Kay, 2d husband living 8 Jan. 1653.

Henry Swyfte, 2d son, 1609, living.

William Swyfte, 3d son, 1609, living 1653.

John Swyfte, 4th son, 1609, living 1653.

Mary Swyfte, bap. at Silkston 25 March 1585, living wife of Wm. Cudworth, 25 Novem. 1613.

Mary Swyfte, *d.* young, bur. 15 Aug. 1582, at Silkston.

John Swyfte, *d.* young, bur. 18 May 1587, at Silkston.

Gertrude Swyfte, bap. at Silkston, 31 May 1579, *m.* after 2 June 1598 to George Shemeld, both living 1613.

William Wood, of Nabbs Hall, gent. *d.* 21 July 1682 æt 72, bur. in chancel of Silkston church. = Elizabeth Swyfte, elder dau. *b.* in 1615, at length coheiress of her brother *d.* Sept. 1694, æt 72, bur. in chancel of Silkston.

Frances Swyfte, younger dau. and coheiress, *m.* to James Bradshaw, of Laund, co. Stafford, gent. both living 5 April 1658.

Robert Swyfte, of Masbrough, county York, gent. only son and heir, *d.* un-*m.* will dated 8 January, 1653, proved 29 June, 1654.

From a collection of Yorkshire Pedigrees, in the possession of Sir Will. Betham, Dep. Ulst. K. of arms.

loyalty to King Charles I. in whose cause he suffered more than any person of his condition in England; he was plundered by the roundheads six and thirty times, some say above fifty: he engaged his small estate, and having thus gathered three hundred broad pieces of gold, he quilted them in his waiscoat, and escaping to

Pedigree of the Swifts, Rotherham, in Yorkshire, of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, and afterwards of Ireland.

Rev. Thomas Swift, Clk. Rect. of St. Andrew's Canterbury, in 1569, *d.* 12th June 1592, æt. 57. = Margaret, who, with nine of her children, was bur. in Cath. church yard.

Rev. William Swift, Clerk, Rector of Harbledown, Co Kent, 1602; he obtained his father's living of Saint Andrew's, in 1592. A divine of some distinction, *d.* 24th October 1624. = Mary, daughter and heiress of —— Philpot, *m.* 5th Oct. 1592, at Kingston, in Kent, *d.* 5th March 1626, æt. 58. She kept her estate in her own hands, "was a capricious ill-natured, passionate woman; she disinherited her only son, Thomas, merely for robbing an orchard." Anecd. of family, by Swift.

Rev. Thomas Swift, Vicar of Goodrich and Bridstow, in Herefordshire, only son and heir, *d.* 1658, æt. 63. = Elizabeth Dryden.

Catherine, *m.* to Th. Whitefierde.

Margaret, *m.* to Hen. Atkinson, Apothecary, of London.

Elizabeth Wheeler, 1st wife. = Catherine, daughter of William Webster, of London, 2d wife. = Godwin Swift, sometime of Gray's Inn, called to the bar before the Revolution; att. gen. of county palat. of Tipperary, *d.* 7th Dec. 1695. = Hannah, daughter of Admiral Rich. Deane, the Regicide, 3d wife. = Eleanor, daughter of colonel Wm. Meade, 4th wife, living 1711.

Thomas Swift, of Dub. gent. will dat. 5 Novem. proved 17 Jan. 1679. *ob. s. p.* = Mary, daughter and coheiress of Sir Humph. Jervis, of Dub. alderman, will dat. 10 Feb. 1686.

Willoughby Swift, of Hereford, Esq. will dat. at Lisbon 27 Jan. 1709, proved in Dub. 4 July, 1715. =

Deane Swift, of Castle Rickard, county Meath, *b.* 20 March, 1673, will dated 16 May, 1713, proved 27 May, 1714. = Elizabeth, daughter of —— Lenthal, will dat. 25 Jan. 1733, proved 2 Novem. 1739.

Hannah, bapt 25 May, 1676.
Joseph, bapt. 7 August 1677.
Elizabeth, bapt. 17 June 1679.
Dryden, *b.* 20 July, 1680.

Honoria, elder daughter and coheir, *m.* Ferdinand Swanton of Lisbon; her father left her all his property. =

Honoria, only child, *d.* un-*m.*

Rev. Stafford Lightburne, rector of Trim, and vicar of Laracor. = Hannah Swift, 2d daughter and co-heir.

Willoughby Lightburne, Esq. Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1773.
Harcourt Lightburne, of Dublin, Esq.
John Lightburne, of Wexford, Esq.
A daughter, Dorothea, all of whom were married, and the last three had issue. =

Deane Swift, of Castle Rickard, Esq. author of Life of Swift. = Mary, daugh. of Rev. Theophilus Harrison, by Martha, widow of —— Whiteway, daughter of Adam Swift, *m.* in 1739.

Hannah, *m.* to John Swift.

Deane Swift drowned with his wife and child coming from Holyhead.

Theophilus Swift, of Castle Rickard, Esq. =

Deane Swift, Esq. = —Bellew,

Edmond Lenthal Swift, barrist. keeper of Regalia in the Tower of London. =

Emily,
Elizabeth.
Sarah.
Catherine.
—— Coterell. = Adam Swift, of Green Castle, county Antrim, Esq. sixth son; will proved 26th May 1704.

Abigail Erick, of Leicestershire, descended from Erick, the Forrester, who opposed William the Conqueror. = Jonathan Swift, 5th son, *d.* Apr. 1667.

William Swift, of Dublin, had four wives; will dated 14 May 1703, prov. 11th March 1705. =

Thomas Swift, third son, educated at Oxford. = Eldest dau. of Sir William Davenant.

Dryden Swift, *d.* un-*m.*

William Swift, to whom his father left only 100*l.* on account of his undutiful behaviour.

Anne, *m.* to — Perry. =

Rev. Theophilus Harrison, Dean of Clonmacnois, first husband. = Martha. = —— Whiteway, second husband.

Jane, *b.* 1666, *m.* to Joseph Fenton, *d.* 1738.

JONATHAN SWIFT, Dean of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, *b.* 30th November 1667, *d.* 19th October 1745.

Rev. Thomas Swift, Rector of Puttenham, county Surrey, *d.* 1752, æt. 87.

Adam Perry.

Deane Swift, = Mary.

Foliot Whiteway, bred an Attorney, eldest son.

John Whiteway, bred a Surgeon, left 100*l.* by Swift.

The arms of the Swift's of Goodrich and Rotherham are described by Edmondson as follows. Or; a chevron vaire, argent and azure; between three bucks in full course, vert. Crest; a demy buck rampant, proper; in his mouth a honey suckle of the first, stalked and leaved, vert. May 10th, 1561. Gwillim attributes the same arms to Godwin Swift, of Goodrich, and then of the society of Grey's Inn; except that he describes the chevron, nebule, instead of vaire. These arms were borne by the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Dean Swift tells us, that his ancestor, William Swift, fantastically assumed as his devise; "a dolphin, in those days called a Swift, twisted about an anchor, with this motto, 'festina lente.' And those arms on the dexter side, impaled with those of Philpot and Nethersall quarterly, are attributed to Godwin Swift in a book of funeral entries in Ulster's office; but I apprehend they were adopted out of whim, and not used generally by the family.

From wills, Prerog. office: funeral entries, Ulster's office: and private collections of Sir William Betham, Dep. Ulster King of arms.

Godwin, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, left a numerous issue by his four wives, and they have increased so much in number, during the last century, that it was found impracticable to comprise all their descendants in the pedigree here given; which therefore notices only those persons who were most nearly related to him, and whose names occur in the works of Swift, or are mentioned in the biographical sketches of his life, which have been published since his death. Godwin Swift did at one time possess a very considerable revenue; but by engaging in some expensive projects, he became, at length, much embarassed. In 1688, he was seized with a lethargy, and was soon after deprived of his speech and memory; a malady like that which afterwards befel his illustrious nephew; but the latter never manifested any great

Ragland castle, which still held for the King, he presented to the governor thereof this seasonable supply; an action which must be allowed to be the more extraordinary, inasmuch as it was performed by a private clergyman, with a very numerous family, of small estate, who had been often plundered, and was deprived of his livings in the church.[1 c]

[1] Anecdotes of the family of Swift, MS. T. C. D. written by Jonathan Swift, D. S. P. D.

respect for the memory of his uncle Godwin. In his MS. account of the family he says, "he was an ill pleader, but perhaps, *a little too* dexterous in the subtle points of the law." One of the projects, which ruined Godwin Swift, was an iron manufactory he established at Swandlingbar; and the Dean notices this name among the barbarous denominations given to places in Ireland. (Works, Vol. VII. p. 362.) This name "of a famous town, where the worst iron in the kingdom was made, originated," as he tells us, "in a most witty conceit of four gentlemen who ruined themselves with this iron project: Sw. stands for Swift, and. for Sanders, ling. for Darling, and bar. for Barry. Methinks," he adds, "I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like Smectymnus, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron work; and could wish they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit."

[c] It is not improbable that Swift had it once in contemplation to write some account of his grand-father, this loyal vicar of Goodrich, whose memory he dearly cherished. In collecting materials he was chiefly assisted by Dr. John Lyon, as appears from a memorandum, labelled by Swift with his own hands; "Memoirs of my grand-father, Thomas Swift, by Mr. Lyon; April 1738:" they made, however, little further progress than to extract from the Mercurius Rusticus, p. 82--88, Lond. 1685, 8vo. an account of Mrs. Swift's and her families sufferings, during the first years of the usurpation: although this article is rather too long to insert here, yet it records so many singular circumstances, which intimately concern the immediate ancestors of Swift, that I apprehend, to omit it would be the greater error of the two. The matter is as follows:

"When the Earl of Stamford was in Herefordshire, in October 1642, and pillaged all that kept faith and allegiance to the King; information was given to Mistris Swift, wife of Mr. Thomas Swift, parson of Goodwich, that her house was designed to be plundered. To prevent so great a danger, she instantly repaired to Hereford, where the Earl then was, some ten miles from her own home, to petition him that no violence might be offered to her house or goods. He, most nobly, and according to the goodness of his disposition, threw the petition away, and swore no small oaths that she should be plundered to-morrow. The good gentlewoman, being out of hope to prevail, and seeing there was no good to be done by petitioning him, speeds home as fast as she could, and that night removed as much of her goods as the shortness of time would permit. Next morning, to make good the Earl of Stamford's word, Captain Kirle's troop, consisting of seventy horse and thirty foot, which were hangers on, (birds of prey) came to Mr. Swift's house; there they took away all his provision of victuals, corn, household stuff, which was not conveyed away; they empty his beds, and fill the ticks with malt; they rob him of his cart and six horses, and make this part of their theft the means to convey away the rest. Mistris Swift, much affrighted to see such a sight as this, thought it best to save herself though she lost her goods: therefore, taking up a young child in her arms, began to secure herself by flight, which one of the troopers perceiving, he commanded her to stay, or (holding his pistol at her breast,) threatened to shoot her dead. She (good woman) fearing death, whether she went or returned, at last, shunning that death which was next unto her, she retires back to her house, where she saw herself undone, and yet durst not oppose or ask why they did so. Having thus rifled the house and gone, nex morning early she goes again to Hereford, and there again petitions the Earl to shew some compassion on her and her ten children, and that he would be pleased to cause her horses, and some part of her goods, to be restored unto her. The good Earl was so far from granting her petition, that he would not vouchsafe so much as to read it. When she could not prevail herself, she makes use of the meditation of friends. These have the repulse too, his lordship remaining inexorable, without any inclination to mercy. At last, hoping that all mens hearts were not adamant relentless, she leaves the Earl, and makes her address to Captain Kirle, who, upon her earnest intreaty, grants her a protection for what was left; but, for restitution, there was no hope for that: this protection cost her no less than thirty shillings. It seems paper and ink are dear in those parts. And now, thinking herself secure in this protection, she returns home, in hope that what was left she might enjoy in peace and quietness: she had not been long at home but Captain Kirle sends her word, that, if it pleased her, she might buy four of her own six horses again, assuring her, by her father's servant and tenant, that she should not fear being plundered of them any more by the Earl of Stamford's forces, while they were in those parts. Encouraged by these promises, she was content to buy her own, and deposited eight pounds, ten shillings for four of her horses: and now, conceiving the storm to be blown over, and all danger past, and placing much confidence in her purchased protection, she causes all her goods secured in her neighbour's houses to be brought home; and, since it could not be better, rejoiced that she had not lost all. She had not enjoyed these thoughts long, but Captain Kirle sent unto her for some vessels of cyder, whereof having tasted, but not liking it, since he could not have drink for himself he would have provender for his horse; and therefore, instead of cyder, he demands ten bushels of oats. Mistris Swift, seeing that the denial might give some ground of a quarrel, sent him word that her husband had not two bushels of oats in a year for tythe, nor did they sow any on their gleab; both of which were most true. Yet, to shew how willing she was (to her power) to comply with him, that the messenger might not return empty, she sent him forty shillings to buy oats. Suddenly after the captain of Goodridge castle sends to Mr. Swift's house for victual and corn; Mistris Swift instantly shews him her protection; he, to answer shew with shew, shews her his warrant, and so, without any regard to her protection, seizeth upon that provision which was in the house, together with the cyder which Captain Kirle had refused. Hereupon Mistris Swift writes to Captain Kirle, complaining of this injury, and the affront done to him in slighting his protection; but, before the messenger could return with an answer to her letter, some from the castle come a second time to plunder the house, and they did what they came for. Presently after comes a letter from Captain Kirle, in answer to Mistris Swift, that the Earl of Stamford did by no means approve of the injuries done unto her, and withal, by word of mouth, sends to her for more oats; she perceiving that as long as she gave they would never leave asking, resolved to be drilled no more. The return not answering expectation, on the 3d of December, Captain Kirle's lieutenant, attended by a considerable number of dragoons, comes to Mr. Swift's house, and demands entrance; but, the doors being kept shut against them, and not being able to force them, they broke down two iron bars in a stone window, and so, with swords drawn and pistols cocked, they enter the house. Being entered, they take all Master Swift and his wive's apparel, his books, and his childrens cloaths, they being in bed;

This Thomas was married to Elizabeth Dryden, sister to the father of John Dryden, the poet; by her he had ten sons and four daughters, he died in 1658; his eldest son Godwin Swift was a barrister of Gray's Inn, and being married to a relation of the old Marchioness of Ormond, the Duke made him his Attorney General of the palatinate of Tipperary; his success, in the acquisition of wealth, induced four of his brothers to follow him to Ireland, one of whom was Jonathan, the father of Dean Swift. [2]

Jonathan, the 5th son, was bred an attorney; at the age of 23 he married Mrs. Abigail Erick [d] of Leicestershire; this union lasted scarce two years, for he died early in April 1667, and left behind him a widow, with one child, [e] (a daughter) and pregnant of another, having no means of subsistance but an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, which her husband had purchased in England. Left in this

[2] Same MS.

and those poor children, that hang by their cloaths, unwilling to part with them, they swung them about until (their holdfast failing,) they dashed them against the walls; they took away all his servants' clothes, and made so clean work with one, that they left him not a shirt to cover his nakedness. There was one of the children, an infant lying in the cradle, they rob'd that, and left not the little poor soul a rag to defend it from the cold. They took away all the iron, pewter, and brass, and a very fair cupboard of glasses, which they could not carry away, they broke to pieces: and the four horses lately redeemed, are with them lawful prize again, and left nothing of all the goods but a few stools, for his wife, children, and servants, to sit down and bemoan their distressed condition. Having taken away all, and being gone, Mistris Swift, in compassion to her poor infant in the cradle, took it up, almost starved with cold, and wrapped it in a petticoat, which she took off from herself: and now hoped, that having nothing to lose would be a better protection for their persons than that which she purchased of Captain Kirle for thirty shillings. But, as if Job's messenger would never make an end, her three maid servants, whom they in the castle had compelled to carry the poultry to the castle, return and tell their Mistris that they in the castle said, that they had a warrant to seize upon Mistris Swift and bring her into the castle, and that they would make her three maid-servants wait on her there, threatning to plunder all under the petticoat, and other uncivil immodest words, not fit for them to speak, or me to write. Hereupon Mistris Swift fled to the place where her husband, for fear of the rebels, had withdrawn himself. She had not been gone two hours, but they come from the castle, and bring with them three teams to carry away what was before designed for plunder, but wanted means of conveyance. When they came there was a batch of bread hot in the oven. This they seize on. Ten children on their knees intreat but for one loaf, and at last, with much importunity, obtained it; but, before the children had eaten it, they took even that one loaf away, and left them destitute of a morsel of bread amongst ten children. Ransacking every corner of the house, that nothing might be left behind, they find a small pewter dish in which the dry-nurse had put pap to feed the poor infant, the mother who gave it suck being fled to save her life. This they seize on too. The nurse intreats, for God's sake, that they would spare that, pleading, that, in the mother's absence, it was all the sustenance which was or could be provided to sustain the life of the child, and, on her knees, intreated to shew mercy unto the child, that "knew not the right hand from the left," a motive which prevailed with God himself, though justly incensed against Nineveh."

"Master Swift's eldest son, a youth, seeing this barbarous cruelty, demanded of them a reason for this so hard usage. They replied, that his father was traitor to the King and Parliament, and added, that they would keep them so short that they should eat the very flesh from their arms; and, to make good their word, they threaten the miller, that, if he ground any corn for these children, they would grind him in his own mill; and, not contented with this, they go to Mr. Swift's next neighbour (whose daughter was his servant,) and take him prisoner, they examine him on oath what goods of Mr. Swift's he had in his custody. He professing that he had none, they charge him to take his daughter away from Mr. Swift's service, or else they threaten to plunder him, and, to make sure work, they make him give them security to obey all their commands. Terrified with this, the neighbours stand afar off, and pity the distressed condition of these persecuted children, but dare not come or send to their relief. By this means the children and servants had no sustenance, hardly any thing to cover them, from Friday, six o'clock at night, until Saturday, twelve at night, until, at last, the neighbours, moved with the lamentable cryes and complaints of the children and servants, one of the neighbours, overlooking all difficulties, and showing that he durst be charitable in despite of these monsters, ventured in, and brought them some provision. And if the world would know what it was that so exasperated these rebels against this gentleman, the Earl of Stamford, a man that is not bound to give an account of all his actions, gave two reasons for it: first, because he had brought arms and conveyed them into Monmouthshire, which, under his Lordship's good favour, was not so; and, secondly, because, not long before, he preached a sermon in Rosse upon that text, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," in which his Lordship said he had spoken treason in endeavouring to give Cæsar more than his due. These two crimes cost Mr. Swift no less than three hundred pounds."

Here ends the account in Merc. Rust. Dr. Lyon's additional notes inform us, that Thomas Swift's living of Goodrich was formally sequestered in July 1646; and himself ejected in March following: he was ejected from his other living of Bridstow, by the same party, in September the same year; for scandal and delinquency, and for being in actual service against the parliament. He had a temporal estate in Goodrich and Marston, which was sequestered in August 1646; and much about the same time, when the garrison of Hereford fell into the hands of the rebels, he was put into custody at Ragland castle.

[d] This lady had somewhat of her son's humour: a story is related by Dr. Lyon, of her telling Mrs. Brent, with whom she lodged in Dublin, that she came to Ireland to receive the addresses of a lover; and of her introducing her son Jonathan as her gallant. This Mrs. Brent was afterwards the Dean's housekeeper, whom he used, humorously, to call, "his Walpole;" she was mother to Mrs. Ridgeway, who succeeded to that situation, after her death.

[e] This daughter's name was Jane; in December 1699, she married one Joseph Fenton, a tanner, (see page 217, note a) much against her brother's inclinations: Mrs. Fenton died in 1738, when the Dean put on mourning for her. Lyon's MS.

destitute state, her husbands elder brother, Godwin, became her chief support, into his family she was received, and on the 30th of November 1667, at the house No. 7, Hoey's-court, about seven months after her husbands death, she was delivered of a son, whom she called Jonathan, in remembrance of his father, [3] who became afterwards Dean of this cathedral, a dignity which his name has rendered illustrious to all nations, and through all future ages.

The first event of this great man's life was of a singular nature; the nurse to whose care he was committed, was a native of Whitehaven, the commands of a dying relative recalled her to that town; out of mere affection she conveyed away the child, without knowledge of his mother, who, when she became informed of his removal, was forced to acquiesce, [f] rather than hazard a second voyage, till he should be better able to support it: but this was not the only testimony of affection which this remarkable woman exhibited for her charge; during his stay in England, of about three years, she taught him to spell, so that at the age of five years he was able to read any chapter in the bible. [4]

Jonathan Swift was conveyed back to Ireland some time before he had attained his sixth year, for at that age he was sent, by his uncle Godwin, to the school at Kilkenny; [g] there he remained eight years, and was admitted, on the 24th of April 1682, a pensioner in the university of Dublin, and placed under the tuition of Dr. St. George Ashe. [5]

[3] Same MS. [4] Same MS. [5] Same MS. and Col. regist.

[f] This incident gave rise to the report that he was of English birth; a mistake to which his own expressions did, without his so intending it, in some degree contribute: when the people of Ireland displeased him, he used frequently to say, "I am not of this vile country, I am an English-man;" he meant not, however, thereby to deny that he was born in Ireland, but to assert that his extraction was English; and he makes use of the same expression in the fourth Drapiers letter, where he calls Will. Molineux, "an English-man born here;" that is, in Dublin: the account here given, of his birth, is from a manuscript in his own hand-writing, which was deposited in the library of Dublin University by his relative, Deane Swift: In his letter to Lord Palmerston, likewise, he expressly says, that he was born in Ireland, and was a year old before he left it. That Swift's mother was resident in Ireland at the time of his birth, is further proved by the following extracts from an ancient record, called the Black-book of the Society of King's Inns, Dublin; which have been adduced by Mr. Duhigg also, in his history of that society, to verify the same fact; they likewise shew the condition of life of this great person's parents, and the destitute circumstances, to which his mother was reduced by the untimely death of her husband.

On the 14th of November 1665, Mr. Jonathan Swift, the father of our Dean, memorial'd the benchers, for the office of steward to that society, which had become vacant by the death of Thomas Wale; in his petition he stated, "that his father and their whole family had been always very loyal and faithful to his majesty and his royal father; and had been very great sufferers upon that account; that he had, for the six or seven years preceding, been much conversant about the said Inns, and was very well acquainted with the duty and employment belonging to the steward thereof, he having assisted Thomas Wale in entering up their orders, and in the settling and ordering other things belonging to the said employment." On the 25th day of January following he was admitted, upon his petition, to the office of steward. (fol. 242.) He, however, lived but a short time after his appointment, for we meet with a petition, dated 25th of April 1667, from Abigail Swift, his "disconsolate widow," praying the benchers to authorise her brother-in-law, William Swift, to collect an arrear of about six score pounds, due to her by several members of the society, for commons, &c. which request was accordingly acceded to. (fol. 248.) There is another petition from Swift's mother, dated 31st Jan. 1667, which was just two months after his birth, wherein she states her poverty, her desire to pay the funeral expenses of her husband and those incurred by his last illness, and prays, that the society would allow the sum of twelve pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven pence, due by her late husband to the society, to be deducted from the arrears which remained still due to her; with this request the benchers complied, and further ordered, that William Swift should exert his diligence to recover for her the arrear which remained still unpaid. (fol. 296.)

The uncertainty which was supposed to exist, relative to his birth, joined to the report of Sir William Temple's generosity towards him when at Oxford, put it in the power of his enemies to insinuate, that he was the natural son of that minister; but, as it is quite untrue that Sir William was very generous to Swift, so it is quite impossible he could have been his father; for it appears from the letters of that minister, that he was abroad, in a public capacity, from 1665 to 1670; during which period, except for five days in 1668, he never visited England. I cannot but admire the malicious ingenuity wherewith Lord Orrery, speaking of this report, endeavours, without a direct charge, to blacken the character of Swift; he says, "he is not quite certain that Swift did not himself acquiesce in the calumny;" to this his relative, Deane Swift, answers with becoming indignation; "neither is any man else quite certain that Swift himself was ever apprised of that calumny, much less that he ever acquiesced in it." "Can it be supposed," he asks, "with any colour of reason, that a man of the Doctor's spirits was ever insulted in a manner so infamously degrading?" or, in such a case, "would any man of common sense run about clearing the reputation of his innocent mother? Would it not be more discreet to let the calumny waste itself in air?" Lord Orrery's remarks, letter II. and Deane Swift's essay, pp. 80 and 82. Dub. edit.

[g] His name appears cut with a knife on the side board of the seat appropriated to his class. Lyon's MS.

To many of the studies prescribed to him at the university, Swift felt a natural repugnance: the undergraduate course was, at that time, confined, almost exclusively, to the works of the Stagirite philosopher, or those of his commentators and followers[h]; but the useless sophistry of Burgesdiscius and Smiglesius were not suited to his ingenuous mind; for even at this early period, that love of undisguised truth, which formed afterwards the most sublimely prominent feature of his character, began to display itself: accordingly, the study of these subjects was renounced, and even that of mathematics abandoned, for poetry[i] and history, matters more congenial to his taste at this early period of his life. His endeavours, however, to obtain a knowledge of this latter science, at a more advanced age, disproves the assertion of his titled biographer, "that he seldom mentioned it, unless to turn it into ridicule."[k] Although he had lived in college with great regularity and due observance of the statutes, he was, for neglect of those studies, there held to be essential parts of education, stopped of his degree, for dullness[l]

[h] The statutes of the university of Dublin prescribed a certain specific course of study, nor was there any power vested in the Provost and senior Fellows to making a change, however necessary it might be; matters continued in this way until the reign of the present king, when this absurd law was partially repealed; before that time the candidates for a degree were obliged to devote the most valuable portion of their lives, to an obsolete course of scolastic reading; the heads of the university might add whatever they deemed necessary, but from it they could take nothing, however useless or superfluous; the statutes of the university, therefore, exhibit the course prescribed to undergraduates in Swifts time. As an excuse for his repugnance to college exercises, and as an answer to those who object to him a disregard of the liberal sciences, I subjoin the following extract from the 15th chapter of the college statutes, which lays down the course of study for undergraduates.

Classis Prima.

"In hac classe dialectica prælegitor, et nominatim Porphyrii Isagoge, quam bis ad minimum quotannis integram prælegi volumus. Discipuli hujus classis rationem reddant cujuslibet prælectionis. Et idcirco nolumus prælectorem procedere ad secundam prælectionem, donec adhibitis interrogationibus, et responsionibus, examinaverit discipulos, quomodo profecerint in priori. Quem morem etiam observari volumus per singulas classes.

Classis Secunda.

Prælector secundæ classis quamlibet partem Organi Aristotelis explicabit, et quam brevissime, non divagando post commentatores a contextu.

Classis Tertia.

Prælector tertiæ classis præleget quamlibet partem Physicorum Aristotelis, et breviter, ut supra.

Classis Quarta.

In classe quarta Aristotelis Metaphysica explicentur, excepto tempore quadragesimali, quo semper volumus, ut prælector hujus classis prælegat Aristotelis libros Moralium ad Nicomachum, vel aliquam partem eorundem. Discipuli cujusque classis per singulas termini hebdomadas disputabunt ter in septimana: nempe prima et secunda classis de questione e Logicis desumpta. Tertia vero et quarta de questione e Naturali philosophia vel Metaphysica, petita, et a prælectore inter legendum pridie disputationum, assignanda. Auditores cujuslibet classis respondebunt, et opponent per vices, incipiendo a juniore. Et quia volumus, ut Logica logice, id est, pugnis tractentur, non palma Rhetorica, prohibemus omnes positiones, vel suppositiones prævias, tam exparte respondentis, quam opponentium, sed statim congrediantur, &c."

The following is an abstract from the statute of Geo. III. to which I have above alluded; whereby this clause was repealed.

"Cum in decimo quinto capite Statutorum, libri in classibus prælegendi præscribuntur, et disputationes classibus præstandæ, atque dies et horæ præstandis illis assignantur; et cum experientia invenitur minus aptum esse ad progressum studentium in scientiis certos libros illis semper prælegendos præscribere; atque etiam incommodum esse exercitia et tempora illis semper præstandis non mutanda in perpetuum assignare: Concedimus in futurum per præsentes potestatem Præposito, una cum majore parte Sociorum Seniorum, libros classibus prælegendos cum consensu visitatorum præscribendi et nominandi: Et scholastica exercitia singula, atque dies et horas præstandis illis assignandi."

[i] His estimation of poetry is expressed in the following lines, written in 1733; perhaps the most emphatic that ever came from his pen.

"Not empire to the rising sun
"By valour, conduct, fortune, won;
"Not highest wisdom in debates
"For framing laws to govern states;
"Not skill in sciences profound
"So large to grasp the circle round;
"Such heavenly influence require
"As how to strike the muses lyre."

Rapsody on poetry.

[k] Dr. Delany, in his "Observations, &c." affirms, that Swift had acquired considerable mathematical knowledge, and "that he had seen him, more than once, undertake to solve an algebraic problem by arithmetic." The writer of his life, in Biog. Brit. labours to reconcile those contradictory reports, and observes, "'tis very possible, that the same degree of mathematical knowledge might be meant by the words little and considerable, according to the different conceptions of these two writers, of that knowledge, or science in general, of which neither of them perhaps knew more, if so much as the Dean himself did:" but the writer of this memoir was much in error; no person can doubt the capability of the Doctor's judgment of mathematical acquirements, who is informed that he passed the strict examination for a fellowship, in Dublin University, the most severe trial to which human ability is ever submitted in any learned seminary of the known world. Dr. Sheridan has likewise born testimony that the Dean was not ignorant, even of the higher branches of the mathematical sciences.

[l] The learned Dr. Barret, Vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, informed me, that he was present at a meeting of the board, when the late Bishop of Ossory, at that time a senior fellow, discovered, among some loose papers, a record of the judgments, given at a quarterly examination of this period; the name of Jonathan Swift was discovered among the students; upon his performance in some branches (but which the learned Doctor could not recollect) the very opprobrious censures of "pessime" & "tacet" were pronounced; judgments which are now rarely, if ever, given, that of, "vix mediocriter," calls forth what is emphatically stiled, "a caution," from the rulers of that seminary of learning. I have endeavoured to obtain a sight of this valuable literary relique, but the representatives of the

and insufficiency,[m] and at last, hardly admitted, on the 13th of February 1685,[n] in a manner, which is called in that society, "speciali gratia,"[o] a discreditable mark, which remains on record in the college register.[6]

But from the time that he obtained the degree of bachelor in arts, Swift became almost entirely negligent of college discipline; between the periods of the 14th of

[6] Same MS.

learned Bishop have not been, hitherto, successful in their search for it.

[m] Those are the words in his own manuscript, and Dr. Delany tells us, he often heard Swift say, that his being stopt of his degree, "was owing to his being a dunce;" yet Sheridan will have, that it was for wilful idleness and contumacy; and relates a dispute between him and his tutor, upon the inutility of logic, which has not much the air of truth in it.

Sheridan's account is, moreover, full of contradictions, for he relates, as an instance of Swift's remarkable memory, that he heard him repeat, fifty or sixty years afterwards,, the arguments used at disputation for his degree, in syllogistic form; and yet, a little before he told us, that he could not be prevailed upon to study logic sufficiently to comprehend, even the meaning of its rules. Sheridan's life of Swift.

We have an instance in the passage in the text, of Swift's scrupulous regard to truth, inasmuch as he does not conceal a matter disgraceful to himself; it is highly creditable to him that his principles should overcome even his regard for posthumous fame, which latter was the motive that urged him to write this very piece.

[n] We learn, from the college register, that five persons went out bachelors of arts, on the 11th February 1685, among whom was Thomas Swift, cousin german to Jonathan, and afterwards, rector of Puttenham; on the 13th five more, "per specialem gratiam," of these last Jonathan was one.

Upon this occasion his learned Apologist, Dr. Delany, makes the following remark: "Swift is the only man I ever knew, who ever fully recovered the disgrace of taking a degree as he took his, and yet this disgrace was to him like the crisis of a dangerous disease, which sometimes throws off the evil humours that infested the body; by which means the patient recovers a much better constitution than he had before:" after the period of his removal from Dublin, Delany informs us that he studied for eight hours a day during seven years.

[o] His several Biographers have involved in much confusion the history of Swift's academic life, and have engaged in much speculation on the meaning of these words, "speciali gratia." D. Swift (p. 30) says the Dean told him, that when he produced his testimonium at Oxford; the words "speciali gratia" were mistaken for some "particular strain of compliment;" and that, to this opinion he attributed most of the civilities he met with at Oxford: and, says the same writer, he added, "I leave you to guess whether it was my business to undeceive them." But Mr. D. Swift, by relating this story thus circumstantially, got into a dilemma, out of which he has not extricated himself without some loss of character, as to veracity; for when the testimonium was afterwards produced, there were no such words found in it; still he laboured to persuade the world, (page 43) that the Dean had held the conversation with him which he had previously averred; but he vouchsafes to defend his veracity by saying, that probably Swift's recollection of the past was, at that time, much impaired; this, however, does not appear to be the fact, for every tittle of Swift's account of his college course, as given in the manuscript written by himself, is confirmed by Dr. Barrett, in pages 10 to 17 of his essay.

Finding that the words, "speciali gratia," were not in the testimonium, Mr. D. Swift makes an attempt to account for the omission, which he ascribes to favour, shewn by the heads of the university; and supposes that the words were left out in this instance, through regard for the future credit of the graduate: Lord Orrery has fallen into a like error, that nobleman's words are as follows: "the expression, 'speciali gratia,' is so peculiar to the university of Dublin, that when Mr. Swift exhibited his testimonial at Oxford, the members of the English university concluded, that the words, 'speciali gratia,' must signify a degree, conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence, or learning." These assertions puzzled Dr. Hawksworth not a little; for he found that the words were not inserted in the convocation book at Oxford, and he argued, that if they were deemed so complimentary, as they were stated to be, by these writers, to omit mentioning them upon the record would be an affront.

One would have supposed that the account given by the learned Dr. Barret, Vice Provost of the university, (Essay on the earlier part of life of Swift, page 35,) would have been deemed satisfactory and conclusive; but Mr. Walter Scott has had recourse to an "ingenious correspondent;" who, though he is altogether ignorant of the matter, thinks fit to contradict the learned Vice-provost's account, and throw the whole, again, into confusion: (see note, page 22. Life of Swift by Walter Scott.) The case was, however, truly stated by Dr. Barrett, and Mr. Scott's correspondent is quite in error. The whole matter may be thus explained.

Swift entered a pensioner in April 1682, and proceeded with the class of that year; which he might do, by answering one quarterly examination; attendance during one term only, in each of the first two years, being all that is, of necessity, required. The undergraduate course is performed by a pensioner, usually, in four years; but a short cut may be taken in the way I have just described. Although the student who enters before Nov. term may proceed with the class then finishing the year, yet the usual and regular way is, to attend the Nov. term as preparatory to the examination held in Jan. following. The hasty mode, which I have described above, is moreover attended with very great disadvantages; for it is required of the student to be prepared in the portion of science prescribed for each quarterly examination, whether he attended at that examination, or not; because he is liable, in any subsequent one, to be questioned in those sciences, as well as that new additional portion of science, added then to the previous course. Should the student therefore, attend the November term first, and seek to proceed with the class of that year, he must be prepared in the several portions of science prescribed to be read, in every one of the four terms. This difficulty, to so young a person as Swift then was, must have been severely felt; and although it has not been observed upon, was, perhaps, the cause of his not performing his college course with credit. Moreover, the science given to the junior class was logic, to which study, we are informed, he had great repugnance; he had therefore a treble dose to swallow at once, and this was enough, in all conscience, to give him a perpetual distate: it appears from hence, that there is no reason whatever for the assertion of Mr. Scott's correspondent, "that Swift graduated before the usual time, and that 'speciali gratia' must mean, that he got it by interest or merit."

Swift, not having earned it by the due performance of college exercises, was stopped of his degree, although he had been in college the full time required; he obtained it, however, by special favour of the university, "speciali gratiâ," of favour, not of right. But a degree of this sort, when once obtained, is equally effectual with any other, however honourably acquired; nor is the manner of obtaining a degree ever recited in the testimonial, nor could any thing of this matter have been known at Oxford.

Novemb. 1685, and the 8th of Oct. 1687, he incurred penalties during seventy weeks; for not attending at chapel, neglecting lectures, being absent at roll-call, for town-haunting, &c.; on the 18th March 1686, he was publickly admonished for neglect of duties, and on the 20th November 1688, was, by a sentence [p] of the Viceprovost and senior Fellows, suspended from his academic degree, for insolent conduct to the junior Dean, and exciting dissension within the walls of the college [7]; indeed, during his residence at the university, he was much depressed by the disadvantages of his situation, [q] as he depended for subsistance on the precarious

[7] Barret's Early life of Swift.

[p] Dr. Barret informs us, (page 15) that although Swift had several partners in the crime, yet one only shared the same severity of punishment with him: those two chief aggressors, Sergent and Swift, were, on the 30th November 1688, ordered to ask pardon of the junior Dean, on their knees, publickly in the hall, at nine in the morning of the 3d December following. This junior Dean was Owen Lloyd, the same person whom Swift censured so severely in his account of Lord Wharton: the persons suspended were, however, restored, by an order dated 8th Jan. 1688; it does not appear whether Swift was included in that number, or whether he ever submitted to this disgraceful sentence; the acknowlegements made to his uncle for his diligence in obtaining the testimonium, would incline us to suspect that the suspension had never been, till then, taken off, and that it was through his interference, and at his solicitation, that the ignominious terms, at first imposed, were dispensed with: however, the order for restoration is general, neither does any exception appear upon the face of it.

[q] Swift himself tells us, in the manuscript which I have so often quoted; "That, by the ill treatment of his nearest relations, he was so much discouraged and sunk in his spirits, that he too much neglected some parts of his academic studies, for which he had no great relish by nature, and turned himself to reading history and poetry." Thus, for a while, did he endeavour, by filling his mind with pleasing images, to suspend the sense of his condition; but his untamed spirit was, in all likelihood, irritated to desperation by the disgraceful censure, conveyed in the vote that gave him his degree; from that time forth he became a rebel to college discipline. There is a singular resemblance between this account, by Swift, and that given by Dr. Johnson of himself, in a reply which he made to Boswell, who informed him of the prevailing report, "that he was a frolicsome fellow while at college;" "ah! sir," said the philosopher, "I was mad and violent; it was bitterness they mistook for frolic; I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit, so I disregarded all power and all authority."

An interesting story has been related by Swift, of an incident which happened to him while at college. One day, as he was looking out of his window, pensive and melancholy, his pockets being then quite void of cash, he espied a master of a ship gazing about in the college courts; if that person, thought he, should be looking for my chamber, to bring me a present from my cousin Willoughby, what a happy creature should I be! He had scarce begun to indulge himself in this pleasing contemplation, when the sailor came to his door and asked, if his name was Jonathan Swift? being answered in the affirmative, he produced a large leathern bag of silver cobs, and poured out its contents before him, as a present from his cousin Willoughby Swift, the eldest son of his uncle Godwin, who was at that time a merchant at Lisbon; Swift, in his ecstasy, pushed over a good number of the cobs to the sailor, but the honest tar declared he would not touch a farthing; from that time forward he contrived so to manage his little income, that he never felt again the misery of extreme indigence. Deane Swift's Memoirs, &c.

Swift remained some years at the university after he had graduated, a matter which is not usual, and shews great neglect on the part of his friends; he was obliged to stay there as he had no where else to go; but it does not follow from thence that he had a scholarship, as a correspondent of Mr. Scott's vainly supposes, (Life of Swift, Note, page 23.) The learned Viceprovost, Dr. Barret, has satisfactorily proved that he did not obtain one; besides, though few remain at the university after obtaining their degree, yet it does happen sometimes, and especially if no prospect of life presents itself immediately to the student. When Swift obtained his degree he was too young to enter upon any profession, much less that to which he gave the preference; and this circumstance shews the great imprudence of his hastening through his undergraduate course, when he had so much time to spare.

It has been said, that Swift commenced author before he left the university of Dublin, but this fact rests solely on the testimony of Mr. William Waryng, his chamber-fellow in college; who declared that he saw, at that time, a copy of the Tale of a Tub in Swift's own hand writing. Before he published the work alluded to, he commenced; "An account of the kingdom of absurdities;" some sketches of which, Dr. Lyon informs us, he had seen in his own hand writing; and in the early editions of the Tale of a tub, such a tract is mentioned, as intended by the anonymous author.

Dr. Barret, in his essay on the earlier part of the life of Swift, has attributed to him a Tripos, or satirical oration, uttered by him as Terræ-filius; such a work, he proves, was actually written, some time in the year 1688, but he likewise quotes, from the college register, an order dated 19th July; "that Sir Jones should be deprived of his degree, for false and scandalous reflections in his tripos;" and he likewise adds, that there is no mention made of any punishment, for such like offence, except the above recited, during the period of Swift's residence in college. After so very severe a punishment had been inflicted, it would be strange to suppose that Jones was not the real author; it would be to suppose that the heads of the university punished without tryal, and dealt the heaviest censures about, at random: the authority too, upon which it is attributed to Swift, is as slight as those, upon which the other discreditable stories related of him are founded, and is briefly as follows:

Richardson, in a letter to Lady Braidshaigh, dated 22d April 1752, (Correspondence, Vol. VI. page 171) relates, upon the testimony of an eminent divine, "who was for three years what is called his chum," the following fact. "Dr. Swift made as great progress in his learning, at the university of Dublin, in his youth, as any of his contemporaries; but was so very illnatured and troublesome, that he was made Terræ-filius on purpose to have a pretence to expel him: he raked up all the scandal against the heads of that university, that a severe inquirer, and a still severer temper, could get together into his harangue: he was expelled in consequence of his abuses; and having his discessit, afterwards got admitted at Oxford to his degree." Although the learned Vice-provost has proved this passage to be erroneous in every other respect, yet he adheres to the idea that Swift was author of the Tripos, solely upon the principle, which he sets out with asserting (page 19) that there must be some truth in Richardson's story; and, as all the rest is false, this part must be true; but I prehend it is

bounty of a relative, whose affairs were much deranged, or upon such supplies as he occasionally received from his uncle, William Swift; the benefactions of which latter were, it seems, bestowed with more grace, or, perhaps, coming from one in more narrow circumstances, was the occasion why Swift remembered them with more affection than those of the elder brother.

Either the event above related, or the breaking out of the civil war, or the decay of his uncle Godwin's health,[r] occasioned his leaving both the kingdom and the university in the year 1688[s]; he bent his course towards Leicester, that he might consult with his mother what course of life to pursue; there he continued some months. Sir William Temple, who was at that time in high reputation as a statesman, and honoured with the confidence of King William, had been intimate with Godwin Swift, and had married a lady to whom Mrs. Swift was related; by the advice of his mother, Swift communicated his situation to Sir William, and solicited his direction, as to the future course of his life.

Sir William Temple received him at Sheen, with great kindness, insomuch that Swift's visit continued for two years.[t] The King, whose acquaintance with Sir William had commenced at Nimeguen, before the revolution, used frequently to visit him at Sheen, and Sir William being ill of the gout, Swift used to attend his Majesty, in his walks about the garden, who admitted him to such familiarity, that he shewed him how to cut asparagus after the Dutch manner, and once offered to make him a captain of horse; Swift, however, appears to have, even then, fixed upon an ecclesiastical life,[u] for, in a letter to his uncle William, dated 1692, he says, "I am not to take orders till the King gives me a prebend."

Sir William removed soon after to an estate purchased by him, near Farnham, in Surry, called Moore-park; thither he was accompanied by Swift: about this time

not quite consonant to the rules of evidence, when certain parts of an allegation are proved untrue, to allow, therefore, an additional credit to attach to the rest; I feel inclined rather to adhere to the maxim, "falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus;" the whole should, therefore, be rejected; and indeed it is proved, as fully as any such circumstance is capable of proof; that this Tripos was the work of another person. Besides, the piece has no internal evidence, neither has it any thing of Swift's peculiar humour; the proofs, adduced by the learned Doctor, of resemblance between some of its passages and certain parts of Swift's works, are much too far fetched: as to the macaronic latinity in the Tripos, that is the general character of all such writings, and has been used by all students of all universities; nor has it any particular resemblance to Swift's effusions in that way; neither will the grossness, which prevails throughout that piece, fix it upon Swift as his work; it rather furnishes an excuse for that objectionable part of Swift's writings, as it proves that such liberties were then taken by others, and were not unfrequent in those times.

Dr. Owen Lloyd, the junior Dean, is a severe sufferer in the Tripos, and Mr. Walter Scott thinks this should fix part of the blame of writing this satire upon Swift; but no such conclusion can follow, unless he first proves, that the Doctor never had any enemy but Swift, or that he never deserved the satire with which he has overwhelmed him in his works. But as Swift did not, in his latter works, fix censure upon any person, undeservedly, we may fairly suppose he did not make a practise of doing so, in his early years.

The learned Vice-provost seems not to have been aware that John Jones, the real and avowed author of this production, was afterwards diocesan school-master, and the same person, who converted the ancient church of St. Martin of Pole, in Ship-street, to that use. I have already mentioned, in page 221, that he had a grant thereof from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral, in 1706.

[r] He was, in this year, seized with a lethargy, and soon after deprived of his speech and memory. Deane Swift's Memoir, &c.

[s] It is Dr. Barret's opinion, that Swift's name continued on the books of the university until June 1689, and he gives as a reason, that Thomas Swift, till that period, is called Sir Swift senior, but from thenceforward the title of senior is omitted; it is, however, possible, that the distinction continued, through habit, to be used after it ceased to be necessary. Swift could not have remained so long in Ireland, for he was settled at Sheen in June 1689, and some months should be allowed for his residence in Leicestershire, where he contracted, about this time, some acquaintances, who are afterwards alluded to, in his works. See his letter to Mr. Worrall, Vol. XVII. page 248.

[t] To an event of this period, Swift refers the origin of those complaints, which so frequently visited him during his life, and which having, for a period, eclipsed the light of his understanding, at length extinguished the lamp of life; as he himself, with prophetic skill, foretold. In the commencement of a lively epistle, written to Mrs. Howard, from Twickenham, in August 1727, Swift humourously records this event: "about two hours before you were born, I got my giddiness, by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time, at Richmond; and when you were four years and a quarter old, bating two days, having made a fine seat about twenty miles further in Surry, where I used to read, &c. there I got my deafness; and these two friends have visited me, one or other, every year since, and being old acquaintance, have now thought fit to come together." I apprehend such causes are quite insufficient to produce such permanent effects; Swift perhaps experienced then, for the first time, the symptoms of an hereditary disease, and probably mistook that for the cause which was truly the consequence.

[u] Lord Orrery apprehends he entered into orders, more from private fixed resolution, than absolute choice. His Lordship, I suppose, himself understood, what he meant by

a bill was brought into the house for triennial parliaments, against which the King was much averse, conceiving, from his imperfect knowledge of the English constitution, that this bill resembled that which was so injurious to the unfortunate Charles I. The Earl of Portland was dispatched to Sir William for advice, who, endeavouring without effect to convince him, deputed Swift, who was well versed in English history, to explain the matter to the King. Swift gave his Majesty a short account, but a more large one to the Earl of Portland; it was, however, in vain, neither the King nor his ministers could be reconciled to the measure, and he had determined to refuse passing the bill, but its rejection, by the house of commons, saved him from that disagreeable expedient. This was the first time that Swift had any intercourse with courts, and he afterwards acknowledged, it was the first incident that helped to cure him of vanity. In the year preceding this event, Swift had repaired to Oxford, with the testimonium of his degree from the university of Dublin, was admitted "ad eundem," on the 14th of June 1692; and, having entered himself at Harts-hall, he obtained his degree of master of arts,[v] on the 5th of July following: two years after, finding that Sir William Temple delayed providing for him, from a selfish view of retaining him in his service, they parted with mutual dissatisfaction; Sir William had coldly offered him an employment in the rolls office in Ireland, worth one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, to which he was by no means suited, but Swift, who had a scruple of entering into the church, merely for support, having now an opportunity of living, determined to follow that profession which was his choice, and proceeded to Ireland to obtain ordination: not being able to effect this without a testimonial of his good conduct, during his residence with Sir William, he procured that document, by a submission[w] which must have been very grating to his high feelings; it was however accompanied with a letter to Lord Capel, whereby his patron obtained for him the prebend of Kilroot,[x] in the diocess of Connor, worth about one hundred pounds per annum. To this small living he retired, but, after a short time was invited back by Sir William Temple, who, during his absence, became sensible how necessary Swift was to his existence. Obedient to the call of friendship, he, in 1695, repaired to Moorepark,[s] where he

[s] Sheridan's life, page 22.

this observation, which is not very intelligible to others; if I understand him right, he means, that Swift was resolved to do what he did not like.

[v] His residence at the university was therefore scarcely six weeks, to this he alludes in one of his letters, saying, "I am ashamed to be more obliged in a few weeks to strangers, than in seven years to Dublin college." This disproves what Lord Orrery says, of his being supported three years, at the university, by Sir William Temple, and overturns all the invidious conclusions he draws from thence.

[w] The penitential letter of Swift, to Sir William Temple, has been published in the latter editions of his works; it is taken from a copy of a transcript from the original: it may be genuine, but I like not this sort of evidence, and am sure the admission of such will more frequently lead to error than truth.

Sheridan says, Swift was ordained in Sept. 1694; but he is mistaken, his letters for deacon's orders are dated 28th Oct. 1694, (not the 18th as Mr. Scott has asserted) those for priests orders, 13th Jan. 1694-5; he was ordained into both by Will. King, Bishop of Derry.

[x] The patent of presentation is enrolled, and is dated 28th January, 6 William III. Rot. Canc. this was 1694-5.

He resigned this prebend in favour of the Rev. John Winder, who was collated 11th March 1696-7. First fruits office.

There is a pathetic story told by Sheridan, and repeated by Mr. Scott, of his procuring this living for an old clergyman who lent him his horse to ride to obtain it; he was father of a numerous family, who, on account of his poverty, was unable to provide for them. It is a pity, being so very interesting, that it should not be true; which appears from the following circumstances. First, Swift was not in Ireland when he resigned the living, but resident with Sir William Temple; he held this benefice two years, contrary to the generally conceived opinion, and was resident at Moore-park, from June 1696, till Sir William's death, as appears by his letters. Secondly, the person in whose favour he resigned was not an indigent clergyman, as is well known to his family; he had, himself, a moderate estate in that county, and formed several respectable connexions; his daughter was married afterwards to a gentleman of chief interest and fortune, in the county of Antrim, Mr. Macartney, grand-father to the late Earl of Macartney: neither was he then father of a numerous family, for it appears from a record of births and marriages of certain members of the family, written by his own hand, that his eldest child, Edward, was born on 5th of Aug. 1697, which was after his collation to this benefice: from those circumstances it appears that he was neither old, nor poor, nor father of a family; that he was not old, is further manifest from the fact of his having had a correspondence with Swift so late as the year 1731. See Works, Vol. XVIII. page 6. These circumstances have come to the authors knowlege by alliance with the family of the gentleman alluded to, to whose great granddaughter he is united by marriage.

continued to reside [y] till Sir William's death, which took place in Jan. 1698. There are still extant memoranda from the hand of Swift, which prove his sincere affection and regard for this his early patron, and the last bequest of the care, trust, and advantage of publishing his posthumous writings, equally manifest, on the other hand, in what high estimation the baronet held the talents of the young divine. [z]

Although Swift, during his residence at Moore-park, may be considered as passing a life of obscurity, when compared with his subsequent brilliant career; he, nevertheless, laid the foundation of his future fame by an intense application to study. [a]

[y] Swift was settled at Moore-park, in June 1696, and from that time forth, until Sir William's death, in January 1698, he continued to reside in his house, except when he made an occasional excursion into Leicestershire, to visit his mother; he received, during this time, frequent remittances from his favourite uncle, William, and his cousin, Willoughby Swift.

[z] Swift manifested at all times a great respect for the memory of Sir William Temple; his intimacy, however, with the male descendants of that baronet, was finally terminated in 1726, by an opprobious letter of Lord Palmerstown, in answer to one of Swift's, which contained a request in favour of a friend, by no means meriting so unhandsome a reply. There is no passage in Swift's first epistle that can excuse the following paragraph of his Lordship's answer; "My desire is to be in charity with all men; could I say as much of you, you had sooner enquired of this matter, or if you had any regard to a family you owe so much to; but I fear you hugged the false report, to cancel all feelings of gratitude that must ever glow in a generous breast, and to justify what you had declared, that no regard to the family was any restraint to you. These refinements are past my low understanding, and can only be comprehended by you great wits." This vile insinuation received an answer, temperate to a degree that will astonish the reader, who is apprized of the irritable temper of Swift; his reply to this taunting injurious epistle is a "chef d'œuvre;" he asks the noble Peer "what title he could have to give such contumelious treatment to one who never did him the least injury, or received from him the least obligation?" "I own myself, "he adds," indebted to Sir William Temple for recommending me to the late King, although without success, and for his choice of me to take care of his posthumous writings. But I hope you will not charge my living in his family, as an obligation, for I was educated to little purpose, if I retired to his house, on any other motives than the benefit of his conversation and advice, and the opportunity of pursuing my studies; for, being born to no fortune, I was at his death as far to seek as ever, and perhaps you will allow I was of some use to him." Swift's advantage in this short conflict is commensurate to the superiority of his understanding. The above extract serves, moreover, to shew the extent of his obligations to his early patron, and furnishes, in itself, a sufficient answer to those who tax him with ingratitude. In truth, Sir William Temple made Swift resign his living at Kilroot, that he might live with him at Moore-park; and promised, as we learn from his sister, Jane Swift's letter, dated May 1699, to get him one in England; "but death," she adds, "came in between, and has left him unprovided both of friend and living." Swift's works, Vol. XV. page 243. As a very different story from the real fact, has been often insinuated, and in two recent works (Scott's life of Swift, page 57. Edinb. Review, No. LIII. page 29) directly asserted; namely, that Swift obtained a considerable legacy by a bequest from Sir William Temple; I think fit to undeceive the reader in that respect. Swift was not mentioned in Sir William's will, which is dated 8th March 1694; but, by a codicil of 2d February 1697-8, he left him the very trifling sum of one hundred pounds; so that there is good ground for Dr. Hawksworth's remark, "that Sir William did not treat Swift with liberality, for which," he adds, "it is difficult to account."

[a] To trace how far his familiar converse with Sir William Temple might have operated in moulding the genius of Swift, would be to indulge in a speculation by no means fruitless or uninteresting. I think we may fairly attribute to his acquaintance with this statesman, a great portion of that excellence, for which his prose works are so remarkable: Sir William was not only the best prose writer of his time, but his works would serve, at this day, as a model worthy of imitation. But, it was by Swift and his cotemporaries that the language was brought to the highest degree of perfection to which it attained before or since that period. It has been since, to a considerable degree, refined and polished, but, as Temple himself remarks, those operations have the same effect upon languages that they have on other works; "the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and strength." In fact, the captivating smoothness which Dr. Johnson introduced, has, it is true, removed the asperities; but, since it became a subject of general imitation, it has likewise destroyed all individuality of character, and levelled all distinctions and peculiarity of stile; so that its seeming excellence is dearly purchased, being at the expense of force, spirit and variety.

Sir William Temple had likewise a very just idea of humour, and has accounted, in a very satisfactory way, for this talent being almost peculiar to the English nation; out of which language the word itself is scarcely translateable into any other of Europe. "It may proceed," he says, "from the native plenty of our soil, the unequalness of our climate, as well as the ease of our government, and the liberty of professing opinions and factions, which perhaps our neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguished; plenty begets wantonness and pride, wantonness is apt to invent, and pride scorns to imitate, liberty begets stomach or heart, and stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more humour, because every man follows his own, and takes a pleasure, perhaps a pride, to shew it." Miscellanea, part II. His definition too, of this talent, is very just; "Humour is a picture of particular life, as comedy is of general; and though it represents dispositions and customs, less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among men; for, if humour itself be forced, it loses all the grace, which has been indeed the fault of some of our poets most celebrated in their kind." Miscellanea, part II. One can hardly doubt but that the writer, who so well described this talent, was himself endued with a reasonable portion of it, and indeed we find that it is not omitted in the list of attributes, in the character of him annexed to his life, which mentions "that he had an extraordinary spirit and life in his humour, with so agreeable turns of wit and fancy, in his conversation, that no body was welcomer in all sorts of society."

To the use of ridicule, whether in prose or poetry, Sir William was, however, very averse; of Rabelais, whom he stiles the father of ridicule, he speaks not in very favourable terms. "It began first, in verse," he says, "with an Italian poem, called La Secchia Rapita; was pursued by Scarron, in French, with his Virgil Travesty; and in English, by Sir John Mince, Hudibras, and Cotton; and with greater height of burlesque in the English, than, I think, in any other language. But, let the

During his second residence at Moore-park, his acquaintance commenced with Mrs. Esther Johnson, better known by the poetical appellation of Stella,[b] a lady for whom he felt all that warmth of animated friendship, of which his future life gives so many examples; but it appears never to have kindled into love, to that passion, during his whole life, Swift was remarkably insensible: at this period, likewise, he corrected and improved his Tale of a Tub,[c] and added the digressions.

execution be what it will, the design, the custom, and example, are very pernicious to poetry, and, indeed, to all virtue and good qualities among men; which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the lash of raillery, and this vein of ridiculing the good as well as ill, the guilty and the innocent: 'tis a very poor, though common pretence to merit, to make it appear by the faults of other men."

His regard for the opinion of Sir William, doubtless restrained, in those respects, the natural bent of Swift's inclination, and caused, perhaps, those unsuccessful attempts, which have been given to the world as his first essays in the art of poetry: this unnatural bias did not, however, last long; almost immediately after the Baronet's decease, in 1700, when he attended the Earl of Berkeley to Ireland, Swift exhibited several favourable specimens of that species of poetry which was the object of Sir William's censure.

Having had occasion to say so much here of this celebrated writer, I cannot quit the subject without noticing the very uncandid manner in which Mr. Dunlop, (Essay on Fiction, Vol. III. page 176,) has quoted the Baronet's words upon the subject of his taste in poetry.

After quoting some wretched rhymes out of the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney, the author proceeds to say, "such are the productions of an author whom Sir William Temple, in the land that had already given birth to Shakespeare, Spencer and Milton, scrupled not to pronounce, 'the greatest poet, and the noblest genius of any, that have left writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern language." But the author does not represent exactly the meaning, for he does not quote all the words of Sir William Temple: he had just mentioned, as one cause of the decline of poetry, the great multiplication of romances; it was of "this kind of poetry in prose" he was then speaking, as is manifest, from the line which immediately precedes, which Mr. Dunlop ought not, therefore, to have omitted. The sentence begins with the following words, "The true spirit or vein of ancient poetry of *this kind* seems to shine most in Sir Philip Sidney, whom I esteem, &c."

The praise conveyed in the lines which next follow are, no doubt, extravagant, but not so much so as Mr. Dunlop would fain make us believe: Sir William may, indeed, be excused for too great partiality to the memory of Sir Philip Sidney, his youthful ear was habituated to the sound of his praise, for that amiable person expired in the arms of the Baronet's grand-father, who was his most intimate friend, not many years before the birth of Sir William Temple. But, Sir Philip Sidney's literary merit has not been estimated fairly by any of his cotemporaries; they have all, like Sir William Temple, taken his private virtues and personal accomplishments into the account; but the same is done with respect to wealth and rank; the productions of men of rank and riches are estimated higher than they ought, by those of their own time; why then should we complain, if the nobler talents of the mind should meet with that deference which is shewn to qualities comparatively so inferior?

But, the chief advantage which Swift derived from his intimacy with Sir William, was leisure and opportunity for study; of which he appears to have availed himself with diligence. Dr. Lyon has copied, from a MS. in Swift's own hand, a list of the books read by him, whilst at Moore-park, between 7th Jan. 1696-7, and 7th January 1697-8, which was as follows:

Lord Herbert's Harry VIII. fol.
Sleiden's commentaries, abstracted: fol.
Council of Trent, abstracted: fol.
Virgil, bis.
Horace, 9 vols.
Sir William Temple's Memoirs.
——— Introduction.
Camden's Elizabeth.
Prince Arthur.
Histoire de Chypre,
Voyage de Syam.
Voiture.
Memoires de Maurier.
Lucius Florus, ter.
Collins's Essays, 2 vols.
Count Gabalis.
Sir John Davis, of the Soul.
Conformité de Religion, &c.
Dialogues des Morts, 2 vols.
Lucretius, ter.
Histoire de Mr. Constance.
Histoire d' Ethiopie.
Histoire de Cotes, &c. &c.
Diodorus Siculus, abstr. fol.
Cyprian et Irenæus, abstr. fol.
Voyage de Maroc, &c.
Ælian, 1st vol.
Homer, Iliad and Odyss.
Cicero's Epistles.
Bernier's Grand Mogul, 2 vols.
Burnet's History of Reformation, fol.
Petronius Arbiter.
Œuvres Melees, 5 vols.

[b] The following account of Stella's birth and education was penned by the hand of Swift himself. "She was born at Richmond, in Surrey, on the 13th day of March 1681; her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire, her mother of a lower degree; and, indeed, she had little to boast of her birth. I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life." Swift's works, Vol. IX. page 489.

[c] The Tale of a Tub, says Mr. Walter Scott, "Is founded upon a simple and obvious allegory, conducted with all the humour of Rabelais, and without his extravagance. The main purpose is to trace the gradual corruptions of the church of Rome, and to exalt the English reformed church at the expense both of the Roman catholic and presbiterian establishments. It was written with a view to the interests of the high church party, and it succeeded in rendering them the most important services; for what is so important to a party in Britain, whether in church or state, as to gain the laughers to their side. But, the raillery was considered, not unreasonably, as too light for a subject of such grave importance; and it cannot be denied, that the luxuriance of Swift's wit has, in some parts of the tale, carried him much beyond the bounds of propriety." Life of Swift, page 84, &c.

Mr. Scott is not, however, quite correct in the latter part of his description: doubtless the main purpose was, to exalt the English reformed church at the expense both of the Roman catholic and presbiterian, but it was not written with a view to the interests of any *party* of that church. As high and low are, in the material world, relative terms, and vary according to the situation of the speaker as to place; so in church matters they vary according to his religious opinions; thus a mem-

A dispute his patron had been engaged in, relative to the superiority of ancient and modern learning, suggested the hint of the Battle of the Books[d]: the preliminary

ber of the church of England would be, to a presbiterian, a high church-man, to a papist the reverse. The Tale of a Tub is quite free from the schismatic principles which Mr. Scott so ingeniously insinuates, and which he makes some shew of proving, by means of the double meaning of the word *high church;* which is applicable, in some respects, to a great religious sect, and has been also appropriated to a party of that sect.

With regard to the liberty Swift has taken, to which Mr. Scott alludes, the author offers a sufficient excuse in his apology, which is in itself a very able production; he says, "he was then (when he wrote it in 1696) a young gentleman, much in the world, and wrote to the taste of those who were like himself; therefore, in order to allure them, he gave a liberty to his pen, which might not suit with maturer years, or graver characters, and which he could have easily corrected with a few blots, had he been master of his papers, for a year or two before their publication." But, although he acknowledges there are youthful sallies, which, from the grave and wise, may merit a rebuke, yet, "he desires to be answerable no farther than he is guilty, and that his faults may not be multiplied by the ignorant, the unnatural, and uncharitable applications of those who have neither candour to suppose good meanings, nor palate to distinguish true ones. After which, he will forfeit his life if any one opinion can be fairly deduced from that book, which is contrary to religion or morality."—"Why should any clergyman of our church," he asks, "be angry to see the follies of fanatacism and superstition exposed, though in the most ridiculous manner; since that is, perhaps, the most probable way to cure them, or at least to hinder them from farther spreading? Besides, it rallies nothing but what they preach against; it contains nothing to provoke them, by the least scurrility upon their persons or their functions."—"Had the author written a book to expose the abuses in law, or in physic, he believes the learned professors in either faculty would have been so far from resenting it, as to have given him thanks for his pains; especially if he had made an honourable reservation for the true practice of either science: but religion, they tell us, ought not to be ridiculed; and they tell us truth: yet surely the corruptions of it may; for we are taught by the tritest maxim in the world, that religion being the best of things, its corruptions are likely to be the worst."

After the work had been some time published, Dr. Thomas Swift, Jonathan's cousin-german and fellow student at the university, laid claim to a share in this celebrated piece: he even published, in 1710, "A compleat key to the Tale of a Tub;" a flimsy composition, wherein he had the presumption to state the authors to be, "Thomas Swift, grand-son to Sir William Davenant; and Jonathan Swift, cousin-german to Thomas Swift; both retainers to Sir William Temple." Thus distinguishing himself, as Mr. Scott remarks, "as a wit and an author by descent, and introducing Jonathan only as his relative"; moreover, in his preface to the key, he says, "that the author intended to have it very regular—but when he had not yet gone half way, his companion, borrowing the manuscript to peruse, carried it with him to Ireland, and having kept it seven years, at last published it imperfect, for indeed he was not able to carry it on after the intended method; for divinity, though it chanced to be his profession, had been the least of his study." Swift was extremely nettled at this proceeding of his relative, whom he contemptuously calls, in his letter to Benjamin Took, the printer, "his little parson cousin," to whom, he says, he had lent a copy of some part of it, which he shewed, after Swift had gone for Ireland, and affected to talk suspiciously as if he had some hand in it. "If he should happen to be in town," he adds, "and you light upon him, I think you ought to tell him gravely, 'that if he be the author, he should set his name to the, &c.' and rally him a little upon it: and tell him, 'if he can explain some things, you will, if he pleases, set his name to the next edition.' I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce could go." (Vol. XV. page 330.) A challenge, nearly in the same words, is repeated, in the postcript to the apology; where, after asserting "that the whole work is entirely of one hand, which every reader of judgement will easily discover," he adds. "If any person will prove his claim to three lines in the whole book, let him step forth and tell his name and titles; upon which the bookseller shall have orders to prefix them to the next edition, and the claimant shall, from henceforward, be acknowledged the undisputed author.

Mr. W. Hazlitt, in his sixth lecture delivered at the Surry institution, has the following remark upon this piece.

"The Tale of a Tub is one of the most masterly compositions in the language, whether for thought, wit, or style. It is so capital and undeniable a proof of the author's talents, that Dr. Johnson, who did not like Swift, would not allow that he wrote it. It is hard that the same performance should stand in the way of a man's promotion to a bishoprick, as wanting gravity, and at the same time be denied to be his, as having too much wit. It is a pity the Doctor did not find out some graver author, for whom he felt a critical kindness, on whom to father this splendid but unacknowledged production."

Dr. Johnson did, as this ingenious writer remarks, manifest a very great desire to rob Swift of the credit of this performanee. In his published works, however, he proceeded with caution, and went no farther than insinuations, which are conveyed in the following terms: "The Tale of a Tub has little resemblance to Swift's other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction, such as he afterwards never possessed, or never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar, that it must be considered by itself; what is true of that, is not true of any thing else which he has written." Johnson's life of Swift. We are assured, however, by his admirable biographer, that Dr. Johnson did often, in his private conversation, intimate his opinion that it was not the work of Swift. "I doubt," he says, "if the Tale of a Tub was his: it has so much more thinking, more knowledge, more power, more colour, than any of the works which are indisputably his. If it was his, I shall only say, he was "impar sibi." Tour to Hebrides, page 32. 3d edit.

Swift, very early in life, adopted it as a rule, not to avow openly any production of his pen, and he framed this resolution upon good and reasonable grounds. As a considerable political party writer, and a satirist, he produced, occasionally, some works, of which he could not prudently acknowledge himself the author: by this determination, which soon became generally known, he saved himself from the disagreeable necessity of acknowledging with danger, or denying at the expense of truth, any particular production, relative to which he might be questioned; and, indeed, in a great measure from being at all examined upon the subject; but, though he never openly avowed it, I believe no one but Dr. Johnson ever doubted his being the author: neither can we be sure that great critic disbelieved that it was his; it is well known how fond he was of paradoxes, and how he loved argument, even at the expense of truth. No one can, I think, have any doubt upon the subject, after reading the author's apology prefixed to the Tale itself, his letter to Took, and Took's answer: in truth there is no one else to give it to, "aut Erasmi est aut Diaboli."

I cannot quit this subject without mentioning a singular coincidence, between a passage in the introduction to the Tale of a Tub, and one in Gulliver's travels; this circumstance was remarked by professor Porson, (Tracts by Kidd, Lond. 1815, page 316) who infers from thence, that those pieces were written by the same person; and, indeed, I think the coincidence of numbers, which could not have been otherwise than intentional, was meant by Swift as an indirect acknowledgement of his being the author of the former piece; and it is so much in his own way, that I apprehend no one can doubt but that such was his

advertisement of the book-seller, in 1704, mentions, that these treatises were arranged for publication, in 1697.

purpose. The passages to which I allude are the following:

Introduction to Tale of a Tub, page 51, first edit. "Four score and eleven pamphlets have I writ under three reigns, and for the service of thirty-six factions."

Gulliver's Travels, Vol. I. page 22, first edit. "On each side the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground; into that on the left side, the king's smiths conveyed four score and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six and thirty padlocks."

[d] Although the Battle of the Books was not printed until some years after the death of Sir William Temple, it owed, nevertheless, its origin to the interest which Swift felt in behalf of his patron, who had taken a decided part in the controversy, upon the superiority of ancient and modern learning.

This dispute originated in France, where Fontenelle and Perrault maintained the cause of the moderns, with ill conduct or success; for, instead of taking the advantage ground of the sciences, they attacked the ancients in their strongest positions, and contested for preeminence in architecture, oratory, poetry, and works of imagination; in marshalling their forces too, and appointing to each of the ancients their respective combatant amongst the moderns, they shewed, in a very striking manner, the weakness of their cause: in this unequal warfare we find Balsac opposed against Cicero, Voiture against Pliny, the Bishop of Meaux against Thucidides, and Corneille was to encounter the whole body of ancient dramatists; Padre Paolo's council of Trent, and Comines' memoirs, were confronted with the histories by Herodotus and Livy, and Sleiden's commentaries with those of Cæsar. This juxta position of persons appeared so ludicrous, that some of the modern authors who were most complimented, turned against their ill judging advocates; Boileau particularly, who had been opposed to Horace, assailed Fontenelle and the French academy with an epigram, and Racine directed another against Perrault; which latter was so born down with the torrent of ridicule, that he was obliged to recant; and, to shew the truth of his conversion, translated the dialogue, in Homer, between Hector and Andromache, into French, and presented it to the French accademy in 1693, after a speech, wherein he acknowleged Homer to be the most excellent, vastest, and noblest genius that had ever been in poesy; and he adds, "that in consequence of the liberty he had taken in remarking upon his works, men had risen up against him, as if he had committed high treason."

Soon after this, the controversy commenced in England, where the advocates for the moderns met with as little success as they did in France; Sir William Temple, who was then held in high estimation for rank and talents, attacked the innovators in his Essay upon ancient and modern learning, to which he was urged, as he says, by a just indignation at the insolence of the advocates for the moderns, in defaming those heroes among the ancients, whose memory had been held sacred, and admired for many ages: "This," he adds, "gave me the same kind of horror I should have had, in seeing some young barbarous Goths or Vandals breaking or defacing the admirable statues of those ancient heroes of Greece or Rome, which had so long preserved their memories honoured, and almost adored, for so many generations."

To this treatise a reply was made by Mr. William Wotton, in which he was assisted by Dr. Bentley, who also, by denying the authenticity of the Epistles of Phalaris, aimed a side blow at Sir William Temple, by whom Æsop and Phalaris had been, in his Essay, praised beyond measure; although his direct opponent in the well known contest upon that subject, was the Hon. Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery; it was at this time, in 1697, that the Battle of the Books in St. James's library, was first penned, and it is against those two adversaries of his patron that Swift chiefly directs the shafts of his ridicule.

An answer was attempted to this work, and to the Tale of a Tub, by Wotton, in his Defence of his Reflections upon ancient and modern learning, a work "made up," says Swift, in the 'Apology, &c.' "of half invective, and half annotation; in the latter of which he has generally succeeded well enough;" and, indeed, his annotations now serve to illustrate the work which he laboured to condemn, and add force to a satire pointed against himself; "as captives," says Mr. Walter Scott, "were bound to the chariot wheel of the victor, and compelled to increase the pomp of his triumph, whom they had in vain attempted to defeat."

Amongst the other matters which were objected, by Wotton against those Essays, he instituted a charge of plagiarism against the author of the Battle of the Books; "I have been assured," he writes, "that the battle in St. James's library is, *mutatis mutandis*, taken out a French book, entitled, *combat des livres*, if I misremember not." Swift, in the "Apology, &c." answers to this charge, I shall give his own words, which are as follows.

"In this passage there are two clauses observable: 'I have been assured;' and, 'if I misremember not,' I desire first to know whether, if that conjecture proves an utter falsehood, those two clauses will be a sufficient excuse for this worthy critic. The matter is a trifle; but, would he venture to pronounce, at this rate, upon one of greater moment? I know nothing more contemptible in a writer, than the character of a plagiary, which he here fixes at a venture; and this not for a passage, but a whole discourse, taken out from another book, only *mutatis mutandis*. The author is as much in the dark about this as the answerer, and will imitate him by an affirmation at random; that if there be a word of truth in this reflection, he is a paltry, imitating pedant; and the answerer is a person of wit, manners, and truth. He takes his boldness, from never having seen any such treatise in his life, nor heard of it before; and he is sure it is impossible for two writers, of different times and countries, to agree in their thoughts after such a manner, that two continued discourses shall be the same, only *mutatis mutandis*. Neither will he insist upon the mistake in the title; but let the answerer and his friend produce any book they please, he defies them to show one single particular, where the judicious reader will affirm he has been obliged for the smallest hint; giving only allowance for the accidental encountering of a single thought, which he knows may sometimes happen; though he has never yet found it in that discourse, nor has heard it objected by any body else." Swift's works, Vol. XI. page 25.

Notwithstanding this denial by Swift, Dr. Samuel Johnson has thought fit to revive the charge instituted by Wotton. "The battle of the books," he writes, "is so like the *Combat des Livres*, which the same question, concerning the ancients and moderns, had produced in France, that the improbability of such a coincidence of thoughts without communication is not, in my opinion, balanced by the anonymous protestation prefixed, in which all knowledge of the French book is peremptorily disowned." Johnson's life of Swift.

To this assertion of Dr. Johnson's, that the Battle of the Books is taken from a French work of the seventeenth century: Mr. Walter Scott has added his own testimony in confirmation; the real title to the work, however, he informs us, is as follows: "Histoire poetique de la guerre novellement declaree entre les anciens et les modernes," written by Coutray: which work he moreover describes to be, "A spirited poem, divided into eleven books, inferior to Swift's work in personal satire and raciness of humour, but strongly resembling the Battle of the Books in the plan and management of the literary warfare." Life of Swift, page 45.

In any speculative opinion whatever, I should feel some scruple in expressing a dissent from persons possessing so high rank in the commonwealth of literature; but I happen to possess, and have inspected, the book alluded to, which is so far from answering to Mr. Scott's description, that, on the contrary, it is a spiritless prose work, in twelve books, not in the slightest

Swift never failed, during this period, to visit his mother once a year, at Leicester; his mode of travelling was suited to his finances,[e] being always on foot, except when the weather was very bad, when he would sometimes take shelter in a waggon; with the help of a strong constitution and active limbs, he traversed hills and dales, valuing gates and stiles not a straw, and dining at obscure ale-houses with pedlars and carriers: the language and manners of those people indulged his comic humour, and supplied him with means of studying human nature; but, although he disguised himself to the utmost of his skill, yet he was once discovered by his fellow travellers to be a spy on their manners, and obliged afterwards to travel in better company[9]: to this passion he never sacrificed his habitual love of cleanliness; although he usually put up his lodging where he saw written over the door, "lodgings for a penny," yet he used to bribe the maid with six pence to give him a separate bed and clean sheets.

Towards the close of 1696, Swift resigned the prebend of Kilroot, having received a promise, as is generally supposed, from King William, of the first vacant prebend in Canterbury or Westminster; but, neither the dedication of his patron's posthumous works to that monarch, nor his obsequious attendance at court, were successful in obtaining this promotion,[f] so that he was induced, at last, to accept an invitation of the Earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, to attend him as chaplain and private secretary, in which capacity he acted until his arrival at Dublin; when one Bushe, having insinuated that the post was not fit for a clergyman, obtained for himself that employment from the obsequious peer.[10] This disappointment was soon after followed by another; the rich deanery of Derry became vacant and was at the disposal of the Earl, who had promised Swift the first benefice which should fall in; the Secretary, who stands charged with having received a bribe from the Rev. John Bolton,[g] found means to set Swift aside, upon pretence that he was too young[11]: this objection is said, by Lord Orrery, to have originated with Dr. Wm. King,[h] at that time Bishop of Derry, who intreated that the deanery might be given to some elderly divine; "I have no objection" said the learned prelate, "to Mr. Swift, I know him to be a sprightly and ingenious young man, but

9 Lyon's MSS. 10 MS. by Swift, T. C. D. 11 MS. by Swift, T. C. D.

degree resembling the Battle of the Books, either in the plan or management of the literary warfare. The truth is, Swift's battle, being a burlesque imitation of Homer, the plan is taken from that original and not from any other; in the conduct of it he differs from Coutray, and particularly on the persons of his heroes; all Courtray's moderns are French or Italian, Swift's are English, and it is upon the peculiarities in the characters of those, that the spirit and humour of Swift's production depends; so that I may safely reiterate the challenge thrown out by Swift, and defy any one to shew "one single particular, where the judicious reader will affirm he has been obliged for the smallest hint, giving only allowance for the accidental encountering of a single thought, which may sometimes happen."

Dr. Johnson's character for veracity will not, I presume, stand very high with the reader, after this fact has been proved; it is pretty certain that no such work as the "Combat des livres" exists; if Dr. Johnson did not know this, at least he knew that he never saw it. The doubtful, faultering manner too of Wotton, who prefers the original charge, forms a curious contrast to the Doctor's arrogant and dogmatic style, whose evil passions, which he displayed upon all occasions where Swift was mentioned, hurried him, upon this occasion, beyond the bounds of truth and decorum.

[e] Although this description of Swift's early penury may excite commiseration, we are, perhaps, indebted to the state of his finances for the entertainment and instruction we receive from his admirable works; nay, we have his own words for it; in a letter to his friend Pope, he writes, "I will tell you, that all my endeavours, from a boy, to distinguish myself, were only for want of a great title and fortune, that I might be used like a lord by those who have an opinion of my parts; whether right or wrong it is no great matter: and so the reputation of great learning does the office of a blue ribbon, or of a coach and six horses."

[f] Swift tells us, that "the Earl of Romney, who professed much friendship for him, promised to second his petition; but as he was an old, vicious, illiterate rake, without any sense of truth or honour, he said not a word of it to the King." MS. by Swift, T. C. D.

[g] "To whom," says Dr. Lyon significantly, "he gave a hint of the right way to obtain it." Lyon's MS.

[h] This part of the story seems to be a fabrication of the Earl's; and Dr. Hawksworth aptly remarks, that the Bishop could not have objected to Swift, that he would not reside, for he had not any living until after the deanery was filled. It is, indeed, manifest, that the objection was drawn from his subsequent, not his preceding life; but, having minutely inspected a volume which contains copies of the letters written by Bishop King upon this occasion, I have been able to ascertain that no such objection was urged by him, nor does he appear to have known that Swift was thought of for the deanery of Derry.

instead of residing, I dare say he will be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London, and therefore I entreat he may be provided for in some other place." Be this as it may, Swift was obliged to rest satisfied with the livings vacated by Bolton, and accordingly, upon the 22d of March 1699, he received institution [l] to the rectory of Agher, [k] and vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocess of Meath; but, on the 28th of September 1700, he received a further recompence, by being collated to the prebend of Dunlavin, in this cathedral; in which he was installed on the 22d day of the following month.

In December 1699, Swift [i] experienced a further mortification, by the imprudent marriage of his sister Jane with Jos. Fenton, a currier in Bride-street; the young lady, who was of an agreeable figure, and had a good share of understanding, received the consent of her uncles and relatives, Fenton being reputed rich; to her brother the match was, from the first, disagreeable; and when the marriage took place, even the entreaties of his mother failed to effect a reconciliation [m]; at the time, this repugnance was attributed to offended pride, [n] arising from the thoughts of being brother-in-law to a tradesman, but the event proved his superior foresight, Fenton soon appeared in his true character, that of an old vitious tyrant, who shortly after became bankrupt, and died, leaving his wife and two or three children in deplorable circumstances; Swift allowed her out of his income a competent support, but was never after entirely reconciled to her.

[l] Patent dated 20th February 1699; old stile.

[k] Those livings are rated in the King's books, for first fruits, as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
Rectory of Agher, - -	6	17	8
Vicarage of Laracor, - -	6	0	9
Vicarage of Rathbeggan, -	5	17	0

Agher appears, from the visitation book of the diocess, to be an entire rectory: Laracor a vicarage; but the rectorial tithes having been forfeited in the rebellion of 1641, they were granted by King Charles II. to the incumbent, for the yearly crown rent of twenty pounds per annum. Rathbeggan is likewise a vicarage, the rectorial tithes of which are impropriate; the ancestors of the Marquis of Drogheda were, and are perhaps still, proprietors of these latter. The tithes of one town-land, or as it may be stiled, one parish, of the union, Effernock, were purchased by Dean Swift, and bequeathed by him to his successors in the parish of Laracor. The livings above-mentioned were, in Swift's time, episcopally united, but the union has been since dissolved.

Mr. Deane Swift tells us that Laracor was then worth two hundred pounds per annum, and Rathbeggan sixty pounds. Essay, &c. page 121.

Swift, in his account book for the year 1700, sets down the yearly value of those united livings at 230*l*. It appears that he paid, between March 1699 and November 1700, 117*l*. for title, crown rent, curate, &c. Dr. Lyon's MSS.

I have been favoured by the Rev. Archdeacon Brinkley, who was himself sometime Vicar of Laracor, with some extracts from an account book of Swift's for the year 1703: it appears, by this document, that the parishes of Laracor and Agher were let for that year for 132*l*. 8*s*. Swift received from Rathbeggan, for the same year, 48*l*. 8*s*. The prebend of Dunlavin was let to several persons for 17*l*. If we deduct from these sums the curate's stipend and twenty pounds per annum, crown rent, it will appear that, until his promotion to the deanery, Swift's means were very slender indeed: it argues no very blameable ambition that he should wish, as he expresses himself in his journal to Stella, to be somewhat richer; particularly as we learn, from the same journal, that his livings had, in 1712, decreased, and the expence of living in Ireland increased. "All things grow dear in Ireland but corn to the parsons; for my livings are fallen much this year, by Parvisol's account." Journal to Stella, 7th February 1712-3.

[i] In the early part of his life, Swift paid his addresses to Miss Jane Waryng, whom he called Varina, a lady of the north of Ireland, possessed of a moderate fortune; she was the sister of his college chamber-fellow, William Waryng. There are two letters extant, written by Swift to this lady; it appears from the latest that their acquaintance was of long standing, and had been so intimate that it would have proceeded to a matrimonial connexion, but that the ladies ill state of health, and perhaps his want of pecuniary means, prevented it at that time: from the tenor of this letter it is evident that they had both outlived their mutual affections. Any attempt to investigate the cause of this falling off of love, or to ascertain to which party it was owing, must be altogether vain; the matter cannot, through deficiency of evidence, be clearly ascertained; yet there is enough to satisfy us that the ladies coolness was at least equal to that of her quondam lover. Swift writes, "I have observed, in abundance of your letters, such marks of a severe indifference, that I began to think it was hardly possible for one of my few good qualities to please you;" and, afterwards he says, that there was no other way of accounting for her behaviour, but by imputing it to a want of common esteem and friendship for him. Some hints at other causes of displeasure appear also from Swift's words. "If you like such company and conduct, much good may do you with them; my education has been otherwise." I apprehend the following words of a letter, the original of which is in my possession, allude to the same business; it is addressed to the Rev. Mr. Winder, and is dated from Moore-park, in 1698. "I remember these letters to Eliza; they were written in my youth, pray burn them; you mention a dangerous rival for an absent lover; but I must take my fortune. If the report proceeds, pray inform me." The residence of Mr. Winder, being in that neighbourhood, makes it probable that the female alluded to is Miss Waryng; if so, their affections had terminated long before the letter alluded to was written.

[m] Deane Swift informs us that he offered, should she reject the match, to settle on her his whole fortune, of five hundred pounds, as soon as he should receive a benefice, but she suffered herself to be prevailed on by her uncles. Essay, p. 108.

[n] So Lord Orrery would fain insinuate.

As soon as the Earl of Berkeley left the government, Swift retired to his vicarage of Laracor, where he continued to exercise his clerical duties, with more regularity than had been usually practised by his predecessors°; he read prayers three times a week, and preached regularly on Sundays; the church, by this means, became well attended by the neighbouring families: he derived considerable amusement from improving his glebe, there he formed a pleasant garden, dug a canal which he planted with willows, encreased the extent of ground to twenty acres, and having rendered the house comfortable, made it his chief residence during several succeeding years.

A custom was introduced shortly after the restoration (whether it was then first established or was the revival of one more ancient does not appear) of the dignitaries and prebendaries of St. Patrick's preaching alternately, on Sundays, at the sister cathedral; Swift appears early to have objected to that practice; his preaching turn, at Christ-church, fell upon the 22d of December 1702, this he neglected to serve, and, upon a complaint from the Dean of that cathedral, the Chapter of St. Patrick's ordered, that he should pay for that omission the penalty of five pounds,

° The practice of having divine service on week-days being very unusual, it was at first very ill attended. It has been related of Swift, that on one of those days, finding there was no other person present but himself and the clerk, he began by addressing him as follows: "dearly beloved Roger, the scripture moveth you and me in sundry places," and proceeded in that manner through the service. This story is not, however, well authenticated, it rests solely upon the credit of Lord Orrery; neither Mr. Deane Swift or Mrs. Whiteway had heard it, until the Earls book made its appearance; and, although they allowed it was like him, they believed it to be an invention of Lord Orrery's to discredit the Dean's respect for religion. Mr. Theophilus Swift says he read it in a jest book, printed between 1550 and 1560. To this, the writer of his life in the Biog. Brit. alludes, in the following words; "this instance of levity, it must be owned, is sufficient to clear Dr. King, then Bishop of Derry, from any particular ill will to him, in trying to prevent his promotion to that deanery." I have before expressed my doubt that King ever opposed the appointment of Swift, and have now to observe, that this instance of levity, if it ever happened, must have occurred after that Deanery had been disposed of, and could not therefore have had any influence upon the Bishop's opinion. But in truth Swift cannot justly be accused of levity in those respects, his conduct, which was uniformly pious, should rather disprove the truth of the anecdote, than such an anecdote, ill authenticated, cast a blemish on his character; it would not be possible to adduce an instance from his works where he makes a jest of religion. There is another story, related likewise by Lord Orrery, in his XVI letter, of his laying a wager one afternoon with Dr. Raymond, of Trim, that he would begin prayers before him, they both ran as fast as they could to the church, but Raymond, who had outrun Swift, walked decently up the isle, Swift however did not slacken his pace, he passed Raymond in the isle, and stepping into the reading desk, repeated so much of the service as intitled him to the sum which they had wagered. This story appears to be, like the other, a malicious falsehood, invented for the evil purpose of discrediting his character.

A work, lately published, intitled "Swiftiana," sets out with a farcical description of Swift's journey to take possession of his living, at Laracor. This expedition, the facetious author tells us, was performed on foot; he describes his dress as follows: "a decent suit of black clothes, with strong worsted stockings, of which he carried a second pair, and a shirt in his pocket, a large grey surtout, a round slouched hat, with a pole considerably longer than himself, which he had probably procured from some country hay-maker." I presume the author does not pretend, after a lapse of near 120 years, to describe the actual habit worn by Swift upon so private an occasion, this account I consider therefore as a sort of dramatic colouring, and even supposing such a matter justifiable, must pronounce it, as such, very defective; for some semblance of truth, some veracity of character is required, even in the lowest species of dramatic exhibition, which we stile farce; but who can recognize, in this burlesque description, any resemblance to what we are told were Swift's habits of life; of whom it is said, he was so attentive to exterior appearances that he never went abroad without his gown. We should remember too, that he was at this time chaplain to the chief governor of Ireland, a strange season for him to fix on, to depart from his usual practice. But this writer does not proceed many pages in the work before he finds out a parish clerk, to act as clown to the mountebank character, into which he has done us the honour to transform the great genius, and chief patriot of Ireland; this is Roger Cox, of whose costume we have the following description, at page 6. "Roger's dress was not the least extraordinary feature of his appearance. He constantly wore a full trimmed scarlet waistcoat of most uncommon dimensions, a light grey coat, which altogether gave him an air of singularity and whim, as remarkable as his character." The writer having equipped his heroes, proceeds next to relate their exploits, witty and humorous, which are about as true as his description of the characters themselves, and equally judicious and appropriate.

A jest book may be amusing, but a medley of jests ought not to be attributed to any real character; it would be more prudent for the compiler of such, to fix upon a fictitious one, who may be each and every thing he pleases; witty sayings attributed to a real person, should be appropriate. Neither should the author, unless he is determined to adhere to truth, produce such certificates as specimens of handwriting, &c. To annex these stamps of veracity to a fiction, is like adding the asseveration of an oath to a falsehood. Indeed, in the case of Swift, such publications are peculiarly objectionable; he was of a cast of character, the exact value and true nature of which it is an object of high interest duly to appreciate; the peculiarity of his humour has not been thoroughly comprehended, even by some writers who think they have interpreted it rightly; to falsify it in the way the author of Swiftiana has done, by attributing to him acts that he never did, and sayings that he never uttered, is to do an injury, for which his foolish jests can furnish no sufficient recompence. I speak here of those anecdotes which the author has attributed to Swift upon doubtful evidence, or perhaps upon no evidence at all; I have not less objection to his manner of culling out, from his works, the brilliant passages wherewith they abound; this is to strip them of their chief ornaments, and by rendering those familiar, destroy the pleasure we should otherwise derive from perusing the works themselves.

or that a sequestration should be issued against his prebend: upon his election to the deanery, it became almost his first act to abolish this practice, which he probably looked upon as a mark of servitude, unworthy of an independant body. On the 21st of July 1707, he was chosen, by the Chapter, their representative in the lower house of convocation, in the place of Daniel Jackson, deceased.

During Swift's residence at Laracor, he invited to Ireland, his early female acquaintance, Esther Johnson; Sir William Temple had bequeathed her a leasehold farm, in the county of Wicklow, [p] which, being of small value, yielded her but a scanty support, Swift's representation of the comparative cheapness of the necessaries of life, in Ireland, induced her and her friend Mrs. Dingley, [q] a lady who was about fifteen years older, to make election of that kingdom for their future place of residence. About three years after Sir William's death, this removal took place, and because the neighbourhood of Swift's residence was the chosen place of their retreat, every possible precaution was taken to prevent scandal. They never lived in the same house [r]; when Swift was absent, they resided at the parsonage; when he returned, they removed to the house of Dr. Raymond, Vicar of Trim, a gentleman of great virtue and learning, and Swift's intimate friend, or to Mr. Beaumont's in that town; neither were they ever known to meet but in the presence of a third person. Mrs. Johnson was at this time about the age of nineteen, [s] and being endowed with singular beauty and distinguished accomplishments, soon attracted the attention of all persons of taste in the neighbourhood [t]; it is not surprising if, with such attractions, she should gain admirers, such a one appeared in the person of the Rev. William Tisdall, with whom the parties lived on a familiar footing; a letter

[p] The clause of Sir William Temple's will which respects Mrs. Johnson is as follows:

"I leave a lease of some lands I have in Monistown, in the County of Wicklow, in Ireland, to Esther Johnston, servant to my sister Gifford." The only property she possessed being in Ireland, was the chief cause of her fixing on that kingdom for her future place of residence. This lease she, some years afterwards, converted into money.

[q] For the purpose of transferring all the tender expressions of Swift's letters, which are addressed to the two ladies, to the account of Mrs. Johnson exclusively, and thereby making out a sort of proof, that his attachment for her was love and not friendship, some of the Biographers of Swift, and particularly Mr. Walter Scott, have described Mrs. Dingley as a woman of very limited understanding, &c. and of course that Swift could have had no manner of affection for her; it cannot be doubted but that she was endowed with neither the beauty nor accomplishments of her amiable acquaintance, but that Swift had a sincere friendship for her and could tolerate her as a companion is manifest, both from some passages in the letters abovementioned, and his conduct to her after the death of Stella. As I shall not have occasion again to mention this lady, I will now inform the reader, that she lived till 1743, and lodged in Grafton-street, at the house of Mrs. Ridgeway, who was daughter to Mrs. Brent, Swift's housekeeper. Swift used often to dine with her after the death of Stella, and, upon such occasions, he sent provisions, that she might not be put to the expense of entertaining him. Lyon's MS.

[r] The distance, which was, during their whole lives, maintained between Swift and Stella, is exemplified by the following passage of a letter from the former to Mr. Tickell, dated 7th July 1726. "I wonder how you could expect to see her in a morning, which I, her oldest acquaintance, have not done these dozen years, except once or twice in a journey." Swift's works, Vol. XIX. page 366. Mr. W. Scott quotes this passage, and remarks at the same time, "that this was ten years after their marriage"! Life of Swift, p. 247. "Credat Judæus Apella"!

[s] Sheridan says, that Swift's affection for Stella had not at this time kindled into love; I think it proper to give some extracts from his memoir, in his own words, because they tend to prove that Mrs. Johnson's removal to Ireland was not caused by any hopes or promises of a matrimonial connexion with Swift.

"Though Stella's beauty was, at that time, arrayed in all the pride of blooming eighteen, yet it is certain that he never dropped the least hint that might induce her to consider him in the light of a lover. In his whole deportment he still maintained the character of a tutor, a governor, and a friend."—"The truth is, that Swift, at that time, knew not what the passion of love was."—"He had long entertained a dislike to matrimony; he seems to have been under the dominion of a still more powerful passion, that of ambition."—"Urged by this restless spirit, he every year paid a visit to England, absenting himself for some months from the duties of his parish, and the charming conversation of the amiable Stella." Sheridan's Life of Swift, edit. 1801, page 35. It appears therefore that,

"He liked, but had a rougher task in hand
Than to drive liking to the name of love."

If the passion of ambition was so powerful as to overcome that of love, at this early period of Swift's life, and that he could resist the alurements of youth and beauty, at a time when they have usually the greatest influence; it is not credible, that his love should after obtain such strength as to master his ambition; a passion which usually gains strength with years, and in proportion as the former loses its power; especially as the temptations which before existed, if they had not altogether lost their force, must have been, in a great measure, weakened. If, therefore, what Sheridan has alledged be true, Swift never contracted matrimony with Stella, from motives of passion; there is no other motive then to be considered, as capable of inducing him to such a step, but that of interest; how far this could have been efficacious in promoting an union, is a matter we shall consider by and by.

[t] Hawksworth, in his memoir, asserts, that Mrs. Johnson was buried in solitude, and known only to Swift's most intimate acquaintance having no other female companion but Mrs. Dingley. This passage is altered by Dr. John Lyon, in his copy of Hawksworth's Life of Swift, so as to express exactly the reverse.

was addressed by him to Swift, then in London, of which, although the original be lost, we may guess the contents by the answer, which is dated the 20th of April 1704; Tisdall, it appears, feared a rival in Swift, and likewise feared openly to declare his apprehensions; Swift replies, "I might, with good pretence enough talkst archly, and affect ignorance of what you would be at; but my conjecture is, that you think I obstructed your inclinations to please my own, and that my intentions were the same with yours; in answer to all which, I will, upon my conscience and honour, tell you the naked truth. First, I think I have said to you before, that if my fortunes and humour served me to think of that state, I should certainly, among all persons on earth, make your choice; because I never saw that person whose conversation I entirely valued but hers; this was the utmost I ever gave way to. And, secondly, I must assure you sincerely, that this regard of mine never once entered into my head to be an impediment to you: but I judged it would, perhaps, be a clog to your rising in the world: and I did not conceive you were then rich enough to make yourself and her happy and easy; but that objection is now quite removed by what you have at present, and by the assurances of Eaton's livings. I told you indeed that your authority was not sufficient to make overtures to the mother, without the daughter's giving me leave, under her own or her friend's hand; which I think was a right and a prudent step. However, I told the mother immediately and spoke with all the advantages you deserve: but the objection of your fortune being removed, I declare I have no other; nor shall any consideration of my own misfortune of losing so good a friend and companion as her, prevail on me, against her interest and settlement in the world, since it is held so necessary and convenient a thing for ladies to marry; and that time takes off from the lustre of virgins in all other eyes but mine. I appeal to my letters to herself, whether I was your friend or not in the whole concern; though the part I designed to act in it was purely passive, which is the utmost I will ever do in things of this nature, to avoid all reproach of any ill consequence, that may ensue in the variety of wordly accidents; nay, I went so far both to her mother, herself, and I think to you, as to think it could not be decently broken; since I supposed the town had got it in their tongues, and therefore I thought it could not miscarry without some disadvantage to the lady's credit. I have always described her to you in a manner different from those who would be discouraging; and must add, that though it has come in my way to converse with persons of the first rank, and of that sex, more than is usual to men of my level, and of our function; yet I have no where met with an humour, a wit, or conversation so agreeable, a better portion of good sense, or a truer judgement of men and things, I mean here in England; for as to the ladies in Ireland, I am a perfect stranger; as to her fortune, I think you know it already; and if you resume your designs, and would have farther intelligence; I shall send you a particular account."

A recommendation so warmly urged, cannot be supposed to have issued from the mouth of a rival. Indeed it appears evident, from this letter, that the lady's consent had not been obtained; and, as the qualities for which Tisdall was afterwards ridiculed by Swift, were all personal defects, [u] it is more than probable the rejection

[u] See Swift's journal to Stella, in which there are many allusions to disagreeable qualities in Tisdall. The first four lines of the following epigram will satisfy us, that the lady put no great restraint upon her inclinations, when she rejected this disgusting admirer. See Swift's works, Vol. I. page 75.

Upon William Tisdall, D. D.

"When a Roman was dying, the next man of kin
Stood over him, gasping, to take his breath in.
Were Tisdall the same way to blow out his breath,
Such a whiff to the living were much worse than death."

Sheridan, moreover, assures us the refusal came from the lady herself; and Dr. Lyon, in his amended copy of Hawksworth's life, erases the account given by D. Swift, of the Dean's breaking off the treaty by persuading her to insist upon terms which could not be complied with, and adds the words, "not true."

was on her part, although it is likely the unsuccessful lover attributed his failure to any motive but his own want of charms; the least humiliating cause he could assign was, that her affections were pre-engaged. In the rage of resentment he went about, venting his spleen against Swift, which practice he continued to indulge in for many years after.[v]

During this period Swift made several occasional visits to England,[w] and so early as 1701, assumed the character of a political writer. The indecent struggle between the two houses of parliament, upon the business of impeachments, brought by the Commons against the Lords, Somers, Hallifax and Portland, drew from his pen a remonstrance to the public, shewing, how like civil discords in Athens[x] and in

[v] Swift, in his letter to Dr. Jenny, written 1732, expresses his opinion that Tisdall was the author of some verses, charging him with ingratitude and breach of hospitality for his poem on Hamilton's Bawn, and for his journal written at Mr. Rochfort's. "For the last fifteen years," Swift writes, "he hath been often engaged in a flirting war of satirick burlesque verse."—"In these combats he has often fallen foul upon persons who never dipt a pen either for or against him."—"As to me, who I solemnly protest was always entirely innocent, during the whole time his pen and tongue took this unhappy turn, as well as before and since, I could never be one month at peace for his wit; whatever was writ to ridicule him, was laid at my door, and only by himself." In the same letter Swift gives the following character of Tisdall, "I am confident he is an honest man, but unhappily misled through the whole course of his life by mistaking his talent, which he hath, against nature, applied to wit, and raillery, and rhyming." Barret's early life of Swift, pages 174 and 175.

[w] In April 1701, Swift went to London, and returned to Ireland in September following; on 16th February he took his doctors degree, which cost him, in fees and treat, forty-four pounds. In April 1702, he went again to England, first visited his mother at Leicester, and in May proceeded to London, in July to Moore-park, and in October to Ireland. The next year, in November 1703, he went to Leicester, from thence to London, and in May 1704, he returned to Dublin, from whence he went immediately to Laracor: this last he calls, in his account book, his tenth voyage. Lyon, from account books. He appears, from the chapter books of the cathedral, to have been absent during the year 1705, but continued in Ireland during 1706 and 1707; he was absent from the Dean's visitation that year, and also in the years 1708 and 1709, but appeared at chapter on 15th Feb. 1709: in all subsequent visitation entries, until his nomination to the deanery, there is annexed to his name the word, "excused." In 1707 he was active in the Irish convocation, and on 30th October entered a protest, which is signed by himself, solely. Lyon's MS.

[x] For the impeachments there were no sufficient grounds, of this the house of commons was well assured, and had recourse, therefore, to very unworthy measures, such as protracting the business, and thereby annoying the accused peers, whom they could not otherwise offend: but, besides this, they resorted to another unconstitutional measure, that of attaching favourite resolutions to money bills, which was, in fact, nothing less than to grasp at the whole power of legislation. Swift's essay, which opposed those measures, was therefore a bold effort of patriotism; he wrote, as Mr. Sheridan very justly remarks, against the tories, from a principle of duty, he thought they were carrying matters too far; throughout the whole tract he argues upon general constitutional principles, and except one oblique compliment to the impeached peers, which at the same time served to strengthen his general argument, he does not favour either of the conflicting parties.

In his "Memoirs relating to the change in the Queen's ministry," Swift gives us an account of the occasion of his writing this Essay, and what followed thereupon, during his connexion with the whig ministry.

He had been, as he informs us, for many years before, no stranger at court, had made the nature of government a great part of his study, but had dealt very little in politics; returning, however, with the Earl of Berkley, from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached, he happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome, and soon after he, in a few weeks, drew up this "Discourse of the contests and dissentions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome, with the consequences they had upon both those states;" this he sent privately to press and returned immediately to Ireland. The book was greedily bought and read, and charged for some time upon Lord Somers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury, the latter of whom was forced to disown it in a public manner, for fear of an impeachment with which he was threatened. When Swift returned, in the next year, to England, hearing the approbation this piece had received, which was the first he had ever printed, the vanity of a young man prevailed on him to acknowledge himself the author; upon which the Lords, Somers and Hallifax, the Bishop of Salisbury and others, desired his acquaintance, with great marks of esteem, and professions of kindness; "they lamented," he says, "that they were not able to serve me since the death of the King; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power;" after this he grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was often with Lord Somers.

The Earl of Orrery (Letter VII) remarks upon this treatise, "that it is full of historical knowledge and excellent reflections; it is not," he adds, "mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour." But, as Mr. Walter Scott very justly observes, there are few readers who will have self-denial enough to rejoice in it upon that account, "although the aristocratic pride of the noble biographer would probably have deemed these highly improper in a treatise affecting the privileges of the peerage."

Mr. Walter Scott remarks upon this treatise, that it was peculiar to the time, and has not in the present day retained its interest. "We have little reason," he says, "in modern times, to apprehend that danger will arise to our constitution from a difference between the popular and aristocratic branches of representation; and, perhaps, should such a contest occur, its effects would hardly be appeased by an elaborate set of examples, drawn from the history of the states of antiquity." The first part of this objection applies with as much force to almost any other political disquisition, and to every historical narration; we cannot feel for any of them the same interest with those who lived at the time; the second is equally futile, and for nearly the same reasons; but the editor does, I think, much mislead the reader when he insinuates, that the force of argument in this treatise arises wholly from adapting examples drawn from ancient history, to the circumstances of modern events; for, I apprehend, the freedom with which the writer is thereby enabled to treat of recent transactions, is the chief advantage he derives from citing historical incidents; were it not for the arguments he introduces, the parellel cases would have had as little force then, as Mr. Scott conceives they would have now. For

Rome, which began in a similar manner, by sacrificing their worthiest citizens to popular odium, terminated finally in the extinction of liberty, and the establishment of arbitrary monarchy. This treatise was written in the summer of 1701, and had, probably, some share in bringing the house of commons to a milder temper, at their next session, and turning their thoughts to great national concerns, from the factious and petty discussions which had previously engaged them." [y]

Although not written with any degree of party spirit, as it rendered much service to the cause of the impeached lords, it was therefore attributed to some of that faction; and Bishop Burnet, who was accounted the most able among them, was generally reputed to be the author; he was even obliged publickly to disown it, to prevent being impeached by the house of commons; however, in the next following year, when party rage had in some degree subsided, and the necessity of concealment from prudential reasons was removed, Swift avowed himself to be the author, and thereby consolidated his acquaintance with those lords, to whom, although not unknown before, he upon this occasion exhibited proof of the value of his friendship. In 1704 his celebrated work, the Tale of a Tub, made its appearance, and about the same time commenced his acquaintance with Congreve, Pope, Addison, Steele, and others, the literati of that age. For the two former he always felt the unabated ardour of friendship, towards Steele and Addison it was for a time cooled, but not extinguished, by party spirit, which, however, did not prevent Swift from rendering every service in his power to those who deserved or needed his assistance: to the witty or the learned he was at all times a steady friend, and to many of that description, whom party principles had afterwards estranged from him, he continued, when in power, to render service almost against their wills.

In the year 1708, [z] Swift had attained to such a degree of political consequence, that the convocation of Ireland fixed upon him to solicit remission of the first fruits,

instance, he is enabled to remark upon those proceedings of the lower house, which have been before alluded to, of attaching favourite resolutions to money bills, with a freedom which would not have been tolerated, if made in a direct way: to quote this passage, which is short, will serve, as well to prove, that there is something more than citation of historical events in this essay, as likewise, that the object of the essay is not altogether so obsolete as Mr. Scott insinuates. "Not to consent to the enacting of a law, which has no view besides the general good, unless another law shall at the same time pass, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone; what is this but to claim a positive voice, as well as a negative?" It is easy to conceive the effect of this pertinent remark, which every one, who knows any thing of the history of those times, is apprized, could not safely be put to that assembly, in direct terms.

The learned Editor has prefixed to almost every piece in the last edition of Swift's works, an introduction of this sort, which derogates more or less from the author's credit, and has a kind of undue influence upon the reader's judgement; moreover, being generally unfavourable, it is something like condemning before trial.

Although the Whigs laid claim to Swift as soon as they discovered that he was the author of this essay, yet it appears from his subsequent tracts, published in 1708 and 1709, that he was, if not neutral, at least a moderate Whig, and as he said himself afterwards of that party, "they used him ill for not being whig enough." If we read, with attention, those pamphlets published by him in 1708, and compare them with his subsequent conduct, there will appear to be no sufficient grounds for charging him with dereliction of principle; nay, such was the conformity he preserved in this respect, that one of those tracts, "A letter from a M. P. of Ireland to M. P. of England, concerning the sacramental test," was first published in 1708, and republished in 1731, when his opposition to the Whigs was most violent.

In his Memoirs relative to the change in the Queen's ministry, Swift defends himself from the charge of tergiversation; "it having been objected," he says, "by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party: whereas it has been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken; for instance, "A Project for the Reformation of manners, in a letter to the Countess of Berkeley." "The Sentiments of a Church of England man." "An Argument against abolishing Christianity." And, lastly, "A Letter to a Memb. of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland," which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom; but those who are loud and violent in coffee-houses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself."

So far was Swift from advocating the cause of either party to the exclusion of the other, that he appears to have been anxious rather to reconcile both, or to form a third party from the most moderate of each, under the name of Church of England men; he shews clearly that they were kept asunder, only by the distinction of a name which kept up ancient animosities; Sheridan aptly remarks that Swift was but "a half brother to the Whigs."

[y] "Thus he did not," says the writer of this article, in Biog. Brit. as in the ordinary way "creep slowly into fame, but burst out at once into perfection; and from this time he continued, in various branches of writing, to surprize and ravish all hearts, from the prince to the beggar, with strokes of inimitable wit and humour, delivered in an unexampled perspicuity of style."

[z] I shall here present to the reader an account of certain of Swift's works, which were published about this time.

I. In the year 1708, appeared his "Sentiments of a Church of England man," a tract which exhibits, in a remarkable man-

payable by the Clergy of Ireland; Bishop Burnet had, about four years before, obtained from the Queen an appropriation of this fund to the maintenance of the poor clergy of England; the Irish, upon the principle of assimilation, had reason to expect the same favour, whereof they stood equally in need. Swift accordingly made applications to Lord Godolphin, which were ineffectual; the gift had not, in England, obtained for the ministers that credit with the clergy which was expected, and the Lord Treasurer was not inclined to repeat the experiment. Swift, however, continued for some time to reside in London to press his suit, during which period all attempts for his promotion in the church proved abortive. Dr. Salter, of the charter-house, has endeavoured to fix a brand of odium upon his character, by a story of his having mendicated, in a base and abject manner, a recommendation from

ner, the moderation of Swift's political and religious principles; "no man," he declares, "who has examined the conduct of both parties for some years past, can go to the extremes of either, without offering some violence to his integrity or understanding."

The sentiments of a Church of England man, with respect to religion and government as there displayed, may be considered as the sentiments of Swift himself. His church principles moderate, yet firm, are admirably expressed in the following words. "A Church of England man has a true veneration for the scheme established among us of ecclesiastical government; and although he will not determine whether episcopacy be of divine right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive institution, fittest of all others for preserving order and purity, and, under its present regulations, best calculated for our civil state." That his political principles partook not of toryism; the following passage will sufficiently prove, which, at once demolishes, as Dr. Warton remarks, the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. "Many of the clergy and other learned men, deceived by dubious expressions, mistook the object to which passive obedience was due. By the supreme magistrate is properly understood the legislative power, which, in all governments, must be absolute and unlimited; but, the word magistrate seeming to denote a single person, and to express executive power, it came to pass that the obedience due to the legislature, was, for want of knowledge, or considering this easy distinction, misapplied to the administration." Thus, with perfect consistency, he "chooses an exact middle between two ill extremes."—"I should think," he adds, "that in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of Whig, for the sake of the former, and the extremes of Tory on account of the latter."

The Sentiments of a Church of England man being, as I have said, so expressive of Swift's principles, to quote a few more passages cannot be deemed objectionable, inasmuch as they throw much light upon his subsequent conduct which has been unjustly arraigned.

Although he was, at this time, reputed to be a Whig, the following passage plainly shews that he had begun to quarrel with that party for their conduct towards the clergy, whose cause he advocates with a degree of temperance which diminishes nothing of its force.

"A Church of England man," he writes, "abhors the humour of the age, in delighting to fling scandals upon the clergy in general; which, beside the disgrace to the reformation, and to religion itself, casts an ignominy upon the kingdom, that it does not deserve. We have no better materials to compound the priesthood of, than the mass of mankind, which, corrupted as it is, those who receive orders, must have some vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church; and if a few do still adhere it is no wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worse. Therefore he cannot think ambition, or love of power, more justly laid to their charge, than to other men's, because that would be to make religion itself, or at least the best constitution of church-government, answerable for the errors and depravity of human nature."

If, in the passage which I have just cited, he arraigned the conduct of the Whig party, who, as he says, treated the persons of particular clergymen with courtesy, but shewed much ill will and contempt for the order in general, so in the following, he objects against the treatment they received from the Tories, some high lords of which party treated, not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, with insolence and haughtiness, which they thought was sufficiently recompensed by their zeal for the church.

"To go on with the sentiments of a Church of England man, he does not see how that mighty passion for the church, which some men pretend, can well consist with those indignities, and that contempt, they bestow on the persons of the clergy. It is a strange mark whereby to distinguish high church men, that they are such, who imagine the clergy can never be too low. He thinks the maxim these gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an humble clergy, is a very good one; and so is he, and for a humble laity too, since humility is a virtue, that perhaps equally befits, and adorns, every station of life."

Upon the subject of toleration, Swift's opinion is expressed in the following words: "Where sects are tolerated in a state, it is fit they should enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and every other privilege of free-born subjects, to which no power is annexed. And to preserve their obedience upon all emergencies, a government cannot give them too much ease, nor trust them with too little power."

No writer upon the general rules of civil government, nor upon the particular laws of our constitution, has described its fundamental principles with such emphatic precision as Swift has done in the following passages.

"I believe it may pass for a maxim in state, that the administration cannot be placed in too few hands, nor the legislature in too many. Now, in this material point, the constitution of the English government far exceeds all others at this time on the earth; to which the present establishment of the church does so happily agree, that I think, whoever is an enemy to either, must of necessity be so to both;" and again he says, "that the freedom of a nation consists in an absolute unlimited legislative power, wherein the whole body of the people are fairly represented; and in an executive duly limited."

The principles of the revolution he defends in the following passage.

"As our monarchy is constituted, an hereditary right is much to be preferred before election"—"And should, therefore, be kept so sacred, as never to break the succession, unless where the preserving of it may endanger the constitution; which is not, from any intrinsic merit or unalienable right, in a particular family, but to avoid the consequences that usually attend the ambition of competitors, to which elective kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest perfection, that government can possibly reach. Hence appears the absurdity of that distinction, between a king *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with respect to us. For every limited monarch is a king *de jure*, because he governs by the consent of the whole, which is authority sufficient to abolish all precedent right. If a King come in by conquest, he is

Lord Somers to Lord Wharton, to be his chaplain, which application was resisted by that peer, who is said to have replied, "we must not countenance these fellows, we have not character enough ourselves." Mr. Monck Berkeley, in his literary reliques, and the late editor of Swift's works, have successfully combated and refuted this legend; which, the latter remarks, is deficient in evidence, inconsistent with the whole tenor of Swift's life and character, and depends solely upon the testimony

no longer a limited monarch; if he afterward consent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure*, for the same reason."

Upon the subject, whether a king, according to our constitution, may be deposed or not? he observes, "that if he cannot be deposed but by his own consent in parliament, I do not well see how he can be resisted, or what can be meant by a limited monarchy; or what signifies the peoples' consent in making and repealing laws, if the person who administers, has no tie but conscience, and is answerable to none but God."

One passage more I beg leave to quote from this admirable tract, because it expresses, with epigrammatic precision, the truest general principles of government.

"Where security of person and property are preserved by laws, which none but the whole can repeal, there the great ends of government are provided for, whether the administration be in the hands of one, or of many. Where any one person, or body of men, who do not represent the whole, seize into their hands the power in the last resort, there is properly no longer a government, but what Aristotle and his followers call, the abuse and corruption of one. This distinction excludes arbitrary power, in whatever numbers; which, notwithstanding all that Hobbes, Filmer, and others have said to its advantage, I look upon as a greater evil than anarchy itself, as much as a savage is in a happier state of life, than a slave at the oar."

II. In the same year Swift produced his "Argument, to prove that the abolishing christianity in England, may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby." This tract exhibits an excellent specimen of Swift's peculiar humour; there runs throughout, the purest stream of irony and refined raillery that can be imagined; the following passage furnishes so fair a specimen, that I hope, therefore, to be forgiven if I insert it.

"If christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject, so calculated in all points, whereon to display their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of, from those, whose genius, by continual practice, has been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves, upon any other subject! We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only topic we have left? Who would ever have suspected Asgil for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of christianity had not been at hand, to provide them with materials? What other subject through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject, that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For, had a hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion." Swifts works, by Scott, Vol. VIII. page 196.

III. His "Project for the advancement of Religion, and the reformation of Manners;" published 1709, may be considered as a sequel to the last mentioned pamphlet; Swift first proposed therein to increase the number of churches in the city of London.

This piece is inscribed to the Countess of Berkeley; a more perfect work, of its kind, than the dedication, does not any where exist. Swift has seldom attempted to bestow praise in direct terms; but, as if he wished to shew how much he was the master of this art, which he so seldom practises, he has left us this one example; a short specimen of which I will lay before the reader—"My real design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most dedications, that of publishing your praises to the world; not upon the subject of your noble birth, for I know others as noble; or of the greatness of your fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful race (the images of their parents) which call you mother; for even this may, perhaps, have been equalled in some other age or country. Besides, none of these advantages do derive any accomplishments to the owners, but serve at best only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend is, your piety, truth, good sense, good nature, affability and charity; wherein I wish your ladyship had many equals, or any superiors; and I wish I could say I knew them too, for then your ladyship might have had a chance to escape this address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary, for the interest of virtue and religion, that the whole kingdom should be informed in some parts of your character, &c."

Thus he does, with admirable finesse, make this refined compliment appear, not as a superfluous dedication, but places it in the light of an introduction, forming a necessary part of his work.

Mr. Sheridan argues, strenuously, that Swift meant, by this essay, to recommend to the Queen a change of her ministers; and, that by advising her to call to her councils, persons who had the cause of religion at heart, he intended that she should chuse such from the Tory party. But this is by no means likely; Swift had not, at that time, any friends among the leaders of the high-church faction, for whom he could be interested; nor were there any of the Whigs, except Lord Wharton, whose private life was not as unexceptionable as that of some of their adversaries; neither does the Queen appear to have paid much attention to what Swift recommended in this essay when she appointed Mr. St. John her Secretary. In truth, as Mr. Walter Scott remarks, "the evils pointed out in this treatise are too general to be imputed as the exclusive attributes of any one party." "Nor can he," he adds, "be easily convinced, that so excellent a moral essay was written with a view, merely political."

"As to the merits of the project," says Mr. Scott, "it must be allowed, that the author has been more successful in pointing out the extent of the evil than in suggesting remedies. The idea of a religious administration and court borders on the visionary; and the plan of censors and itinerant commissioners for the inspection of morals, could hardly be tolerated in a free country. Yet the minor branches of the project might be successfully adopted. The reformation of the stage, (since happily perfected,) the exclusion of openly vicious characters from the presence of the sovereign, the more selected choice of justices of peace, the reviving discipline in schools, colleges, and inns of court, above all, the exertions of the clergy in a cause peculiarly their own, are sound practical remedies in an age of prevailing and general depravity."

This piece is much applauded in the fifth number of the Tatler; which was conducted by Steele, who was a firm friend to the Whig interest; this circumstance proves, of itself, that the essay was not then supposed to express an ill intention towards the ministers of that party. "It is written," says he, "with the spirit of one who has seen the world enough to undervalue it with good breeding. The author must certainly be a man of wisdom as well as piety, and have spent much time in the exercise of both. The real causes of the decay of the interest of religion are set forth in a clear and lively manner, without unreasonable passions; and the whole air of the book, as to the language, the sentiments, and the reasonings, shows

of a self constituted and prejudiced reporter. The subsequent aversion which Swift testified against those persons can be sufficiently, and more worthily, accounted for, as arising from the perpetual slights and disappointments he experienced, during the time they were capable of serving him, and when he had justly merited their cordial support in every measure of his advancement. [2]

it was written by one whose virtue sits easy about him, and to whom vice is thoroughly contemptible. It was said by one in company, alluding to that knowledge of the world this author seems to have, 'the man writes much like a gentleman, and goes to Heaven with a very good mien."

What he says of hypocrisy has so much singularity in it, and is so opposite to what are generally supposed to be the sentiments of Swift upon that subject, that I feel a strong inclination to lay the passage before the reader; it is as follows:

"Neither am I aware of any objections to be raised against what I have advanced; unless it should be thought, that making religion a necessary step to interest and favour might increase hypocrisy among us; and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty should be brought over to true piety by this, or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would still be great. Besides, hypocrisy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice; it wears the livery of religion, it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving scandal. Nay, a long continued disguise is too great a constraint upon human nature, especially an English disposition: men would leave off their vices out of mere weariness, rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expense, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with religion, as it is with love; which, by much dissembling, at last grows real."

IV. The Whig ministry, to whom a general repeal of the test act, in favour of protestant dissenters, was a favourite measure, had determined, in the year 1707, to make the attempt, first, in Ireland; because, in that kingdom, the whole body of protestants were more united among themselves, having been obliged, during the contest between the kings, William and James, to forget their private differences; the same circumstance had likewise attached them, all equally, to the measure of the revolution: the loyalty, therefore, of the dissenters in that kingdom, their late services, and the comparative fewness of protestants of all sects, to the number of Roman-catholicks, might render a measure palatable to one country which was strongly objectionable in the other, where the same party had acted, at least for a time, in a very different manner, having rather favoured the abdicating monarch, and declared for the papists against their brethern of the church of England. When this measure came to be canvassed in Ireland, it was resisted in a very determined way by the Irish clergy; of whom Swift was their most zealous champion: it was the part he took in this cause that occasioned the coolness between him and the Whig ministers, and caused the remark which he informs us was made by some of that party, "that he was not Whig enough."

A pamphlet was accordingly written by him in 1708, which contributed materially to defeat their measures for repealing the test act; it is intitled, "A Letter from a member of the house of commons in Ireland, to a member of the house of commons in England, concerning the sacramental test." This tract exhibits a favourable specimen of Swift's controversial powers; it is remarkable too, that his arguments are of a nature so very general, that they apply, not only to the case at that time under consideration, but in a great measure to every one, where a sect of the community, not of the established church, seeks for a toleration of their principles, or admission to a share of power in the state.

To expose the scheme of trying the experiment, first, on Ireland, Swift employs that talent of irony so peculiar to himself, which owes its chief power to its delicacy:

"I remember," he says, "there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love verses a strain, which I have often imagined to be spoken by Ireland.

"Forbid it, Heaven, my life should be
Weigh'd with her least conveniency."

"In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves by repealing the sacramental test, speak it out plainly, it is the best argument you can use, for we value your interest much more than our own; if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any ease, speak the word, and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest fishing towns; it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe at the same time, that you are only consulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality, and apprehend some danger to a corner of your stable; yet why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee, and with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?"

To the dissenters claim, upon the score of their late services, he answers, "supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, I thought liberty, property, and religion, had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all those been amply secured to them?"—To repeal the sacramental test, he supposes would terminate, in overturning the established church, or in making as many established churches as there are sects of dissenters. "No, say they, your's will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public: but that, I suppose," he says, "will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjust it should, because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable that revenues should be annexed to one opinion more than another when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no free-born subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe."—As to the argument, that it will unite all protestants against papists; "I wonder," he says, "by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it: suppose, in order to increase the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or, suppose I share my fortune equally between my own children and a stranger, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? It is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them."—He suggest a doubt, whether it be the fact, that the papists are our most dangerous enemies; and whether, the presbiterians, after they had, by their dexterity, made theirs the established religion, and had disposed of church revenues among their pastors, would allow the protestants, who would then be dissenters, not to say a share in employments, but a bare toleration by law. "The reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle, as to read above fifty pamphlets, written by as many presbiterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol toleration: some of them calling it a rag of popery, and all agreeing it was to establish iniquity by a law. Now I would be glad to know, when and where their successors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because, methinks I should be loth to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus*, seized on by mistake in the dark for a jesuit; or be forced myself to keep my chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times, when the church of England was malignant." And, in another place, he says, "We are fully convinced in our consciences, that we shall always tolerate them; but not quite so fully, that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their turn."

Dissatisfied with this inefficient patronage, Swift returned, in the summer of 1709, to his vicarage at Laracor, where he resided, his attention engrossed solely by literary occupations and rural amusements, till May 1710,[b] when his domestic tranquillity was interrupted by the news of his mother's death. His sincere regard for her is pathetically expressed in the following lines, written at the foot of a memorandum

The dissenters, it seems, were in the habit of calling their opposers, persecutors; "I have been sometimes admiring," he says, "the wonderful significancy of that word, persecution, and what various interpretations it has acquired, even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way: they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men, who live peaceably, ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the sacramental test, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a persecuting spirit. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, persecution was every day rung in our ears, and now at last the sacramental test itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; when the lady ceases to be cruel, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so persecution, it seems, is every thing that will not leave it in men's power to persecute others."

It is curious to read what he says of the Roman-catholicks, whose rights and privileges, as men and as citizens, seem to have been, at that time, as little regarded as those of inferior animals. "We look upon them," he says, "to be altogether as inconsiderable, as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more, and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood, and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined."

Their power, in comparison to that of the dissenters, he represents by the following strong image: "It is agreed among naturalists, that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat, he would take no long time to determine."

V. In the same year that the last mentioned tract was published, Swift, who was determined to use every effort to frustrate the minister's plan of abolishing the test, printed a short tract, intitled, "A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland, on choosing a new Speaker there." This letter has immediate reference to the same controversy, and is written for the purpose of inducing the electors to have this matter in view, and that the principles of the candidate, in this respect, should have due influence upon their judgement. See note c.

VI. In the year 1706, Dr. Matthew Tindal published a work intitled, "The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, &c." which, although the title seemed to indicate it to be an attack upon the Romish church alone, was equally hostile to the national church of England. Swift, in 1708, collected together materials for "a severe and scalping" answer to Tindal's work, but it was left unfinished; what he collected has been published in his works, under the title of, "Remarks upon a book entitled, 'The Rights of the Christian Church, &c."

[a] Swift relates the story himself in the following words. "At my taking leave of Lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the Lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord Somers's letter by the post; but, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the Lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except through his Secretary, Mr. Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church party." Memoirs relating to change of Queen's ministry.

[b] After the abortive attempts at pindaric odes, which have been fathered upon Swift, and are said to have been written by him between 1689 and 1693, we do not find that he attempted any literary production during the life-time of Sir William Temple; except an ode to Congreve, written in 1693, and another occasioned by Sir William's illness and recovery, in the same year, both which exhibit some glimmerings of his genius. In the ode to Congreve there occur two passages which, inasmuch as they are expressive of principles to which he adhered through life, furnish, therefore, strong presumptive evidence that the poem itself was his likewise; in one of them he predicts the severe lashes which, when his genius arrives at maturity, he will give to vice and folly.

"My hate, whose lash just Heaven has long decreed
Shall on a day make sin and folly bleed."

These lines are so characteristic of Swift, that, as Mr. Scott says, he appears, when he "uttered them, to have felt the efforts of his genius struggling for birth;" the same sentiment he expressed more aptly upon a later occasion, in the following well known lines.

"Hated by Fools, and Fools to hate,
Be this my motto and my fate."

The other passage to which I allude, is expressive of a resolution to which he likewise adhered strictly; that of not noticing any of the libellers who wrote against him, lest, by doing so, he should rescue their names from that oblivion, to which, with their writings, they would be otherwise consigned. This sentiment is comprised in the two following lines.

"Whose name must not within my lines be shewn,
Lest here it live, when perish'd with his own."

In the verses upon Sir William Temple, there are lines pathetically expressive of the misery he felt on account of his precarious situation, from which he saw no hopes of being relieved, and which was highly aggravated by the coldness of his patron's temper, and the occasional fits of reservedness and ill humour, wherewith he tormented his unhappy dependant. To these Swift alludes in his letter to Stella, where he says, "dont you remember how I used to be in pain, when Sir William Temple would look cold and out of humour for three or four days, and I used to suspect a hundred reasons? I have plucked up spirit since then, faith; he spoiled a fine gentleman."

Soon after the death of Sir William Temple, Swift discharged the duty which had devolved upon him, that of publishing his posthumous works; whereof the first two volumes, containing

of the hour, and day, and other minute circumstances of this event. "I have now lost my barrier between me and death, GOD grant I may live to be as well prepared for it as I confidently believe her to have been! If the way to Heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there."

his letters, were printed in 1700; the third part of the "Miscellanea" in 1701; the third volume of his letters in 1703; and the third part of Sir William Temple's memoirs in 1709: the first of these Swift dedicated to King William, and to each publication he annexed a preface.

Between the time of Sir William Temple's death and the year 1710, Swift produced many other pieces besides those which I already mentioned in this and a preceding note.

During the time he lived in the family of Lord Berkeley, as domestic chaplain, "he gave way to the playfulness of his disposition in numerous poetical *jeux d'esprit*, which no poet ever composed with the same felicity of spirit." Scott's life, page 63. Of these the most excellent is "The petition of Mrs. Frances Harris," wherein he has actually identified himself with the person whose character he represents, and has, as Mr. Walter Scott well observes, "bound his powerful genius to the thoughts, sentiments, and expressions of a chamber-maid." Swift's works, Vol. XIV. page 52.

The "Meditation on a broom-stick," a piece of solemn waggery in prose, was written by him in 1703, upon the following occasion. Swift, by reason of his office of chaplain to the family, was in the habit of reading, occasionally, to Lady Berkeley, some religious discourse. Her Ladyship happened, at one time, to fix upon the "Meditations of the Hon. Mr. Boyle," which she was desirous to have read in this way; Swift soon grew weary of this duty, and took the following means to get rid of it. When he next attended, he dexterously conveyed into the book his own "Meditation on a broom-stick;" this parody he read with inflexible gravity of countenance, so that, notwithstanding the absurdity of the title, her Ladyship was perfectly duped, and was so possessed with the idea of the merit of those meditations, that she expressed, to the first visitors who came, her admiration of the extraordinary powers of her favourite author's mind, who could draw such fine moral reflections from so contemptible a subject. None of the visitors being able to recollect any meditation with the title her Ladyship mentioned, the book was referred to, and there Swift's manuscript was discovered. It may easily be supposed that, after this, he was not troubled any more with Mr. Boyle's sublime meditations.

Notwithstanding the progress which true science had made, at that time, in the world, the silly predictions of astrologers continued still to maintain some influence over the minds of the middling classes of men. Swift who held falsehood in utter abhorrence, had determined to root out this nest of impostors; and, as sober argument would be only thrown away in such a cause, or would rather elevate than depress those against whom it should be directed, who would be then thought worthy of reasoning with, he marked out one of the most conspicuous of the fraternity to be an example, and this victim he tortured, in all the ways that the ingenuity of his humour could suggest. This person, who was doomed to feel the effects of Swift's vengeance, upon whose devoted head he determined to inflict the punishments due for the impostures of the whole tribe, was known to the world by the name of John Partridge; although by trade a Shoe-maker, he had contrived nevertheless to acquire learning enough to raise him to some degree of eminence as an astrologer and impostor; he was editor of an almanack, published under the title of "Merlinus Liberatus," which, to the scandal of reason and common sense, had then a very extensive sale. In ridicule of these pretended prophecies, Swift published his celebrated "Predictions for the year 1708, by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq." His preface to this work is in the usual manner of those writers; it contains an affected praise of the science itself, and an abuse of all its professors; for, as Dr. Grainger observes, almost all noted astrologers speak of each other as rogues and impostors; and I apprehend this is the only truth contained, usually, in their works. Almost the first prediction in this humorous parody was the death of John Partridge himself, an event which he fixed should take place, about eleven at night, on the 29th of March, of a raging fever. The Astrologer's wrath was extreme; in his Almanack for 1709 he informed his loving conntry-men, that, "blessed be GOD, Bickerstaff was a lying impudent fellow, and that John Partridge was still living, and all were knaves who reported otherwise." But this round denial, and the angry expressions with which he accompanied it, served only to heighten the amusement which this singular controversy gave to the public. A "Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff" soon made its appearance, which was followed by other treatises; so that the poor astrologer, finding the publick would not believe that he was alive, merely on his own assertions, had recourse to Dr. Yalden, who drew up for him a statement of his grievances in such a stile of humorous burlesque, that it forms one of the best pieces in the whole series; this pamphlet is intitled, "Squire Bickerstaff detected, or the Astrological Impostor convicted;" it has the name of John Partridge annexed, so that it is hard to say whether the poor Astrologer, his seeming friend, or his adversary, furnished most amusement to the publick during this humorous controversy.

The other treatises were, "An Answer to Bickerstaff, &c. by a person of quality." "The accomplishment of the first of Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions, being an account of the death of Mr. Partridge, Almanack-maker, upon the 29th inst. in a letter to a person of honour." "A Grubstreet elegy, on the supposed death of Partridge, the Almanack-maker." And, "A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. against what is objected to him by Mr. Partridge, in his almanack for the present year, 1709: by the said Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq."

There runs throughout the last mentioned piece an admirable vein of delicate humour. The writer sets out with a complaint, that Mr. Partridge had treated him in a very rough manner for differing from him "in a point merely speculative;" "such usage," he says, "is very indecent from one gentleman to another, and does not at all contribute to the discovery of truth." I shall annex, for the reader's amusement, the following specimen at full length.

"With my utmost endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made against the truth of my last year's prophecies: the first was, of a French-man, who was pleased to publish to the world, 'that the Cardinal de Noailles was still alive, notwithstanding the pretended prophecy of Monsieur Biquerstaffe:' but how far a French-man, a papist, and an enemy, is to be believed in his own cause, against an English protestant, who is true to the government, I shall leave to the candid and impartial reader."

"The other objection, is the unhappy occasion of this discourse, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. This he is pleased to contradict absolutely in the almanack he has published for the present year, and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expression) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly asserts, that he 'is not only alive, but was likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he should die.' This is the subject of the present controversy between us; which I design to handle with all brevity, perspicuity, and calmness. In this dispute, I am sensible the eyes not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us; and the learned in every country will, I doubt not, take part on that side, where they find most appearance of reason and truth."

"Without entering into criticisms of chronology about the hour of his death, I shall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my first argument is this: about a thousand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he said against me, at every line they read, they would lift up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laugh-

The loss of so near a relative and so dear a friend rendered irksome to him the retired life in which Swift had been for some time absorbed; he accepted therefore with readiness an invitation from the prelates of Ireland, who joined him in a commission, with the Bishops of Killaloe and Ossory, to solicit the Queen to exonerate the clergy of Ireland from the payment of twentieth parts, and to appropriate the fund of first-fruits to the purposes of purchasing glebes and impropriations: this commission, which is dated 31st August 1710, charged moreover upon Swift the whole duty, in case the prelates above named should have left London before his arrival.

Swift proceeded accordingly to London, where he arrived early in September 1710[c]: the Whig ministers were at once surprised and alarmed at his appearance;

ter, 'they were sure no man alive ever writ such damned stuff as this.' Neither did I ever hear that opinion disputed; so that Mr. Partridge lies under a dilemma, either of disowning his almanack, or allowing himself to be no man alive. Secondly, death is defined, by all philosophers, a separation of the soul and body: now it is certain, that the poor woman, who has best reason to know, has gone about for some time to every alley in the neighbourhood, and sworn to the gossips, that her husband had neither life nor soul in him. Therefore, if an uninformed carcase walks still about, and is pleased to call itself Partridge, Mr. Bickerstaff does not think himself any way answerable for that: neither had the said carcase any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to pass by it in the street, crying, 'A full and true account of Dr. Partridge's death, &c."

"There were two incidental circumstances," says Mr. Walter Scott, "worthy of notice in this ludicrous debate. First, the inquisition of the kingdom of Portugal took the matter as seriously as John Partridge, and gravely condemned to the flames the predictions of the imaginary Isaac Bickerstaff. Secondly, by an odd coincidence, the company of stationers obtained, in 1709, an injunction against any almanack published under the name of John Partridge, as if the poor man had been dead in sad earnest."

In 1710 Swift published a prediction, pretended to be of Merlin's, comprised in certain verses, which have some enigmatical reference to the occurrences of the times. Although the existance of such an edition of Merlin's prophecies, as that pretended to be quoted by Swift, by John Haukins in 1530, was, like the prophecy itself, a meer fiction, yet the antiquarian, Ames, was so far imposed upon by the *vraisemblance*, that he has not only mentioned the book, but likewise inserted the whole prophecy in his Typographical Antiquities, from whence it has been copied by Luccomb into his History of printing: but the sagacious Herbert was not to be imposed upon so easily, he rectified the error: alluding to his predecessor's mistake, he says, "the Wit, here, compleatly deceived the Antiquary;" he might have added, the Philosopher too, for Dr. Johnson was likewise duped; he imagined that the prophecy was real, and supposed the commentary only to have been the work of Swift. "He wrote this year," says Dr. Johnson, "an explanation of an ancient prophecy, which, though not completed in all its parts, cannot be read without amazement." This was, to use Swift's language, *a pure bite*. The passage has, however, been altered in the more modern editions of Dr. Johnson's works.

During the same period of time, Swift produced some other short pieces of light humour; such were his poems "on Vanbrugh's house, at White-hall;" "Baucis and Philemon;" and some papers for the Tatler: among which latter, two poetical pieces, "A Description of a City Shower," in imitation Virgils Georgics, and, "A Town Eclogue," both printed in 1710, were the most remarkable; "they are," as Mr. Hazlitt observes, "among the most delightful of the contents of that very delightful work."

[c] In page 245, note w, I have pointed out some of Swift's motions, during the period of time which intervened between the years 1700 and 1710. It appears probable, from his correspondence, that he resided in England from Feb. 1707-8, when he went there upon the business of the first-fruits, until April 1709; he then returned to Ireland and lived in a state of retirement until the period which we have now arrived at.

I have, likewise, in a preceding note, given some account of his political works, published before he joined the Harleian administration. But, though I have acquiesced in the arrangement made by preceding Biographers, am not without suspicion, that the occasions whereon some of those pieces were written have not been correctly stated; for example, the tract concerning the sacramental test is said to have reference to a measure of the year 1707, yet it appears to allude to some parts of the Earl of Wharton's speech to the parliament which met in 1709; and I apprehend this matter was never agitated in Ireland before that governor entered upon his administration: in like manner, Swift's Letter to a member of parliament, on choosing a speaker, is stated to have been published in 1707-8, but there was no parliament convened in Ireland in that year, nor was the speaker's chair vacant until the session of 1710.

After the death of Prince George of Denmark, which took place in November 1708, some persons of that party who were most adverse to the interests of the clergy, got into power, and of those the Earl of Wharton was nominated to the government of Ireland, for the purpose, as was supposed, of effecting the repeal of the sacramental test; accordingly, in his speech at the opening of the session of parliament, in May 1709, he addressed to both houses the following words:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am obliged and directed to lay before you another consideration of infinite consequence; and that is, to put you in mind of the great inequality there is, in respect of numbers, between the protestants and papists of this kingdom; and of the melancholy experience you have had of the good nature of this sort of men, whenever they have had it in their power to distress, or to destroy you."

"These reflections must necessarily lead you to think of two things; the first is, seriously to consider whether any new bills are wanting to enforce or explain those good laws which you have already for preventing the growth of popery; and in the next place it makes evident the necessity there is of cultivating and preserving a good understanding amongst all the protestants of this kingdom. What the most proper methods are to compass so desirable and so necessary an end, you yourselves, who have the opportunities of knowing the uneasiness that any of your fellow subjects may lie under, are fittest to judge."

"I will only add, that the Queen, who is all goodness, never had any thing so much at her royal heart, as the bringing to pass and perfecting the union of her subjects of Great Britain; and I may venture to say, that she looks upon her success in that great undertaking to equal, if not exceed any other of the glories of her reign."

"Her Majesty now, with the same earnestness, and with the same hopes of success, recommends to you a perfect union and friendship among yourselves."

"And it is therefore to be hoped, that every good subject and protestant will endeavour to follow so great an example, and to procure so general a blessing." Com. Journ. Vol. II. page 576.

It was at this period of time, and upon this occasion, that Swift published his letter on the sacramental test: he had arri-

they expressed, however, great joy to see him, and "would have laid hold on him, as a twig,[d] while they were drowning."[12] "It is good to see," he writes, "what a lamentable confession the Whigs all make me of my ill usage, but I mind them not.

[12] Letter to Stella, 9th September.

ved in Ireland the month preceding that in which the parliament met.

In May 1710, the Earl of Wharton, when he opened the session hinted at the same measure of repealing the sacramental test, in words nearly to the same effect.

But the addresses of the House of Commons seem not to have been very favourable to the Earl's proposals, they profess, upon both occasions, their zeal and affection for the church, "as by law established, &c." Com. Journ. Vol. II. pp. 578, 644, 646.

To one or other of the Earl's speeches, the following stanza alludes; it is taken from a poem, in Swift's hand-writing, found among the papers of Dr. John Lyon, and published in the last edition of his works. Vol. X. page 445.

That Viceroy is best,
That would take off the test,
And made a sham speech to attempt it;
But being true blue,
When he found 'twould not do,
Swore, d—n him, if ever he meant it.

When the parliament met in 1710, their first act was to chuse a speaker; the Rt. Hon. Allen Broderick having been called to the upper house; upon this occasion Swift wrote the second pamphlet above mentioned, wherein he opposed the measures of the ministers, who were, however, successful in obtaining, that Mr. Forster, a celebrated Whig, should be placed in the speaker's chair.

It appears from hence, that Swift had not only separated from the Whigs before the final decay of their power, but had actually commenced a strenuous opposition to their favourite political measures; and it is likewise manifest, that this defection arose, rather from their change of principles than his. To preserve the church establishment was the ruling motive which actuated him, according to his apprehension its safety had been endangered by the measures above described; Swift's seceding from the Whigs and joining the Tories, appears therefore to have been the pure result of sincere attachment to original principles.

Swift, in his "Memoirs of the change in the Queen's ministry," confirms this account; and although I have already dilated much upon this point, yet, as there is no act of his life for which he has been more censured, than this desertion from a party to which he had in some measure attached himself, I think it not impertinent to clear him from a charge which has been unjustly urged, and for that purpose will cite some passages from the tract above-mentioned.

Speaking of the change which took place after the death of Prince George, and alluding to the new persons who were then admitted into the ministry, he says, "upon the admission of these men into employment, the court ran into extremity of low church measures; and, although, in the house of commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always born down by a majority."

"I talked often," he says, "with Lord Somers, told him that being long conversant with Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be a whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to, the revolution: but, as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive, how any one who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise."—"That I knew it was necessary for their party, to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of protestants to be members of their body: that I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: and that, I doubted, his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this."

"My Lord Somers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his Lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner,) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, 'that both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them five years before."

"In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death; when the Queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Somers president of the council, and the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf the clergy, with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and presented me to him; where he received me as dryly as before."

"It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, showing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others guessed me to be the author, and told his Excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more till I went to Ireland."

[d] Swift did not intend, when he visited London in 1710, to remain longer than was necessary to execute the business he had in hand; in his first letter to Stella, he writes, "I am perfectly resolved to return as soon as I have done my commission, whether it succeeds or not; I never went to England with so little desire in my life."—Again, on 12th September, he writes, "I protest upon my life, I am heartily weary of this town, and wish I had never stirred." On the 20th he had not changed his mind; "we shall have," says he, "a strange winter here, between the struggles of a cunning provoked discarded party, and the triumphs of one in power; of both which I shall be an indifferent spectator, and return very peaceably to Ireland, when I have done my part in the affair I am intrusted with, whether it succeeds or not."

I have cited these passages because it has been alledged, that Swift had determined to join the tories, even before he left Ireland: no one can, I believe, doubt, but that those letters are expressive of his inward sentiments; they are addressed to a confidential friend whom he would not willingly deceive, neither could he intend to deceive, thro' her the public, for it is quite manifest that they were not intended to be published; there is in them an internal evidence that they are his thoughts embodied, for no author that ever lived could premeditately write a production so artless as this journal, nor is it possible for fiction to make herself appear so like to truth. From the same letters we learn his sentiments relative to the Whigs, before he had actually left them, or had seen Mr. Harley. 2d

I am already represented to Mr. Harley as a discontented person, that was used ill for not being whig enough, and I hope for good usage from him."[1] Those men were doubtless unwilling that that merit, which, when exercised in their own service they neglected to reward, should be thrown into the opposite scale.[e]

When Swift arrived in London, he found that, by the departure of the Bishops, Killaloe and Ossory, he was left to proceed alone in his important commission; accordingly he delayed no longer than till the 4th of October, when he waited upon Mr. Harley,[f] who received him with all respect and kindness imaginable, and fixed on the 7th for opening the business: Swift waited upon him on the day appointed, when that Minister, having read the memorial which he had drawn up, promised to shew it to the Queen, which he did three days after, and notified, immediately, to Swift the success of his negociation[g]: "I believe," says he, in his letter to Stella, of 21st October, "never any thing was compassed so soon, and purely done by my personal credit with Mr. Harley, who is so excessively obliging, that I know not what to make of it, unless to shew the rascals of the other party that they used a man unworthily who had deserved better:" on the 14th he writes, "I stand with the new people ten times better than with the old, and forty times more caressed."

A few days before his first meeting with Mr. Harley, Swift had published a short poem called, "The virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod[h];" upon the occasion of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, breaking his treasurer's staff in a manner not very respectful to the Queen. This lampoon was written, as Swift avows to Stella,[2] out of pure revenge against the Earl, whose treatment of him was "different from what he had received from any great man in his life; altogether short, dry and morose."[i] The success of this piece was very great, and the effect it produced in favour of the new ministry prodigious, yet this service had not been courted by them; and

[1] Letter to Stella, 30th September.

[2] Letters to Stella, dated 9th September and 1st October.

Oct. he writes, "Lord Halifax began a health to me to-day; it was, the resurrection of the Whigs, which I refused, unless he would add their reformation too: and I told him he was the only Whig in England, I loved, or had a good opinion of."

[e] In his Memoirs of the change in the Queen's ministry, Swift attributes to the Earl of Wharton another motive for caressing him upon this occasion; "upon the news of great changes here, he affected much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church party."

[f] It was through Mr. Harley's means a similar grant had been obtained for the English clergy.

[g] The grant itself, for exonerating the clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, bears the date of Feb. 7, 1710, as does likewise that, giving in trust to Narcissus, Archbishop of Armagh; Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor; William, Archbishop of Dublin; John, Archbishop of Tuam, and others, the first fruits payable out of ecclesiastical benefices, to be applied for ever, towards purchasing glebes, and building residentiary houses, for poor endowed Vicars.

The unthankfulness of the Irish clergy, for this considerable benefit, has been often adverted to by Swift. Writing to Archbishop King, on the 13th November 1716, he says, "the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe had, as I am told, a sum of money for their labour in that affair; who, upon my arrival at London to negociate it, were one of them gone to Bath and the other to Ireland: but it seems more reasonable to give bishops money for doing nothing, than a private gentleman thanks for succeeding where bishops have failed."—"Be not concerned," says the Archbishop, in answer to this complaint, "ingratitude is warranted by modern and ancient custom: and it is more honour for a man to have it asked, why he had not a suitable return to his merits, than why he was over paid? 'Benefacere et male audire,' is the lot of the best men."

[h] In his letter to Archbishop King, dated 9th September, Swift relates the following circumstances of the Earl's removal from office. "A letter was sent to him, by the groom of the queen's stables, to desire he would break his staff, which would be the easiest way both to her Majesty and to him. Mr. Smith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, happening to come in a little after, my lord broke his staff and flung the pieces in the chimney, desiring Mr. Smith to be witness that he had obeyed the Queen's commands." If his conduct was disrespectful, so was the mode of dismissal ungracious. Noble, in his continuation of Grainger, tells us, that Queen Anne loved Godolphin when young, but state necessity prevented her union with a subject; he had served her too, with fidelity, yet this letter, to an old friend and a faithful subject, was presented by a livery servant. It was perhaps so concerted, by the new favourites, purposely to prevent the possibility of any reconciliation: they knew how much his temper was soured at the new changes, and guessed that he would resent the messuage, to insure which they took care that it should be communicated in this ungracious manner.

[i] Letter to Archbishop King, dated 9th September. "I complained of it," says Swift, in continuation, "to some of his friends, as having, as I thought, for some reasons, deserved much the contrary from his Lordship: they said, to excuse him, that he was overrun with spleen and peevishness upon the present posture of affairs, and used no body better." Noble gives a high character of Lord Godolphin, but adds, that he was, in his nature, retired and silent, disliking conversation, and of a countenance stern, even to severity. He was likewise addicted to gambling; to this Swift humorously alludes in his poem, entitled, "Peace and Dunkirk."

it appears that the Premier himself had not recognised Swift to be author many days after its actual publication. [k]

In Swift Harley met with one, whose political and religious principles accorded with his own; of his ill treatment by the discarded party the latter was likewise well informed, Swift had been represented to him as one, who was used ill by the late administration, because he would not go the full length they required; thus, desire to avenge neglect on the one part, and a wish to obtain so valuable a support to his administration, as the pen of so formidable a writer, [l] on the other, speedily effected an union, which, in a few days, grew into intimacy, and soon after cemented into a friendship which was never finally dissolved but by death itself. [m]

" Old Godolphin, full of spleen,
Made false moves and lost his queen."

[k] The Magician's rod appeared 1st October, Swift was presented to Mr. Harley, on the 4th, for the first time: in his letter to Stella, of the 15th, he informs her that he had dined, on that day, with Mr. Harley; " they began," he says, " to talk of a paper of verses, called Sid Hamet; Mr. Harley repeated part, and then pulled them out, and gave them to a gentleman at the table to read, though they had all read them often: Lord Peterborow would let nobody read them but himself: so he did; and Mr. Harley bobbed me at every line to take notice of the beauties. Prior rallied Lord Peterborow for author of them; and Lord Peterborow said, he knew them to be his; and Prior then turned it upon me, and I on him. I am not guessed at all in town to be the author; yet so it is: but that is a secret only to you."

[l] Swift, as has been said before, came to London, on the business of the first fruits, how he became induced to remain after that deed was performed, we learn from his " Account of the change in the late Queen's ministry." The passage is as follows:

" When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, 'he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them would not make me a favourer of their cause: that there was now entirely a new scene: that the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: that their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers.' Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, 'that this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle, to pursue it;' and concluded, 'that it should be his particular care, to establish me here in England, and represent me to the Queen as a person they could not be without."

" I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months; to which he replied, 'he expected no more, and that he had other and greater occasions for me."

[m] The degree of rapidity with which the acquaintance between Harley and Swift grew into intimacy, and from intimacy to friendship, is well described in the following passages of his journal to Stella.

1710, Oct. 4th—" To-day I was brought privately to Mr. Harley, who received me with the greatest respect and kindness imaginable: he has appointed me an hour on Saturday at four, afternoon, when I will open my business to him."

Oct. 7th—" He heard me tell my business; entered into it with all kindness; asked for my powers, and read them; and read likewise a memorial I had drawn up, and put it in his pocket to shew the Queen; told me the measures he would take; and, in short, said every thing I could wish; told me he must bring Mr. St. John (Secretary of state) and me acquainted; and spoke so many things of personal kindness and esteem for me, that I am inclined half to believe what some friends have told me, that he would do every thing to bring me over. He desired me to dine with him on Tuesday; and, after four hours being with him, set me down at St. James's coffee-house in a hackney-coach."

Oct. 8th—" I must tell you a great piece of refinement of Harley. He charged me to come to him often; I told him I was loth to trouble him in so much business as he had, and desired I might have leave to come at his levee; which he immediately refused, and said, " that was not a place for friends to come to."

Oct. 10th—" I dined with Mr. Harley to day, who presented me to the Attorney-general, Sir Simon Harcourt, &c. Harley told me he had shewn my memorial to the Queen and seconded it very heartily; and he desires me to dine with him again on Sunday."

Oct. 14th—" I suppose I have said enough in this and a former letter how I stand with the new people; ten times better than ever I did with the old; forty times more caressed."

Oct. 21st—" I dined this day with Mr. Harley, &c. I staid till nine before he would let me go, or tell me any thing of my affair; he says, the Queen has now granted the first-fruits and twentieth parts; but he will not yet give me leave to write to the Archbishop, because the Queen designs to signify it to the Bishops in Ireland in form, and to take notice that it was done upon a memorial from me; which Mr. Harley tells me he does to make it look more respectful to me. I believe never any thing was compassed so soon, and purely done by my personal credit with Mr. Harley; who is so excessively obliging, that I know not what to make of it, unless to show the rascals of the other party, that they used a man unworthily who had deserved better."

Nov. 11th—" I dined to-day, by invitation, with the Secretary of State, Mr. St. John.—He told me, among other things, that Mr. Harley complained he could keep nothing from me, I had the way so much of getting into him. I knew that was a refinement, and so I told him, and it was so: indeed it is hard to see these great men use me like one who was their better, and the puppies with you in Ireland hardly regarding me."

Swift himself gives a lively description of the progress of his intimacy with this minister, and humorously describes the cares and vexations of a court life, in the following lines of his admirable imitation of Horace's 6th satire, 2d book: written A. D. 1714.

" 'Tis (let me see) three years and more
(October next it will be four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend;
Would take me in his coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As " what's o'clock?" And, how's the wind?"
" Whose chariot's that we left behind?"
Or gravely try to read the lines
Writ underneath the country signs; *
Or, " have you nothing new to-day
From Pope, from Parnell, or from Gay?"

The various occurrences of Swift's life, from this period of time till the final extinction of Tory government by the Queen's death, are recorded in an extraordinary diary kept daily, and transmitted periodically to Mrs. Dingley and Mrs. Johnson: although some parts of this interesting correspondence are addressed equally to both those ladies, yet the confidential communications upon political subjects were suited only to the intellectual mind of the accomplished Stella. Upon this journal the late editor of Swift's works makes the following judicious remark. "Written during the hurry of every day's occurrences, it rather resembles the author's thoughts expressed aloud, as they passed through his mind, than a connected register of his opinions: what it wants, however, in system and gravity, it gains in authenticity and interest, for the readiness with which the author's pen expresses, in the 'little language,' every whim which crossed his brain, vouches for his ample and unreserved confidence."[n] After such a description it appears unnecessary to excuse the publication of those "frolicsome expansions of the heart and spirits," least they should appear to some grave critics as derogating from the character of a great and distinguished author; such dull cavillers° had better refrain altogether

Such tattle often entertains
My lord and me as far as Staines,
As once a week we travel down,
To Windsor, and again to town,
Where all that passes *inter nos*
Might be proclaimed at Charing-cross.
Yet some I know, with envy swell,
Because they see me used so well:
"How think you of our friend the Dean?
I wonder what some people mean!
My Lord and he are grown so great,
Always together, *tete-a-tete;*
What! they admire him for his jokes?
See but the fortune of some folks!"
There flies about a strange report
Of some express arrived at court:
I'm stopp'd by all the fools I meet,
And catechised in every street.
"You, Mr. Dean, frequent the great:
Inform us, will the Emperor treat?
Or do the prints and papers lie?"
Faith, Sir, you know as much as I.
"Ah, Doctor, how you love to jest!
'Tis now no secret"—I protest
'Tis one to me—"Then tells us, pray,
When are the troops to have their pay?"
And, though I solemnly declare
I know no more than my Lord Mayor,
They stand amazed, and think me grown
The closest mortal ever known. †
Thus in a sea of folly tost,
My choicest hours of life are lost;
Yet always wishing to retreat, ‡
O, could I see my country seat!
There leaning near a gentle brook,
Sleep, or peruse some ancient book;
And there in sweet oblivion drown
Those cares that haunt the court and town."

There are some points of resemblance, which deserve to be noted, between what is here related and the real facts.

° The amusements between Harley and Swift were, at times, even more frivolous than those here described; one of them was, what is called travelling picquet; which is played, by counting animals, each person those on their side of the road, and which ever sees a cat or an old woman, reckons a certain number of additional points, or wins the game. It is related by Warton, that "Bolingbroke overtaking them one day in their road to Windsor, got into Lord Oxford's coach, and began some political conversation; Lord Oxford said, 'Swift I am up; there is a cat.' Bolingbroke was disgusted with this levity, and went again into his own carriage. This was, saith the Doctor,

"Nugari—et discincti ludere,'

with a witness." It is very probable that those two persons did occasionally amuse themselves after this manner, but it is not likely that it was so offensive to Lord Bolingbroke as is here stated.

† To avoid the perplexity here described, Swift used to shun meeting, in public, any of those dignified persons with whom he lived in habits of intimacy, when in private. This we learn from his letter to Stella, 15th January 1712-3; speaking of the Queen's drawing-room, he says, "I was there to-day; and as Lord-treasurer came toward me, I avoided him, and he hunted me thrice about the room. I affect never to take notice of him at church or court. He knows it, for I told him so; and, to-night, at Lord Masham's, he gave an account of it to the company; but my reasons are, that people seeing me speak to him, causes a great deal of teasing."

‡ Swift, during his residence at court, sighed often after his willows at Laracor, "though ambition," says Dr. Johnson, "pressed Swift into a life of bustle, the wish for a life of ease was always returning," and this is abundantly proved by almost every page of his journal to Stella. In his letter, dated 30th June 1711, "Faith that riding to Laracor gives me short sighs; all the days I have passed here, have been dirt to those. I have been gaining enemies by the scores, and friends by the couples, which is against the rules of wisdom."

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[n] The Edinburgh Review, No. LIII. page 48, has some judicious remarks on those letters. "The journal to Stella, which was certainly never intended for publication, is not to be judged of as a literary work at all: but, to us it is the most interesting of all his productions; exhibiting not only a minute and masterly view of a very extraordinary political crisis, but a truer, and, upon the whole, a more favourable picture of his own mind, than can be gathered from all the rest of his writings: together with innumerable anecdotes, characteristic, not only of various eminent individuals, but of the private manners and public taste and morality of the times, more nakedly and severely authentic than any thing that can be derived from contemporary publications."

° Dr. Johnson appears to have been one of those cavillers; he thinks, "it may be reasonably doubted whether these diurnal trifles were properly exposed to eyes, which had never received any pleasure from the presence of the Dean." So much for Dr. Johnson's discernment; he, however, admits, that "they have some *odd* attractions."

from the perusal of this author's works; the reader of true taste will feel gratified at being introduced to intimate, familiar, acquaintance with this great genius, for no correspondence that has ever yet been published represents actual living conversation so expressively as those letters; verisimilitude was a quality peculiar to the works of Swift.

The assistance of Swift was only to be obtained by implicit confidence, and to this he was admitted by the two principal ministers, Harley and St. John; the accordance of political principles in this illustrious trio was remarkable, all were seceders from the late administration, from which they differed in many points, yet they were not inclined to run into the opposite extremes of passive obedience and hereditary right; with sentiments favourable to civil liberty, they still maintained the church establishment; to make this course of moderation popular, became the task of Swift, who, by the publication of numerous pamphlets, performed it better perhaps than any person who lived before or since his time. An impartial examiner of Harley's administration, will be apt to consider his engaging Swift, thus entirely on his side, as the highest proof of sound judgment that he ever evinced[p]: the importance of this accession must be calculated from its effects, and it is hard to conceive how the measures of this administration could have been better effected than by the publication of those pamphlets which issued from the pen of their able coadjutor. "He bore," says Mr. Scott, "the battle on his single shield, and by the vigour of his attack, and dexterity of his defence, inspired his own party with courage, and terrified or discomfited those champions who stept from the enemies ranks for the purpose of assailing him."

The first political work in which Swift engaged, during this administration, was that of the Examiner,[q] a periodical publication which he conducted from the 13th to the 45th Number; from 2d Nov. 1710, to 14th June 1711. "But, it was not in the Examiner alone, that Swift manifested his zeal for Harley's administration: with a readiness and versatility almost inconceivable, he assumed every shape which could give courage to his friends, and perplex or annoy his opponents."[3]

On the 27th of November 1711, Swift published his celebrated treatise on the Conduct of the Allies.[r] To reconcile the nation to the termination of a war of vic-

[3] Swift's Life of Swift, page 130.

[p] "When we consider the rapidity of Mr. Harley's motions on this occasion, who was remarkable for procrastination, and the open freedom of his behaviour toward Swift, so contrary to that closeness and reserve which were his characteristicks, we may judge of his eager desire to fix him in their party." Sher. Life, page 64.

[q] The Examiner was published weekly, on Thursdays; Swift has, himself, in his "Memoirs relating to the change in the Queen's ministry," given us the following account of this celebrated publication.

"Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her Majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. Secretary St. John, since Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since Bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c. were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months; but, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her Majesty's death."

Dr. Johnson, alluding to this publication, remarks, that Swift, in argument, may be allowed to have the advantage; "but," he adds, "with regard to wit, I am affraid none of Swift's papers will be found equal to those by which Addison opposed him." The Doctor should have told us what those papers were which Addison wrote in opposition to Swift's Examiner; for the last Whig-examiner, written by Addison, was published Oct. 12th, 1710, and Swift's first Examiner on the 2d of Nov. following.

But it will require more than the *ipse dixit* of Dr. Johnson to persuade us, that any of Addison's political papers have merit equal to Swift's; the Earl of Orrery makes a more just comparison between their respective writings in this way; alluding to Addison's Free-holder, he says, "when the writings of Addison terminate in party, he loses himself extremely—not so Dr. Swift: he appears like a masterly gladiator. He wields the sword of party with ease, justness and dexterity; and while he entertains the ignorant and the vulgar, he draws an equal attention from the learned and the great. When he is serious, his gravity becomes him; when he laughs, his readers must laugh with him." Orrery's Remarks, Letter VI.

[r] "No production of the kind," Mr. Scott remarks, "ever produced so strong an effect upon the general opinion. It was

torious success, and the degradation of a general to whom they unanimously attributed their triumphs, was the object of this celebrated piece; satisfied that national pride would not endure arguments drawn from the uncertain chance of war, Swift chose rather to address himself to the prejudices of his country-men, and attribute to principles of self interest the conduct of the late administration, which directed British valour to the acquisition of towns and provinces, to benefit, exclusively, a foreign nation, which, treated England with contempt while that kingdom was exhausting her finances in her cause. This more open avowal of the minister's intentions was not, however, ventured forth, before the temper of the public mind was tried by a more light and humorous tract; which, professing to give an account of Mr. Prior's journey, served, although an entire fiction, to hint at the possibility of a peace. From this instance of admirable finesse, whereby the tide of popular opinion was in an instant turned from its accustomed channel, the reader may estimate how far the administration of an Harley was supported by the genius of a Swift.

The moderation of the new ministers created difficulties to themselves; a numerous body of their own party (chiefly country members) formed themselves into an association, under the name of the October Club, [s] whose object was to hurry matters to the most violent excess against the opposite faction. The ill-directed zeal of an injudicious friend is often more dangerous than the malice of an enemy. The talents of Swift were, upon this emergency, exercised with success; his "Advice humbly offered to the members of the October Club," first divided, and finally dissolved that formidable body of malecontents. "This treatise," Mr. Walter Scott observes," is a master-piece of Swift's political skill, judiciously palliating those ministerial errors which could not be denied, and artfully intimating those excuses, which, resting upon the disposition of Queen Anne herself, could not, in policy or decency, be openly pleaded."

A select society of some persons of chief rank among the Tories, was formed about this time; they were, however, few in number, and were designated by no other appellation than the fraternal title of Brothers. [t] Of the original formation

the text-book from which the ministerial members in the house of commons quoted their facts, and drew their arguments." Life of Swift, page 145. Swift, in his letter to Stella, of 4th Feb. says, "The house of commons have this day made many severe votes about our being abused by our allies: those who spoke, drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I writ: the court had a majority of one hundred and fifty: all agree, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions." Again, Feb. 8th, "the resolutions printed tother day in the votes, are almost quotations from it, and would never have passed if that book had not been written."

Doctor Johnson informs us that, between November and January, eleven thousand copies were sold, "a great number," he remarks, "at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers."

Mr. Boswell, in his instructive and amusing Memoir, relates a conversation which took place upon the subject of this celebrated tract. See Boswell's Life of Johnson, Vol. II. page 6. Doctor Johnson maintained, "that it was a performance of very little ability;" he admitted, however, that it had strong facts, "but is great praise due," says the critic," so the historian of those strong facts." It is amusing to hear the author of "Taxation no Tyranny," and the "False alarm" passing judgement upon Swift's political pieces, and deciding against the merits of this work as containing nothing, but an assemblage of strong facts: had the Doctor attended more to such matters, he would have escaped the censure of Dr. Towers, conveyed in the following advice: "I would wish you to remember, should you again address the publick under the character of a political writer, that luxuriance of imagination and energy of language, will ill compensate for the want of candour, of justice, and of truth." Dr. Johnson is said to have felt, severely, this reproof.

[s] "We are plagued here," says Swift, in his letter to Stella, of 18th Feb. 1710-11, "with an October Club; that is, a set of above a hundred parliament men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament, to consult affairs, and drive things on to extremes against the Whigs, to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The ministry seem not to regard them, yet one of them in confidence told me, that there must be something thought on to settle things better. I will tell you one great state secret; the Queen, sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into the other extreme, and is jealous in that point, even of those who got her out of the other hands. The ministry is for gentler measures, and the other Tories for more violent."

[t] Their ladies too stiled themselves sisters, even their more distant relatives assumed the usual titles which denote the respective degrees of consanguinity. So the Dutchess of Ormond often calls Swift, brother, and concludes some of her letters thus, "your's with sisterly affection." See Swift's works, Vol. XVI. page 132. In another letter, dated 24th March 1715, she concludes with the words, "your niece, Betty, (meaning her daughter) is better;" and this style was kept up for several years after; her Grace, in a letter to Swift, dated 1st Sept. 1721, says, "I was at your brother Arran's a good while this summer."

Several transactions of this club are noticed in Swift's letters to Stella; from thence and from other parts of his works, a tolerably correct list of its members might be extracted. It

of this club, Swift gives us, in his letter to Stella, 21st June 1711, the following account: "The Secretary and I dined at Sir William Wyndham's; there were ten of us at dinner. It seems in my absence they had erected a club, and made me one; and we made some laws to-day, which I am to digest and add to, against next meeting. Our meetings are to be every Thursday: we are yet but twelve: Lord-keeper and Lord-treasurer[u] were proposed; but I was against them, and so was Mr. Secretary, though their sons are of it, and so they were excluded; but we design to admit the Duke of Shrewsbury. The end of our club is to advance conversation and friendship, and to reward deserving persons with our interest and recommendation. We take in none but men of wit or men of interest; and if we go on as we begin, no other club in this town will be worth talking of."

Although the nature of his engagements, as a political writer, interrupted, for a time, Swift's own progress in general literature, yet he displayed a zeal in forwarding the interests, and relieving the necessities of men of genius, that was truly admirable: "I am bound," he says, in his letter to Stella, of 12th April 1713, "to use all my little credit toward helping forward men of worth in the world." With respect to his literary acquaintances among the Whigs, he insisted that no difference of party should be made with regard to them: "do you know" he writes to Stella,[4] "I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers, than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place: Congreve[v] I have got to be used kindly, and secured: Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place: Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party-mad, and made me withdraw my recommendation. I set Addison[w] so right

[4] Journal to Stella, 27th December 1712.

was one of the first attempts in Great Britain to unite men of rank and talents into a convivial society; none other such has since attained to any degree of eminence or celebrity, except that formed under the auspices of Dr. Johnson.

[u] Dr. Hawksworth and some others of Swift's biographers have confounded this society with another which consisted of the minister's chief friends and associates, who dined every Saturday at the Lord-treasurer's; whereas the Club of Brothers met weekly on Thursdays, at some tavern, or at each others houses; and Swift describes his turn of entertainment, in one of his letters to Stella. In his "Memoirs of the change in the Queen's ministry," Swift gives the following account of the weekly meetings which were held, on Saturdays, at the prime minister's.

"It was Mr. Harley's custom every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Secretary St. John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the Earls of Anglesey, Dartmouth, and Poulett; the Lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation."

[v] "I went to town to-day, and dined with my friend Lewis. I saw William Congreve attending at the treasury, by order, with his brethren, the commissioners of the wine licenses. I had often mentioned him with kindness to Lord-treasurer; and Congreve told me, that after they had answered to what they were sent for, my lord called him privately, and spoke to him with great kindness, promising his protection, &c. The poor man said, he had been used so ill of late years, that he was quite astonished at my lord's goodness, &c. and desired me to tell my lord so; which I did this evening, and recommended him heartily. My lord assured me he esteemed him very much, and would be always kind to him; that what he said was to make Congreve easy, because he knew people talked as if his lordship designed to turn every body out, and particularly Congreve; which indeed was true, for the poor man told me he apprehended it. As I left my Lord-treasurer, I called on Congreve (knowing where he dined) and told him what had passed between my lord and me; so I have made a worthy man easy, and that is a good day's work." Letter to Stella, 22d June 1711.

[w] The coldness which party interest had occasioned between these two friends, was a matter of regret to Swift, who often complained of it in his letters to Stella. It appears, however, from these truly authentic documents, to have commenced with Addison: Swift writes on 27th December 1712, "I met Mr. Addison and pastoral Philips on the Mall to-day, and took a turn with them; but they both looked terribly dry and cold. A curse of party!"

And yet this occurrence was after Swift had recommended one Harrison, a creature of Addison's, to the ministry, whereby he was appointed Secretary to the embassy to Utrecht, a place of 1000*l.* per annum. Their difference on the score of politicks does not furnish sufficient excuse for Addison's change of conduct towards Swift: Swift owed to him no obligation, and had an equal right with Addison himself, to exercise his judgement upon the score of politicks. It does not appear, however, that this estrangement of affection continued without intermission; we find, from some passages of the same journal, that they met occasionally as friends. Swift writes, on 14th Sept. 1711, "This evening I met Addison and pastoral Philips in the Park, and supped with them at Addison's lodgings; we were very good company; and yet know no man half so agreeable to me as he is: I sat with them till twelve."

Other particulars of the services which Swift rendered to Addison, and to his friends, Harrison and Steele, may be

at first, that he might have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he has; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man." This pertinacious adherence to the interests of his former literary acquaintance, drew from his ministerial friends the following remark, "that he seldom came to them without a whig in his sleeve."

If Swift thus interested himself in behalf of such men of genius as were of a party opposite to that which he espoused, it may be supposed he was not less solicitous about the welfare of those, who were under no demerit of that sort. Amongst the latter class was Dr. Berkeley, afterwards promoted to the see of Cloyne, to whom he rendered services which are particularly noticed in his journal of April 12th, 1713. "I went," says he, "to court to-day, on purpose to present Mr. Berkeley, one of your fellows of Dublin-college, to Lord Berkeley, of Stratton. That Mr. Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and great philosopher, and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and have given them some of his writings, and I will favour him as much as I can." [x]

At the time when Swift attained to supremacy in power, Pope was labouring at his translation of Homer; the warm and affectionate support which he lent, upon that occasion, is recorded by many of their cotemporaries, and fully acknowledged in the preface to that poet's translation of the Iliad. Through Swift's interest, Gay was made Secretary to the embassy to Hanover: for Dr. King who had been, upon a former occasion, his antagonist, he procured the office of Gazetteer, [5] and obtained that Dr. Trapp, for whom he had no personal regard, should be appointed chaplain to Lord Bolingbroke. [6] His manner of introducing Parnell to the minister, was the most flattering possible to that modest but truly meritorious man of letters: "I had Parnell by me, and contrived it so, that Lord-treasurer came to me, and asked whether that was Dr. Parnell, and came up and spoke to him with great kindness, and invited him to his house. [y] I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry." [7]

It was thus, in patronizing literary merit and in advocating the cause of unprotected indigence, [z] that Swift expended his stock of credit with the ministry.

[5] Letter to Stella, 31 Dec. 1711. [6] Letter to Stella, 17 July 1712. [7] Letter to Stella, 31 Jan. 1712-13.

found in the same journal. I shall quote only the following; on the 4th of January 1710-11, he writes, "I went to Mr. Addison's, and dined with him at his lodgings; I had not seen him these three weeks; we are grown common acquaintance; yet what have not I done for his friend Steele? Mr. Harley reproached me the last time I saw him, that to please me, he would be reconciled to Steele, and had promised and appointed to see him, and that Steele never came. Harrison, whom Mr. Addison recommended to me, I have introduced to the Secretary of State, who has promised me to take care of him; and I have represented Addison himself so to the ministry, that they think and talk in his favour, though they hated him before.—Well, he is now in my debt, and there is an end; and I never had the least obligation to him, and there is another end." I shall have occasion to say more of Steele in another place, and likewise of Harrison, in page 261.

[x] Swift laid the foundation of this celebrated person's good fortune; in consequence of his recommendation, Lord Peterborough appointed him chaplain to his embassy, and afterwards obtained that he should be promoted to the deanery of Derry.

[y] "Dr. Delany," as Mr. Scott remarks, "has given this anecdote too high a colouring, and certainly injured the grace of the compliment, by supposing that Swift made Lord Oxford, in the height of his glory, walk with his treasurer's staff from room to room, through his own levee, enquiring which was Dr. Parnell; in order to introduce himself to him, and beg the honour of his acquaintance." Observations on Lord Orrery's remarks. "The attention," continues this judicious writer, "was in the real case simple and delicate, in the other it would have been affected and ostentatious." Scott's Life of Swift, page 158. But Dr. Delany has not transgressed so much in this respect as some others of Swift's biographers: those persons, together with some of his distant relations, have been puffed up with a vain desire of being thought, by the world, to know more of Swift than any of their predecessors; the anecdotes which they relate are sometimes conformable to their own rude notions of the vastness of his genius, sometimes to their contemptibly mean conceptions of a great wit: if these anecdotes had any foundation in fact, they are so deformed by adventitious decorations, that they have lost all semblance of truth; their extravagance and want of conformity to what we know of Swift, from his own works and those of his cotemporaries, will sufficiently detect these spurious productions; and I think it fair that all sort of confidence should be withdrawn from those persons whom we discover, in some instances, thus practising upon our credulity.

[z] For the purpose of exhibiting a fair view of Swift's active generosity, I present to the reader the following extract, from his journal to Stella, which relates the transactions of his life from the 12th to the 14th of February 1712-13.

12.—"I dined to-day with our society, the greatest dinner I have ever seen. It was at Jack Hill's, the Governor of Dunkirk. I gave an account of sixty guineas I had collected, and am to give them away to two authors to-morrow; and Lord-

"When I had credit for some years at court," he says in his letter of 5th May 1735, to Lady Betty Germain, "I provided for above fifty people in both kingdoms, of which not one was a relation."

The intimacy between Swift and Harley had just ripened into friendship, when the life of the latter was endangered by the attempt of a desperate villain, the Marquis de Guiscard,[a] Lieut. Colonel of a refugee regiment, who stabbed that

treasurer has promised me a hundred pounds to reward some others. I found a letter on my table last night, to tell me, that poor little Harrison, the Queen's Secretary that came lately from Utrecht with the Barrier Treaty, was ill, and desired to see me at night; but it was late, and I could not go till to-day. I have often mentioned him in my letters, you may remember. **** I went in the morning, and found him mighty ill, and got thirty guineas for him from Lord Bolingbroke, and an order for a hundred pounds, from the treasury, to be paid him to-morrow; and I have got him removed to Knight's-bridge for the air. He has a fever and inflamation on his lungs; but I hope will do well. Night, MD."

13.—"I was to see a poor poet, one Mr. Diaper, in a nasty garret, very sick. I gave him twenty guineas from Lord Bolingbroke, and disposed the other sixty to two other authors, and desired a friend to receive the hundred pounds for poor Harrison, and will carry it to him to-morrow morning. I sent to see how he did, and he is extremely ill; and I am very much afflicted for him, as he is my own creature, and in a very honourable post, and very worthy of it. I dined in the city. I am much concerned for this poor lad: his mother and sister attend him, and he wants nothing. Night, dear MD."

14.—"I took Parnell this morning, and we walked to see poor Harrison. I had the hundred pounds in my pocket. I told Parnell I was afraid to knock at the door; my mind misgave me. I knocked; and his man, in tears, told me his master was dead an hour before. Think what grief this is to me! I went to his mother, and have been ordering things for his funeral with as little cost as possible, to-morrow at ten at night. Lord-treasurer was much concerned when I told him. I could not dine with Lord-treasurer, nor any where else; but got a bit of meat toward evening. No loss ever grieved me so much: poor creature! Pray God Almighty bless poor MD. Adieu. I send this away to-night, and am sorry it must go while I am in so much grief."

[a] An account of this desperate attempt was afterwards published by Mrs. Manley, author of the "New Atalantis," from facts which were furnished to her by Swift, who had, as it appears from his letter to Stella, of the 11th March, meditated such a work himself: he was, however, deterred from it, as we learn from the same journal, 16th April 1711, because "he was afraid of disobliging Mr. Harley or Mr. St. John in one critical point." Swift here alludes to a dispute which had commenced between those ministers, each of whom contended that he was the primary object of Guiscard's malice. The blow, it was alledged, had been intended for the secretary, and it was said that he only escaped it, by the accident of having changed places with Mr. Harley before the examination had commenced. The secretary had formerly lived in habits of intimacy with the assassin, and it was imagined that a comparison between their respective situations at that time (the one a judge and the other a criminal) contrasted with the equality which existed during their former intimacy urged him to meditate this revenge; but, on the other hand, it ought to be considered, that Guiscard's treasonable correspondence was occasioned by his pecuniary embarrassments, and those embarrassments had been encreased by a reduction in his pay, a measure which was suggested by Mr. Harley's prudential oeconomy, and this might have generated in his mind, a peculiar antipathy to that minister; and, indeed, it is as likely to have had influence upon a reprobate mind, as the other above-mentioned, which is the effect of greater refinement: besides, it is not easy to comprehend how Guiscard, a stranger to the council chamber, brought to abide his examination, should have acquired any knowledge of the respective places to be occupied by each member. All this is foreign to the subject in hand: it is not, however, quite impertinent to observe, that this difference between the ministers, grew afterwards into a total estrangement of affections; the effects of which shall be noticed hereafter.

That the tract here alluded to, was written by Mrs. Manley, appears from Swift's letter to Stella, of 16th April 1711, where he writes as follows: "Yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr. Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself, so I sent my hints to the author of the Atalantis, and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style; only the first page is left as I was beginning it."—"It is worth your reading, for the circumstances are all true."

The following passages, which relate to the stabbing of Mr. Harley, are extracted from Mrs. Manley's narrative.

"Monsieur de Guiscard being brought in to be examined, Mr. Secretary St. John, whose business it was to interrogate him, asked him some questions about his corresponding with France, and whether he had not sent letters thither? Monsieur de Guiscard denied it boldly: mean time his colour came and went. Earl Poulet, before he was brought in, had desired Mr. St. John to change places with Mr. Harley, that Guiscard's face might be full in the light, and his countenance better perceived, in any alteration that might happen at the questions that should be asked him."—

"Mr. Secretary asked him, 'if he knew such a gentleman?' naming the merchant with whom he had left the letter? at that, Guiscard rolled his eyes, assured of his ruin, yet surprised and shocked at the approach. The same question being repeated, he answered, 'yes, what of that?' Being pressed again to discover what he knew of his corresponding with France, he continued obstinate in his pretended ignorance, when Mr. Secretary St. John produced his letter, and, with a force of eloquence inseparable from what he speaks, represented to Monsieur de Guiscard the baseness, the blackness, of his crime; 'to betray the Queen, his benefactress; Britain, the country that had refuged, supported, trusted, honoured him by command of her troops with such noble confidence, that made it double villany in him to be a villain:' exhorting him, 'yet to be sincere, and give up to their information what he knew of the treacherous design he had formed."—

"Accordingly, when he was pressed to discover, he desired to speak with Mr. St. John apart. The secretary told him, 'That was impracticable: he was before the whole committee as a criminal; and what he had to say, must be said to all.' Upon Guiscard's persisting to speak only to the secretary, they went to ring the bell, to call in the messengers, to carry him away; which he observing, cried out, 'That is hard! not one word! *pas un mot!*' and, stooping down, said, '*J'en veux donc a toi.* Then have at thee!' so stabbed Mr. Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the pen-knife broke, which he was not sensible of; but rushing on toward Mr. St. John, overthrew the clerks' table that stood between. Mr. St. John saw Mr. Harley fall; and cried out, 'The villain has killed Mr. Harley!' then he gave him a wound, as did the Duke of Ormond and the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. St. John was resolved to have killed him, but that he saw Mr. Harley got up and walking about, and heard Earl Poulett cry out, 'not to kill Guiscard.' The messengers laid hold of him, and tore his coat; he raged, he struggled, he overthrew several of them, with the strength of one desperate or frantic, till at last they

minister with a pen-knife,[b] whilst he was undergoing an examination at the council-board, upon a charge, which had been instituted against him, of a treasonable correspondence with France. The magnitude to which Swift's affection, for that statesman, had attained, appears from many expressions in his letters, and chiefly from those to Stella, which, being written immediately after the transaction, and before the consequences could be ascertained, indicate, by their distracted manner, the confusion into which his mind had been plunged. On the 8th of March 1710-11, he writes as follows: "O dear MD. my heart is almost broken: you will hear the thing before this comes to you: I writ a full account of it this night to the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Dean may tell you the particulars from the Archbishop. I was in a sorry way to write, but thought it might be proper to send a true account of the fact, for you will hear a thousand lying circumstances. It is of Mr. Harley's being stabbed this afternoon, at three o'clock, at a committee of the council. I was playing Lady Catherine Morris's cards, where I dined, when young Arundel came in with the story. I ran away immediately to the Secretary, which was in my way; no one was at home. I met Mrs. St. John in her chair; she had heard it imperfectly. I took a chair to Mr. Harley, who was asleep, and they hope in no danger; but he has been out of order, and was so when he came abroad to-day, and it may put him in a fever: I am in mortal pain for him. That desperate French villain the Marquis de Guiscard, stabbed Mr. Harley. Guiscard was taken up, by Mr. Secretary St. John's warrant, for high treason, and brought before the lords to be examined; there he stabbed Mr. Harley. I have told all the particulars already to the Archbishop.[c] I have now at nine sent again, and they tell me he is in a fair way. Pray pardon my distraction? I now think of all his kindness to me.--The poor creature now lies stabbed in his bed by a desperate French popish villain. Good night, and GOD preserve you both, and pity me; I want it." This gloomy despondence did not, however, last long, it was soon ascertained that the wound was not mortal, and with his hopes returned that playfulness of manner which so agreeably animates this very interesting journal: he concludes his letter of the 10th of March, with the following sentence: "Mr. Harley is better to-night, that makes me so pert, you saucy Gog and Magog."[d]

got him down, by pulling him backward by the cravat. Like a lion taken in the toils, he foamed, he grinned, his countenance seemed despoiled of the aspect of any thing human; his eyes gleamed fire, despair, and fury. He cried out to the Duke of Ormond, whilst they were binding him, amid his execrations and his raving, "My Lord Ormond, *Pourquoi ne moi depechez vouz?* Why do you not dispatch me?" The noble Duke made this memorable answer, "*Ce n'est pas l'affair des honnetes gens; c'est l'affair d'un autre.* It is not the work of gentlemen; it is the work of others."

[b] Swift obtained possession of this pen-knife, which he retained until his dying-day; after his death, Dr. John Lyon, in 1760, brought it to London, and gave it into the hands of Alderman Harley, to be delivered to the Earl of Oxford or some other branch of that noble family. Scott's Life of Swift, page 194.

[c] See this letter. Swift's works, Vol. XV. page 389.

[d] Another accident occurred about this time, in which Swift was somewhat concerned; the following account of it is taken from Dr. Tindall's continuation of Rapin's History, Vol. IV. page 297.

"A report was spread of a strange conspiracy against the Lord-treasurer, by sending him on that very day (the birth day of King William) 'a band-box, with three pistols charged and cocked, whose triggers being tied to a pack-thread fastened to the cover, the pistols would have gone off, and done execution at the opening of the box, had not the same been miraculously prevented by Dr. Jonathan Swift, who, being then in the room, while his lordship was shaving, suspected something, and opened the box in such a manner that no mischief was done.' This was the first story that was whispered about; but the belief of such an extravagant plot was soon exploded, when it was found that the three pistols were no more than a steel set upon a pistol-stock to strike fire, and two ink-horns or squibbs; so that the lucky discoverer, Dr. Swift, was by many suspected to have been the ingenious contriver of this political machine."

To this matter Swift alludes in his letter to Stella, of the 15th Nov. "I believe you have heard the story of my escape, in opening the band-box sent to the Lord-treasurer. The prints have told a thousand lies of it; but at last we gave them a true account of it at length, printed in "The Evening;" only I would not suffer them to name me, having been so often named before, and teased to death with questions. I wonder how I came to have so much presence of mind, which is usually not my talent; but so it pleased GOD, and I saved myself and him; for there was a bullet piece. A gentleman told me, that if I had been killed, the Whigs would have called it a judgement, because the barrels were of ink-horns, with which I had done them so much mischief. There was a pure grub street of it, full of lies and inconsistencies." Again, the 12th Dec. he writes, "the whig papers have abused me about the band-box. GOD help me, what could I do? I fairly ventured my life. There is a particular account of it in the Post-boy, and Evening Post of that day. Lord-treasurer has had the seal sent him that sealed the box, and

Swift's attention was not so rivetted to works of political controversy, as to prevent his bestowing some consideration upon other literary pursuits. In the midst of the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business, he meditated no less a task than that of correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English tongue, [e] which he proposed to do by means of a society resembling, in some respects, the French academy: his thoughts upon that subject were communicated in a letter to the Lord-

directions where to find the other pistol in a tree in St. James's-park, which Lord Bolingbroke's messenger found accordingly; but who sent the present is not yet known."

"It seems," says Mr. Walter Scott, "very difficult to understand this affair: to suppose it a trick of Swift, is not only utterly inconsistent with his character, but with common sense; for why should he not have placed real pistols in the box, since he was to open it with such precaution? yet it is not easy to conceive what the Whigs should have hoped from so imperfect an engine. Swift here calls the contents, a bullet-piece, and a few pages below says, the fellow to the *pistol*, was found in Hyde-park: yet, at the same time, he mentions the barrels being made of ink-horn, meaning the iron cases used for holding ink and pens. Perhaps the contriver had chosen so ludicrous an implement, that the plot might be ridiculed if it should prove unsuccessful." Swift's works, Vol. III. page 118. This plot was called by the Whigs, "the band-box plot." Upon consideration of the whole matter, it can scarcely be doubted but that mischief was intended; to imagine that it was planned by the ministers, would be to suppose them very aukward contrivers, for they could not have proposed much advantage to themselves from any promulgation of the story, inasmuch as it was attended with such ludicrous circumstances as must, upon every such occasion, have raised a smile at their expense; how they could have expected to profit by it, cannot, therefore, be well conceived.

[e] What appears most to have disturbed Swift, and what chiefly occasioned his writing this proposal, was the idea that the language might be changed, in like manner as the Latin had been, which was to so great a degree altered, that certain fragments of the old laws, written three hundred years before Tully, were unintelligible in his time. "It is hard," he says, "that the fame of our authors, which is usually confined to these two islands, should be limited in time as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our speech." This change of language he feared too, might be for the worse, for he observed that during the half century which preceded his time (that is, from the commencement of the civil wars) the English tongue had been much deteriorated; first, "during the usurpation, by an infusion of enthusiastic jargon;" then, upon the restoration, by the introduction of "that licentiousness, which, from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language;" the consequence of this latter defect, as he with great justice remarks, "may appear from the plays, and other compositions written for entertainment within fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those, who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law." Next by the poets since the restoration, who, notwithstanding that the language was already overstocked with monosyllables "introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have," he adds, "frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds, that none but a northern ear could endure:" another cause, he says, "is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of."

Although we, who live in later times, are enabled, merely by that fortuitous circumstance, to discover that that evil which Swift so much apprehended, would not come to pass, yet this should not derogate from his judgement, who pretended to no power of vaticination; the same thing was apprehended also by others, and those the principal writers of that age, as we are informed by the following passage of this Essay, where Swift alludes to Steele, "who," he says, "pursues the same design, under the title of Spectator." "This author," he adds, "who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it: so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I had the happiness to converse with; and, therefore, I imagine that such a society would be pretty unanimous in the main points."

According to Swift's opinion, "the period wherein the English tongue received most improvement, commenced with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and concluded with the great rebellion in forty-two." "It is true," he adds, "there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under King James I. but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent Prince, was a great patron of learning." He attributes to two great works of this period a merit to which they are indeed justly entitled, I mean the Book of Common-prayer and the translation of the Bible now in use, which he thinks, "being perpetually read in churches, have served for a standard of the English language ever since," "and I doubt," he adds, "whether the alterations, since introduced, have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that simplicity, which is one of the greatest perfections of any language." It is to be observed, however, that a great part of the former work, and that not the least meritorious, was executed before the period of time which Swift has set down as the era of its composition.

Mr. Walter Scott does not place in a right point of view, Swift's sentiments upon this subject: he says that Swift conceives "the *golden period* of our language to have been from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, until the breaking out of the civil war in 1642." The reader has the passage above, and I believe he will not find any such words therein; Swift says, the English tongue "received *most improvement* during that time," but this is different from calling it "the golden period;" which latter words imply a state of absolute perfection, not of improvement; the same author speaks of the "quaint affectations which then prevailed and which have since become obsolete;" to this I answer, that they became obsolete before the expiration of that period; besides they never did prevail, generally, and the best dramatic productions, or at least the best parts of those productions are more free from them than any such kind of writings which have appeared since that period. "The subsequent enlargement of science has rendered," says Mr. Scott, "a proportional addition to our vocabulary altogether indispensible"—"and this gradual progress of improvement, of enlargement at least, must continue to influence our language until the pitch of national improvement shall be attained and passed, &c." but "there needs no ghost to tell us this;" neither is it at variance with the principles of that author to whose opinions it has the semblance of being written in reply. Nay, Swift sets out with saying, that "all agree, that nothing would be of greater use towards the improvement of knowlege and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, *enlarging* and ascertaining our language." To impede, by such fetters, all improvement of our national tongue, was no part of his scheme; with as little justice, should we say a monarch's power of extending his dominions was abridged by one who should council him to take care of those whereof he was already possessed.

treasurer Oxford, which was published in May 1712.[f] This work is by no means an erudite performance[g]; it displays no great knowledge of the history of languages in general, nor exhibits proof of much insight into the nature of the English tongue in particular; however, the science of philology was not, at that time, much cultivated, and it is probable that Swift knew as much of the matter as any other person of that period: he had experience of the uncertainty and instability of the language in which he wrote; of this, indeed, almost every English writer, from the time of Chaucer, has complained: the corruptions too, which had crept in, during the half century that immediately preceded the age wherein he lived, had generated in his mind frightful apprehensions. Swift's dread of a total revolution, in the constitution of the English language, occasioned this pamphlet, which failed, at that time, of effect, but the object has been, since, in a great degree, happily accomplished, by those means, which have improved the political constitution and commercial advantages of the same nation; the general good sense of its inhabitants, and their rational desire for perpetually progressive improvement.

Thus lived Swift, the friend and associate of Harley and of St. John, to whom he was their councellor in all matters of moment,[h] the moderator of their disputes, and

But the following passage, quoted from this Essay, will set the matter in a clear point of view; and the reader will from thence plainly discover, that the evil which Swift apprehended and meant to guard against, was not, any enlargement of the language, as to its vocabulary, but such sort of alteration as might render the works of good writers obsolete or unintelligible, purely by a change in the fashion or mode of expression.

The passage to which I allude is as follows:

"But when I say, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterward antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for; because then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsick worth, and not thrown aside on account of unintelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time, as the latter. What Horace says of words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely neeessary, or if it were, what would have become of his 'monumentum ære perennius?"

Dr. Johnson passes judgement, in his usual offensive, dogmatical way, upon this scheme of Swift's: "the certainty and stability," says the philosopher, "which, contrary to all experience, Swift thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would, in a short time, have differed from itself."

The passages above quoted are sufficient to prove that Swift did not meditate any thing more than what subsequent experience and the labours of one individual, I mean those of Dr. Johnson himself, has proved to be attainable: with regard to the objections comprised in the latter part of the sentence, they apply with equal force against any other human ordinance; but I believe it was never admitted to be a fair objection to the enactment of a statute, that the time might come when it should be necessary to alter or repeal it.

Various answers to this proposal, were published, "all tending to impugn the authority of the institution, ere it was yet embodied:" and this reception, says Mr. Scott, "might have convinced the author for what a refractory class of subjects he was proposing a legislation and constitution." Life of Swift, page 153.

[f] Mr. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, on the 24th of May 1711, and had the treasurer's staff presented to him on the 29th. Mr. St. John was created Viscount Bolingbroke, on the 7th July 1712.

[g] It ought, however, to be considered, that almost the whole of this letter was written at one sitting. In his letter to Stella, dated 21st February 1711-12, Swift writes, "I have been six hours to-day morning writing nineteen pages of a letter to Lord-treasurer, about forming a society, or academy to correct and fix the English language; it will not be above five or six more. I will send it him to-morrow, and will print it, if he desires me." On the following day, he writes, "I finished the rest of my letter to Lord-treasurer to-day, and sent it to him, about one."

[h] In a poem of Swift's, intitled, "The Author upon Himself," written 1713, are the following lines, expressive of his intimacy with the most secret affairs of these ministers.

"And now, the public interest to support,
By Harley Swift invited comes to court;
In favour grows with ministers of state;
Admitted private, when superiors wait:
And Harley, not asham'd his choice to own,
Takes him to Windsor in his coach alone.
At Windsor Swift no sooner can appear,
But St. John comes and whispers in his ear:
The waiters stand in ranks; the yeomen cry,
Make room, as if a duke were passing by.
"Now Finch * alarms the lords; he hears for certain
This dangerous priest is got behind the curtain.
Finch famed for tedious elocution, proves
That Swift oils many a spring which Harley moves.
Walpole and Aislaby, † to clear the doubt,
Inform the commons, that the secret's out:
'A certain doctor is observed of late,
To haunt a certain minister of state:
From whence with half an eye we may discover
The peace is made, and Perkin must come over."

* Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham.
† They spoke against him in the house of commons.

likewise, the partaker of their most intimate convivial relaxations, to which last he was, not unfrequently, admitted, when all others were excluded. Amidst these several relations, he maintained, scrupulously, the character of an independent friend[i]: when a pecuniary recompence was tendered to him, as a remuneration for his literary labours,[k] he spurned at the offer, and even rejected the first advances of Harley towards a reconciliation; "I was deaf," says he, in his letter to Stella, "to all entreaties, and have desired Lewis to go to him, and let him know, that I expected farther satisfaction. If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them. He promises to make me easy, if I would but come and see him; but I will not, and he shall do it by message, or I will cast him off." A few months after he well nigh quarreled with the secretary, because he appeared cool to him, which conduct Swift at first apprehended did arise from caprice: on the 3d of April, he writes to Stella as follows: "I called at Mr. Secretary, to see what the D—— ailed him on Sunday; I made him a very proper speech, told him I observed he was much out of temper; that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better; and one thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a school-boy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already, (meaning Sir William Temple,) that I expected every great minister, who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or saw any thing to my disadvantage, would let me know in plain words, and not put me in pain to guess by the change or coldness of his countenance or behaviour; for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned head, and I thought no subject's favour was worth it; and that I designed to let my Lord-keeper and Mr. Harley know the same thing, that they might use me accordingly. He took all right; said I had reason; vowed nothing ailed him but sitting up whole nights at business, and one night at drinking; would have had me dined with him and Mrs. Masham's brother, to make up matters; but I would not. I don't know, but I would not." This is the spirit which Lord Orrery is pleased to call intractable; "he assumed," says the peer, "more the air of a patron than of a friend: he affected rather to dictate than advise."[l] His temper was assuredly not so tractable as that of the Earl himself, who, during Swift's life, supplicated anxiously to be admitted to his friendship, and submitted to the humiliation which he, of necessity, experienced, from comparison of the small stature of his own mind with that of this gigantic genius, in whose presence the adventitious distinction of his superior rank became as nothing; however, upon the death of that friend, he took ample revenge for this voluntary degradation, by detracting from his well earned fame by a false and most injurious libel.

[i] The Earl of Oxford, immediately after his elevation to the peerage, proposed that Swift should be his Chaplain, but this he refused; in his History of the four last years of the Queen, he says, "I absolutely refused to be Chaplain to the Lord-treasurer, because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependance; and, on the 25th May 1711, he communicates to Stella an account of this proposal, but adds, "I will be no man's chaplain alive."

[k] This matter, which so much offended Swift, was an offer of a bank-note of fifty pounds; he says, in his letter to Stella, of 7th Feb. that he "disliked both the thing and the manner."

[l] Letter IV.—Every thing that Lord Orrery says in that letter, upon this subject, implies somewhat of contradiction. In the lines which follow those I have here quoted, he says of Swift, "he was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence: he enjoyed the shadow; the substance was detained from him: he was employed, not trusted." In the same letter, a few lines before, he says, it "will redound to the honour of Dr. Swift, that when he rose into the confidence and esteem of those great men, who sat at the helm of affairs, during the last years of Queen Anne's reign, he scarce ever lost himself, or grew giddy by the plenitude of power, and the exalted station of frequently appearing in the confidence and favour of the reigning minister." Here he is, in the compass of a few lines, said to be in confidence and not in confidence, elated and not elated, more than advising, even dictating and yet, after all, not trusted: whenever the Earl praises Swift, it is with a sort of detraction that reminds us of Iago's words.

"Though I do hate him as I do hell-pains,
Yet, for necessity, ————————
I must shew out a flag and sign of love,
Which is indeed but sign."

It is quite manifest that the peer was envious, because Swift's talents had obtained for him an influence, which his own rank could not for himself. Although it is unnecessary, after what is

Swift, who disdained to solicit [m] the reward he had so well earned, began, however, at length to feel, and to express some signs of disappointment, when he saw, that, amidst the numerous church preferments daily disposed of, not one was conferred upon him, the chief pillar of their cause: we are not to infer, from hence, that his ministerial friends were unwilling to serve him; the real obstacle was the queen's own prejudices, which had been much heightened by the suggestions of her spiritual counsellor, Dr. Sharpe, Archbishop of York, [n] who had represented the Tale of a

elsewhere mentioned, to disprove his Lordship's assertions, that Swift possessed no share of ministerial confidence, yet it may not be quite impertinent to notice here the advice given by Lord-keeper Harcourt, to a place-man of inferior note, "to take care what he did; for," said he, "Dr. Swift is not only all our favourite but our governor." Letter to Stella, 7th Oct. 1711.

[m] Swift has been highly extolled by some of his cotemporaries, for his disinterestedness in not pursuing, with eagerness, his private interest. Dr. Johnson calls this "a strain of heroism, which would have been, in his condition, romantic and superfluous: ecclesiastical benefices," he observes, "when they become vacant, must be given away; and the friends of power may, if there be no inherent disqualification, reasonably expect them." Indeed it appears probable that Swift thought so himself; although he did not absolutely serve for hire, yet it can not be supposed that he was so totally uninfluenced by all the motives which usually excite us to action, as to seek no legitimate reward for whatever services it might be in his power to render. His first literary efforts, in favour of Harley's administration, were, however, performed without any immediate view to personal benefit: were I to cite all the passages that might be adduced, from his confidential letters to Stella, in proof of this fact, I should overwhelm the reader with a number of quotations, which are unnecessary, because a more decided proof of his tardiness, in respect to the advancement of his own temporal interest, can be adduced. It has been animadverted upon by his early friend, Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin, in two letters, which are extant among Swift's works: from the first of these, dated 1st September 1711, I shall quote the following passage.

"I promised to say something as to your own affairs; and the first thing is, not to neglect yourself on this occasion, but to make use of the favour and interest you have at present to procure you some preferment that may be called a settlement. Years come on, and after a certain age, if a man be not in a station that may be step to a better, he seldom goes higher. It is with men as with beauties, if they pass the flower, they grow stale, and lie forever neglected. I know you are not ambitious; but it is prudence, not ambition, to get into a station, that may make a man easy, and prevent contempt when he grows in years. You certainly may now have an opportunity to provide for yourself, and I entreat you not to neglect it." Swift's works, Vol. XV. page 439.

If this letter proves that Swift was diffident in pressing his own claims upon the ministers, the remark he makes to Stella upon the letter itself, shows how small his expectations from them were, at that time; for he appears to have considered the Archbishop's letter as an excuse for not himself contributing towards his promotion; "did I tell you," he writes, "of the Archbishop of Dublin's last letter? he had been saying in several of his former, that he would shortly write to me something about myself, and it looked to me as if he intended something for me: at last out it comes"—"a rare spark this, with a pox! but I shall answer him as rarely. Methinks he should have invited me over, and given me some hopes or promises: but hang him! and so good night." Those who know the extent of the Archbishop's patronage at that time, need not to be informed, that the best benefice in his gift would have been a small remuneration for the services which Swift rendered to the ministry. In another passage of the journal he mentions, as the height of his prospects, some addition, from the Duke of Ormond, to his benefice of Laracor. The other letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, to which I allude, is dated Nov. 1st, 1711, and commences with the following passage upon the same subject.

"Reverend Sir,

"I have considered that part of your letter that relates to your concerns. I find you, in earnest, very indifferent as to making your fortune; but you ought not to be so, for a weighty reason you insinuate yourself, that you cannot, without a settlement, be master of your time in such a manner, as to apply yourself to do something that may be useful to the church. I know it is not in your power to do it when you please: but something may be done toward it. Get but a letter to the government, from my lord-treasurer, for the first good preferment, and you will, at the same time, fill it with a good man, and perhaps prevent a bad one from getting into it. Sure there is no immodesty in getting such a recommendation. Consider that years grow upon you; and, after fifty both body and mind decay." Swift's works, Vol. XV. page 451.

From the passages just now quoted it appears, that Swift did not press the subject of his own promotion, either very strenuously or very unreasonably, upon his ministerial friends; from those which follow we may learn the motives which urged him, first to wish, and finally to demand, that a preferment, some way suited to the figure he had made in public life, should be conferred upon him.

First, he thought it would not be creditable to retire without some mark of distinction or favour; in his letter to Stella of 5th April 1711, he says, "I have been used barbarously by the late ministry; I am a little piqued in honour to let people see I am not to be despised." Again he writes, 23d May, "I am kept here by a most capricious fate, which I would break through, if I could do it with decency or honour. To return without some mark of distinction, would look extremely little; and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am."

Secondly, he was desirous, as he says in the passage last quoted, to be "somewhat richer." I have shewn, in page 241, that Swift's livings did scarcely produce a clear income of 200*l.* yearly; his other property, whatever it might be, could not exceed the principal sum of 500*l.* We may easily imagine the privations to which he must have been daily subjected, when we compare this small income with the ample possessions of those with whom he lived in habits of intimacy and equality: to maintain the character of independance amongst noblemen and ministers of state, with means so circumscribed, was not to be accomplished but by continual perseverance in a system of rigorous œconomy, which could not have been less painful because it was necessary. Indeed it appears so ludicrous to offer excuses for an humble Irish vicar seeking for preferment, that, were it not for the scandal with which his detractors have endeavoured to overwhelm him upon this account, I would have thought it impertinent to dwell so long upon such a subject. Had his wishes for promotion originated in motives merely selfish, which was not however the case, I apprehend, for the reasons above alledged, they would have been, nevertheless, excusable.

[n] Swift was sensible of the cabal against him, which he has thus described in a poem, entitled "The Author upon Himself."

"York is from Lambeth sent, to shew the queen
A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen;
Which, by the style, the matter, and the drift,
'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.

Tub as a ridicule upon religion, and the author as an infidel, whose profligate levity was unbecoming a member of the sacred order of the priest-hood; it is generally believed, that this ingenious tract, to which Swift owes in a great measure his post-humous fame, was the chief impediment to his promotion when alive; the remark of Atterbury, made while the author was yet unknown, proved in a great degree prophetic; "he hath reason," he writes to Bishop Trelawny, "to conceal himself, because of the profane strokes in that piece, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than his wit would do him good."

But Swift's zeal to serve the interests of his ministerial friends, created a much more formidable impediment to his own promotion; much of that obstinacy which they experienced in the queen, and of that opposition which they had to encounter in the upper house of parliament, was supposed to arise from the influence of the Duchess of Somerset. Swift meditated, by holding up the favourite as an object of ridicule, to render her contemptible, both to the public and to her mistress; in a poetical tract, stiled, "The Windsor Prophecy,"[o] he accused the Duchess of being privy to the murder of her husband, and, what was worse, ridiculed her for the redness of her hair. The prophecy was printed, several copies were distributed to the society of Brothers, but Mrs. Masham, desirous to suppress what might offend the Queen, with prudent policy prevented the further publication. The see of Hereford became vacant, there is little doubt but that Swift was recommended to the vacant mitre, but the Duchess of Somerset prevailed on the Archbishop of York to oppose it, whose remarkable expression to the Queen was, "That her Majesty should be sure that the man, whom she was going to make a bishop, was a christian;" least this insinuation, grounded only in a surmise, should be ineffectual, the Duchess threw herself on her knees before the Queen, entreated, with tears in her eyes, that she would not give the bishoprick to Swift, and, at the same time, presented to her Majesty the copy of verses he had written against her: the Queen, upon reading them, was stung with resentment; as a mark of her displeasure she passed by Swift, and gave the bishoprick to another. [8]

Swift, at length, became sensible of the secret influence which barred his promotion, and being informed that three Irish deaneries, a canonry of Windsor, and other church preferments were disposed of, he determined, finally, to retire from the service of the ministry; "I will contract no more enemies," he says in his letter to Stella, "at least I will not embitter worse those I have already;" this resolution produced the desired effect; the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Ormond planned

[8] Sheridan's Life of Swift.

Poor York! the harmless tool of other's hate;
He sues for pardon, and repents too late."
"Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows
On Swift's reproaches for her ******* spouse:
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear instils."

And again, in the poem on his own death, written in 1730, Swift alludes to the impediments which he threw in the way of his own promotion.

"Had he but spar'd his tongue and pen,
He might have rose like other men."

Jonathan Smedley, in his petition to the Duke of Grafton, has two lines to the same effect; alluding to Swift, he says,

"And were he less a witty writer,
He might as well have got a mitre."

[o] The lines of the "Windsor Prophecy," which allude to the Duchess of Somerset, are the following:

"And, dear Englond, if ought I understond,
Beware of *Carrots*[1] from Northumberlond.
Carrots soon *Thynne*[2] a deep root may get,
If so be they are in *Somer set*:
Their *Conyngs mark*[3] thou; for I have been told,
They *assassine* when young, and *poison* when old.
Root out these Carrots, O *thou*,[4] whose name
Is *backwards* and *forwards* always the same;
And keep close to thee always that name,
Which *backwards* and *forwards* is almost the same,[5]
And, Englond, wouldst thou be happy still,
Bury those *Carrots* under a *Hill*.[6]

[1] Duchess of Somerset, designated by this appellation, because of the redness of her hair. [2] Thomas Thynne, Esq. her second husband, who was shot by a contrivance of Count Koningsmark, her third husband. [3] Count Koningsmark. [4] ANNA. [5] MASHAM. [6] Lady Masham's maiden name was Hill.

and executed the removal of Dr. Stearne, from the deanery of St. Patrick's to the bishoprick of Dromore, in order to obtain that dignity for Swift,[p] who was thus enabled to console his pride with the consideration, that he had caused a mitre to be conferred upon one, who had no interest to get it for himself, in order to make way for his obtaining the deanery of the metropolis of Ireland.

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[p] The following account, which exhibits the whole progress of this negociation, is extracted from Swift's letters to Stella, commencing the 13th, and ending the 23d of April 1713.

" 13.—This morning my friend, Mr. Lewis, came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better, I believe, than he expected. I bid Mr. Lewis tell my Lord-treasurer, that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the Queen would do nothing for me. At noon, lord-treasurer hearing I was in Mr. Lewis's office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him I had nothing to do but go to Ireland immediately; for I could not, with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately given to me. We dined together at the Duke of Ormond's. He there told me, he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me, might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to-night; but I believe him not. I told the Duke of Ormond my intentions. He is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St. Patrick's; but, I believe nothing will come of it, for stay I will not; and so I believe for all our **** **** you may see me in Dublin before April ends. I am less out of humour than you would imagine: and if it were not, that impertinent people will condole with me, as they used to give me joy, I would value it less. But I will avoid company, and muster up my baggage, and send them next Monday by the carrier to Chester, and come and see my willows, against the expectation of all the world.—What care I? Night, dearest rogues MD."

" 14.—I dined in the city to-day, and ordered a lodging to be got ready for me against I came to pack up my things; for I will leave this end of the town as soon as ever the warrants for the deaneries are out, which are yet stopped. Lord-treasurer told Mr. Lewis, that it should be determined to-night: and so he will say a hundred nights. So he said yesterday, but I value it not. My daily journals shall be but short till I get into the city, and then I will send away this, and follow it myself; and design to walk it all the way to Chester, my man and I, by ten miles a day. It will do my health a great deal of good. I shall do it in fourteen days. Night, dear MD."

" 15.—Lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to-day. I was as good company as ever: and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. The dispute is, Windsor, or St. Patrick's. I told him I would not stay for their disputes, and he thought I was in the right. Lord Masham told me, that Lady Masham is angry I have not been to see her since this business, and desires I will come to-morrow. Night, dear, MD."

" 16.—I was this noon at Lady Masham's, who was just come from Kensington, where her eldest son is sick. She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen and lord-treasurer. The poor lady fell a shedding tears openly. She could not bear to think of my having St. Patrick's, &c. I was never more moved than to see so much friendship. I would not stay with her, but went and dined with Dr. Arbuthnot, with Mr. Berkeley, one of your fellows, whom I have recommended to the doctor, and to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Mr. Lewis tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has been to-day with the queen; and she was content, that Dr. Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I, dean of St. Patrick's; but then out came lord-treasurer, and said, he would not be satisfied, but that I must be prebendary of Windsor. Thus he perplexes things. I expect neither; but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that, if I had my choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's. Lady Masham says, she will speak to the purpose to the queen to-morrow. Night, dear MD."

" 17.—I went to dine at Lady Masham's to-day, and she was taken ill of a sore throat, and aguish. She spoke to the queen last night, but had not much time. The queen says she will determine to-morrow with lord-treasurer. The warrants for the deaneries are still stopped, for fear I should be gone. Do you think any thing will be done? I don't care whether it is or no. In the mean time, I prepare for my journey, and see no great people, nor will see lord-treasurer any more, if I go. Lord-treasurer told Mr. Lewis it should be done to-night; so he said five nights ago. Night, MD."

" 18.—This morning Mr. Lewis sent me word, that lord-treasurer told him the queen would determine at noon. At three lord-treasurer sent to me to come to his lodgings at St. James's, and told me the queen was at last resolved, that Dr. Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I dean of St. Patrick's; and that Sterne's warrant should be drawn immediately. You know the deanery is in the Duke of Ormond's gift; but this is concerted between the queen, lord-treasurer, and the Duke of Ormond, to make room for me. I do not know whether it will yet be done; some unlucky accident may yet come. Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; and I confess, I thought the ministry would not let me go; but perhaps they can't help it. Night, MD."

" 19.—I forgot to tell you, that lord-treasurer forced me to dine with him yesterday as usual, with his Saturday company; which I did after frequent refusals. To-day I dined with a private friend, and was not at court. After dinner Mr. Lewis sent me word, that the queen staid till she knew whether the Duke of Ormond approved of Sterne for a bishop. I went this evening, and found the Duke of Ormond at the cock-pit, and told him, and desired he would go to the queen, and approve of Sterne. He made objections, and desired I would name any other deanery, for he did not like Sterne; that Sterne never went to see him; that he was influenced by the archbishop of Dublin, &c.; so all is now broken again. I sent out for lord-treasurer, and told him this. He says all will do well; but I value not what he says. This suspence vexes me worse than any thing else. Night, MD."

" 20.—I went to-day, by appointment, to the cock-pit, to talk with the Duke of Ormond. He repeated the same proposals of any other deanery, &c. I desired he would put me out of the case, and do as he pleased. Then, with great kindness, he said he would consent; but would do it for no man alive but me, &c. And he will speak to the queen to-day or to-morrow: so, perhaps, something will come of it. I can't tell. Night, own dear MD."

" 21.—The Duke of Ormond has told the queen he is satisfied that Sterne should be bishop, and she consents I shall be dean; and I suppose the warrants will be drawn in a day or two. I dined at an ale-house with Parnell and Berkeley; for I am not in humour to go among the ministers, though Lord Dartmouth invited me to dine with him to-day, and lord-treasurer was to be there. I said I would, if I were out of suspense. Night, dearest MD."

" 22.—The queen says warrants shall be drawn, but she will dispose of all in England and Ireland at once, to be teased no more. This will delay it some time; and, while it is delayed, I am not sure of the queen, my enemies being busy. I hate this suspense. Night, dear MD."

" 23.—I dined yesterday with General Hamilton: I forgot to tell you. I write short journals now. I have eggs on the

1713—Swift set out early in June 1713, to take possession of his new dignity, and was installed [q] in the cathedral, on the 13th day of the same month. After the bustling scene which he had quitted, this, of comparative seclusion which he now entered upon, proved very unpalatable; "at my first coming," says he, "I thought I should have died with discontent, and was horribly melancholy while they were installing me, but it begins to wear off, and change to dulness [9]:" he stayed but a fortnight in Dublin, during which time he was confined to his chamber by illness, [r] arising, perhaps, from the fatigues of his journey; this encreased not a little the gloom of his mind, and made him slight the civilities which were, upon this occasion, shewed to him; the visits, he complains, "were paid, all to the Dean and none to the Doctor."

But, in truth, Swift had more than one cause for melancholy reflexions; the deanery was far from being a clear benefice; he was obliged to pay, for the house eight hundred pounds, [s] for first-fruits one hundred and fifty, which sums, with the expense of the patent, amounted to one thousand pounds, "so that," as he remarks, "I shall not be better for the deanery these three years." [t] Conceiving himself

9 Letter to Vanessa, 8 July 1713.

spit. This night the queen has signed all the warrants, among which Sterne is bishop of Dromore, and the Duke of Ormond is to send over an order for making me dean of St. Patrick's. I have no doubt of him at all. I think 'tis now past. And I suppose MD is malicious enough to be glad, and rather have it than Wells. But you see what a condition I am in. I thought I was to pay but six hundred pounds for the house; but the bishop of Clogher says eight hundred pounds; first-fruits one hundred and fifty pounds, and so, with patent, a thousand pounds in all; so that I shall not be the better for the deanery these three years. I hope, in some time they will be persuaded here to give me some money to pay off these debts. I must finish the book I am writing, before I can go over; and they expect I shall pass next winter here, and then I will drive them to give me a sum of money. However, I hope to pass four or five months with MD whatever comes of it. **** I received your's to-night; just ten weeks since I had your last. I shall write next post to Bishop Sterne. Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he. I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well and gently in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind. The Archbishop of York, my mortal enemy, has sent, by a third hand, that he would be glad to see me. Shall I see him, or not? I hope to be over in a month, and that MD, with their raillery, will be mistaken, that I shall make it three years. I will answer your letter soon; but no more journals. I shall be very busy. Short letters from henceforward. I shall not part with Laracor. That is all I have to live on, except the deanery be worth more than four hundred pounds a year. Is it? If it be, overplus shall be divided *****, beside usual *****; Pray write to me a good-humoured letter immediately, let it be ever so short. This affair was carried with great difficulty, which vexes me. But they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop, in spite of all the world, to get the best deanery in Ireland. Night, dear MD."

[q] The following verses, which are not without some merit, were by Jonathan Smedley, Dean of Clogher, Swift's eternal enemy; they are published in the Gulliveriana, page 77, and are there said to have been "fixed on the cathedral door, the day of *Dean Gulliver's* installment."

To-day, this temple gets a Dean,
Of parts and fame, uncommon;
Used, both to pray, and to prophane,
To serve both God and Mammon.

When Wharton reign'd, a Whig he was;
When Pembroke, that's dispute, Sir:
In Oxford's time, what Oxford pleas'd;
Non-Con, or Jack, or Neuter.

This place he got by wit and rhime,
And many ways most odd;
And might a bishop be, in time,
Did he believe in God.

For high-church men and policy
He swears, he prays, most hearty;
But wou'd pray back again, wou'd be
A dean of any party.

Four lessons! Dean, all, in one day,
Faith! it is hard, that's certain:
'Twere better hear thy' own Peter say,
G-d d——n thee, Jack and Martin.

Hard! to be plagu'd with Bible, still,
And Prayer-book before thee;
Hadst thou not wit, to think at will,
On some diverting story?

Look down, St. Patrick, look, we pray,
On thine own church and steeple;
Convert thy Dean, on this great day;
Or else God help the people!

And now, whene'er his deanship dies,
Upon his tomb be 'graven;
A man of God here buried lies,
Who never thought of Heaven."

[r] Swift's illness continued for some time: in his letter to Archbishop King, dated from Trim, the 16th of July, he writes, "I have been about five weeks in this kingdom, but so extremely ill, with the return of an old disorder in my head, that I was not able to write to your grace; I have been the greatest part of that time at my country parish, riding every day for my health."

[s] Or six hundred pounds, according to Lyon's MS. being two third parts of what had been expended on the house by his predecessor.

[t] In his Imitation of Horace's seventh Epistle, Book I. Swift draws a humorous comparison between what he was, when first introduced to Harley, and when elevated to the deanery,

intitled to a reward for his services, at least equal to what he had obtained, exclusive of the charge of induction, he petitioned the Lord-treasurer for a grant of that sum, which, by reason of the Queen's death, he never obtained although it was promised, and an order actually issued for it. Swift's situation was therefore truly embarrassing; "unjustly," the late editor of his works remarks, "has his solicitude on this subject been quoted, as derogating from the high tone of independence assumed by him, on refusing the sum formerly offered by the treasurer; it has been alledged, that both cases were exactly parellel, unless in so far as the amount made a difference, but it must be considered, that three years of public service being remunerated by a preferment, in every respect beneath his pretensions, and attended with such immediate expense as must have embarrassed for life a man of less oeconomical habits, the grant of a sum of money, to render such a situation immediately productive, could no more be considered as an eleemosynary gratuity, than the acceptance of the deanery itself, could be termed inconsistant with his having refused to be Lord Oxford's chaplain. Such grants have frequently been made in every department of the public service, and differ widely from the secret service-money doled out to party writers from time to time, in proportion to the satisfaction which they afford their patrons." [1]

Swift was not long permitted to cultivate his willows at the vicarage of Laracor; every post brought letters of summons from his Tory friends, anxiously soliciting his return. The dissentions, which had long existed between the two chief members of the administration, [u] encreased during the absence of their common friend; the

[1] Scott's Life of Swift, page 202.

through his interest, by which he proposed to shew that he was not enriched by being promoted. The following lines, in the beginning of the poem, are descriptive of himself:

"The priest was pretty well in case,
And show'd some humour in his face;
Look'd with an easy, careless mien,
A perfect stranger to the spleen;
Of size that might a pulpit fill,
But more inclining to sit still."

With this he contrasts the following description of himself when promoted to the deanery.

"Suppose him now a dean complete,
Demurely lolling in his seat;
The silver verge, with decent pride,
Stuck underneath his cushion side; *
Suppose him gone through all vexations,
Patents, instalments, abjurations,
First-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats;
Dues, payments, fees, demands, and cheats—
The wicked laity's contriving
To hinder clergymen from thriving.
Now all the doctor's money spent,
His tenants wrong him in his rent;
The farmers, spitefully combined,
Force him to take his tithes in kind,
And Parvisol † discounts arrears
By bills for taxes and repairs."
"Poor Swift, with all his losses vex'd,
Not knowing where to turn him next,
Above a thousand pounds in debt,
Takes horse, and in a mighty fret
Rides day and night at such a rate,
He soon arrives at Harley's gate;
But was so dirty, pale, and thin,
Old Read ‡ would hardly let him in."
"Said Harley, "Welcome, reverend Dean!
What makes your worship look so lean?
Why, sure you won't appear in town
In that old wig and rusty gown?
I doubt your heart is set on pelf
So much, that you neglect yourself.
What! I suppose now stocks are high,
You've some good purchase in your eye?
Or is your money out at use?"—
"Truce, good my lord, I beg a truce,"
(The Doctor in a passion cried)
"Your raillery is misapplied;
Experience I have dearly bought;
You know I am not worth a groat:
But you resolved to have your jest,
And 'twas a folly to contest;
Then, since you now have done your worst,
Pray leave me where you found me first."

* These lines seem, almost, to have been imitated by Smedley, in those two following, of his epistle to the Duke of Grafton; Gulliveriana, page 108. Alluding to Swift, he says,

"But now, St. Patrick's saucy Dean,
With silver verge, and surplice clean."

† The Dean's Agent. ‡ Porter to the Lord-treasurer.

[u] These dissentions commenced in 1711: so early as August, in that year, we find Swift exercising the office of a mediator; "Do you know," he writes in his journal of the 15th, "that I have ventured all my credit, with these great ministers, to clear some understandings between them; and if there be no breach, I ought to have the merit of it?" Again, on the 27th, "the Whigs whisper, that our ministry differ among themselves, and they begin to talk out Mr. Secretary; they have some reason for their whispers, although I thought it was a greater secret. I do not much like the posture of things; I always apprehended that any falling out would ruin them, and so I have

active mind of the ambitious St. John never well accorded with that of his colleague, who, solicitous to engross all ministerial power, was in his motions [v] slow, and in his temper uncommunicative. Trusting to the influence of Swift to heal these differences, Mr. Lewis began, early in July, to solicit his return; so soon as the 9th of that month, the following lines were written, which prove that his absence was at that time sensibly felt. "I heartily wish you were here," writes this trusted friend of Oxford and of Swift, "for you might certainly be of great use to us, by your endeavours to reconcile, and by representing the infallible consequences of these divisions." Again he writes, on the 6th of August, "I have so often, and in so pressing a manner, desired you to come over, that if what I have already said has no effect, I shall despair of better success by farther arguments."—"You and I have already laid it down as a maxim, that we must serve Lord-treasurer without receiving orders or particular instructions; and I do not yet see a reason for changing that rule; his mind has been more communicated to you than any other." [w] Swift obeyed this last summons with alacrity; leaving Laracor he arrived in Dublin, where, on the 18th of August, he met his chapter, for the first time after his installation, and, on the 27th, having nominated Dr. Edward Syng his Sub-dean, he embarked for England: in his haste he neglected to take leave of the Archbishop of Dublin, who was so much provoked at this slight, that he declared openly he would compel him to reside at his deanery, a measure which he endeavoured, some years after, to put in practice, [x] when, at his visitation of the cathedral, he demanded a proxy for the Dean, who was at that time absent. [y]

told them several times." In October 1712, he writes, "I have helped to patch up these people together once more, GOD knows how long it may last." In his "Inquiry into the behaviour of the Queen's last ministry," he blames their common friends for having "too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle." "To say the truth," he adds, "most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side, or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself."

[v] Swift often rallied him upon those failings, for, to Swift alone the mysterious Harley was communicative and unreserved. To his slowness he alludes in the following lines of "The Faggot."

"Come Courtiers: every man his stick!
Lord-treasurer, for once be quick."

In another poem, entitled, "Atlas; or, the Minister of State:" he rates him upon the subject of his chief error, that of wishing to engross the whole management of public affairs; it was by this failing that he alienated the affections of all his associates: the lines, which are as follows, are, however, highly complimentary, and shew with what grace, Swift could point out their faults to his ministerial friends.

"Atlas, we read in ancient song,
Was so exceeding tall and strong,
He bore the skies upon his back,
Just as the pedlar does his pack;
But, as a pedlar over press'd
Unloads upon a stall to rest,
Or, when he can no longer stand,
Desires a friend to lend a hand;
So Atlas, lest the ponderous spheres
Should sink, and fall about his ears,
Got Hercules to bear the pile,
That he might sit and rest a-while.
Yet Hercules was not so strong,
Nor could have borne it half so long.
Great statesmen are in this condition;
And Atlas is a politician,
A primer minister of state;
Alcides one of second rate.
Suppose then Atlas ne'er so wise;
Yet, when the weight of kingdoms lies
Too long upon his single shoulders,
Sink down he must, or find upholders."

[w] This passage of Mr. Lewis's letter proves the falsity of Lord Orrery's remark, that Swift was "employed, but not trusted."

[x] At a visitation of the cathedral, held in 1727, the Archbishop insisted on a proxy from the Dean, and adjourned the visitation, entering at the same time a rule, "that a proxy be exhibited within a month." Swift wrote, hereupon, from London, a letter to his Grace, dated 18th of May, in which he says, "If your Grace can find, in any of your old records, or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a dean of St. Patrick's, you will have some reason to insist upon it; but, as it as a thing wholly new and unheard of, let the consequences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any. It is only through them that you visit me; and my sub-dean is to answer for me.—My proceeding shall be only upon one maxim; never to yield to an oppression, to justify which no precedent can be produced.—My Lord, I have lived, and by the grace of GOD will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds; and I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due."—On the 24th of June, he wrote upon the same business to Sheridan, "I writ long ago my thoughts to my viceroy, and he may proceed as he shall be advised. But if the Archbishop goes on to proceed to *sub pœna contemptus*, &c. I would have an appeal at proper time, which. I suppose, must be to delegates, or the crown, I know not which. However, I will spend a hundred or two pounds, rather than be enslaved, or betray a right which I do not value three pence, but my successors may." From a subsequent letter to the same person, we learn, that Swift had, at that time, the king's letter of licence for absence.

[y] It was in agitation to choose Swift prolocutor of the house of convocation, but his absence was an insuperable bar to his being elected. In his letter to Archdeacon Walls, dated 13th

Soon after Swift's arrival in London, he entered upon the business of mediation[z] with some success, and became likewise immersed, as deeply as ever, in political controversy; his chief adversary, at this time, was Steele,[a] who, in the fifty-third number of his periodical work, entitled, "The Guardian," wantonly commenced this literary war: that publication was attacked by Swift, in his "Importance of the Guardian considered:" Steele's pamphlet, named "The Crisis," called forth Swift's "Public spirit of the Whigs;" in both of which publications he treats his adversary with violent personal abuse.

Although, in this quarrel, Steele was the aggressor, yet he seems to have been struck with terror when he saw the tremendous weapon of his antagonist brandished over his head; in the following passage he endeavours to excuse the faintness of his own efforts, and at the same time to deprecate the vengeance of his too powerful adversary; "I forbear," he says, "giving him what he deserves, for no other reason, but that I know his sensibility of reproach is such, as that he would be unable to bear life itself, under half the ill language he has given me."

In his former publications Swift turned the edge of his satire against individuals or parties, but in the "Public spirit of the Whigs," he brandished the sword against the whole nation of the Scots, whom he calls "a poor, fierce, northern people:" the measure of a union with them, he says, was thought expedient, not for any

October, 1713, he thus expreses himself; "As to the chair of prolocutor, I dislike the thing for myself; but I would keep a wrong man out, and would be glad of an honest excuse to leave courts and public thoughts; but it would vex me to be proposed, and not succeed." On the 20th he communicated, to the same gentleman, his thoughts more at large. See Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 88, &c. However, the Irish convocation did not meet, nor have they been ever convened since the year 1710.

[z] One of his efforts, to reconcile the conflicting parties, was his poem, entitled, "The Faggot." The fable and its moral are familiar; its application to the members of the administration is comprised in the following lines:

"Come, courtiers: every man his stick!
Lord-treasurer, for once be quick:
And that they may the closer cling,
Take your blue ribbon for a string.
Come, trimming Harcourt, * bring your mace:
And squeeze it in, or quit your place:
Dispatch, or else that rascal Northey †
Will undertake to do it for thee:
And be assured, the court will find him
Prepared to leap o'er sticks, or bind them.
To make the bundle strong and safe,
Great Ormond, lend thy general's staff:
And, if the crosier could be cramm'd in,
A fig for Lechmere, King, and Hambden!
You'll then defy the strongest whig
With both his hands, to bend a twig;
Though with united strength they all pull,
From Somers, down to Craggs and Walpole."

* Lord Chancellor.—† Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-general.

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[a] As Mr. Steele was the only one of his early literary associates, towards whom Swift afterwards expressed any sentiments of permanent disregard, (for, between Swift and Addison, party differences operated no farther than to occasion a temporary suspension of friendly intercourse;) it will not, perhaps, be deemed matter of indifference to ascertain, to which of these quondam friends this estrangement of affections ought to be attributed. It cannot be doubted, that his intimacy with the ministers had scarce ripened into friendship, before Swift drew largely upon his stock of credit with them, in behalf of this his countryman: we learn from his Journal to Stella, dated 22d Oct. 1710, that it was through means of his intercession that Steele was permitted to retain his post of Commissioner of Stamp-duties. Notwithstanding this important piece of service, Steele took offence at something that was hinted to his prejudice in the Examiner, which paper was not then conducted by Swift. Without making any remonstrance, or seeking explanation, he published the 53d number of the Guardian, wherein he charged Swift with infidelity, and coupled him ignominiously with Mrs. Manley, as joint writers of the Examiner, and, in the same sentence, declared the character of the latter infamous. Thus was the first blow struck by Steele. Against this preposterous conduct Swift remonstrated, at first calmly, in his letter to Addison, dated 13th May, 1713. "If I am not author of the Examiner," he writes, "how will Mr. Steele be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude, and injustice? Is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? Has he never heard that the author of the Examiner, (to whom I am altogether a stranger,) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me as a friend? Have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my Lord-treasurer has kept him in his employment upon my entreaty and intercession? My Lord Chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke will be witnesses, how I was reproached by my Lord-treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. Steele made to his lordship's indulgence." To this, Steele, six days after, returned an answer; how full of insult the reader may judge from the following specimen.—"Mr. Addison shewed me your letter, wherein you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the Examiners." Even to this insulting answer, Swift made a temperate reply. He begins by relating all the particulars of his intercession with the ministers in favour of Steele, and terminates this remarkable letter with the following words: "Be pleased to put these questions to yourself: If Dr. Swift be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? and how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that a sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of him in print, under my hand, without any provocation? And how do I know but he may be

for any actual good it could possibly do to the English, but, to avoid a probable evil; because they had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but, in hopes to make their advantage, had retained the power of putting themselves under a different king: it had, moreover, been rendered necessary by the weakness and corruption of a late minister, who obtained for them an act of parliament, which gave them leave to arm themselves. [b] It was observed by the author of the Crisis, "that the late kingdom of Scotland had as numerous a nobility as England, &c." Swift fastened upon this passage, which gave him a favourable opportunity of ridiculing that people by a ludicrous contrast; for the Scottish nation he felt but little kindness, their popular religion was not only materially different from his own, but the professors of each, were, at that time, often opposed one to the other, and their politics were generally adverse to that of the party which he espoused: to the argument of, advantage from a numerous nobility, he answers, "To that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union, upon the foot it now stands: their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants, as she found in his house."—"The pensions and employments," he adds, "possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home."—"I could point out some, with great titles, [c] who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace; and have since gathered more money, than ever any Scotchman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of." These injurious expressions were resented by the upper house of parliament, and Barber, the printer, was ordered into the custody of the Black-rod; when he was examined, he demurred to answer any question that might criminate himself: Lord Wharton, thereupon, moved that the printer

in the right, when he says I was kept in my employment at his interposition? If he never once reflected on me the least in any paper, and has hindered many others from doing it, how can I justify myself, for endeavouring in mine, to ruin his credit as a christian and a clergyman?"

See more of this correspondence in Swift's works, Vol. XVI. page 67, &c. In the postscript to Swift's last letter, dated 27th May, he reminds Steele, "that in the only thing he ever published with his name, (his letter upon correcting, &c. the English tongue,) he took care to celebrate him as much as he could, and in as handsome a manner." In the passage alluded to, he distinguishes Steele as the "ingenious gentleman, who, for a long time, did thrice a week divert and instruct the town by his papers;" and as an "author who has tried the force and compass of our language with success." See Swift's works, Vol. IX. page 358.

Though Swift behaved with remarkable temperance at the outset, he did not decline this challenge, but effectually chastised the insolence of Steele, not only in the two pamphlets mentioned in the text, but in others likewise, of which an account will be given in a future page of this volume.

[b] He alludes to the act of security, as it was called, which provided, that in case of the Queen's death without issue, a Scottish parliament should meet to provide for the security of the kingdom. This act moreover stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of succeeding to both kingdoms, unless a free communication of trade, and the benefit of the navigation act, were extended to Scotland. Swift alludes more particularly to the two following clauses, whereof, one provided that those inhabitants, who were capable of bearing arms, should be enrolled and drilled, the other vested the prerogative of declaring peace and war, in the estates, instead of the crown exclusively.

[c] He is supposed here to allude, principally, to the Duke of Argyll, who had, before this time, quarrelled with the ministers, and supported in parliament a bill for dissolving the union, under pretence it had been infringed on by the English.

As his Grace did, at first, join the ministry, Swift lived for some time in habits of intimacy with him; but his lordship changed sides as soon as it became his interest so to do; indeed his joining with that party is attributed to no very pure motive, envy of the Duke of Marlborough's military success. In his remarks on the characters drawn by Mackey or Davis, Swift stigmatizes the duke as an "ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot; who has no principle, but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct." Swift's Works, Vol. X. page 317.

There is a letter from Swift to the Duke of Argyll, dated 20th Jan. 1712-13, from which it appears that there had been some difference between them at that time. See Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 46.

and his servants should be freed from personal consequences, to the intent that they might become instrumental in discovering the author; this measure, had it been carried, would have been fatal to Swift; he was saved, however, by the Lord-treasurer, who, with affectation of great sincerity, reprobated those expressions which had engaged the attention of the house, and then, with pretended zeal, directed prosecution against Barber, personally; by this artifice he removed the only evidence whereby the author could be discovered. The resentment of the Scottish nobles was not so easily allayed; they went in a body to the Queen, and required, that satisfaction should be made to them for the insult they had received; a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred pounds, [d] was accordingly issued, which, it was however secretly determined, should not be paid, [e] and Barber the printer was indemnified with a sum of money, sent to Swift by the Lord-treasurer, in a letter written in a counterfeited hand. [f]

From the letters which passed between Swift and the persons highest in rank and office in Ireland, Primate Lindesay, [g] Lord-chancellor Phipps, the Archbishop of Dublin and others, we discover that he was in a great measure vested with ministerial authority in matters which related to that kingdom, nothing of consequence being done without his advice: both his friends and enemies expected his elevation to the episcopal bench, but there is no evidence of his having directly solicited any such preferment; his anxious wish to obtain materials for his history of the peace of Utrecht, induced him, however, to memorial the Queen for the place of Historiographer Royal, an office, not worth seeking for the sake of its emoluments, which he probably might have obtained, had he deigned to solicit it from the regular patron, the Lord High Chamberlain; but that nobleman, not having received a personal application from Swift, conferred the office on one of his own dependants. [h]

The mutual dissentions between Oxford [i] and Bolingbroke rose soon after to a very high pitch, and Swift, finding his utmost efforts to compose those differences

[d] In the poem, entitled, "The Author upon Himself," Swift alludes to this transaction.

"Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows,
On Swift's reproaches for her ******* spouse;
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear instils.
The queen incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot.
Now through the realm a proclamation spread
To fix a price on his devoted head.
While innocent, he scorns ignoble flight;
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight."
Swift's Works, Vol. X. page 396.

[e] A person offered to give information to the lord-treasurer, relative to the writer, provided he was assured of the reward. See the letter in Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 127.

[f] This letter is published in Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 126.

[g] Primate Lindesay's letter of 5th Jan. 1713-4, suggests to Swift several promotions to the bench of Irish bishops, and particularly, requests that he would move for Dr. Hamilton's succeeding him in Raphoe, from whence he had lately been translated. The Earl of Anglesea writes, 16th of same month, "you are very kind to us in your good offices for Mr. Phipps, because a mark of favour so seasonably, as at this time, conferred on lord-chancellor's son, will have a much greater influence, and reach farther than his lordship's person." Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. pages 119 and 129.

[h] Thomas Madox, Esq. author of the "Firma Burgi," "History of the Exchequer," and other works. This diligent and enlightened antiquary has done credit to the judgement of his patron; scarcely could a stain be attached to his memory, had he actually preferred him to Swift, whose talents, as an historian, may very reasonably be questioned.

[i] The relative degrees of estimation, in which Swift held those two friends, may be traced from several passages in his works; his opinion of their public characters, as ministers, from his political tracts upon the subject of the Oxford administration, and the proportion of affection he bore to each, from his private correspondence.

In one of those tracts the following passage occurs, wherein he contrasts the characters of these statesmen. "The Minister," by whom he means the Earl of Oxford," had stronger passions than the Secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the Earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness: and, upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation." Other passages might be cited, which bear testimony of Swift's high opinion of the ministerial talents of Lord Bolingbroke; of his lordship's friendship for himself, he seems, from the following passage in a letter to Vanessa, to entertain some doubt. "I am not of your opinion about Bolingbroke; perhaps he may get the staff, but I cannot rely on his love for me." Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 202. Lord Orrery remarks how seldom Swift compliments him; he writes, "I

ineffectual; to avoid the disagreeable necessity of taking part with one friend against the other, formed a resolution to remove from the seat of discord.[k] After a last inefficient attempt at a mediation, he set out, from Windsor, for the house of Mr. Gery,[l] at Upper Letcombe, near Wantage, in Berkshire: this event, which took place in the latter end of May 1714, excited great surprize, and occasioned much

cannot recollect one poem, nay, scarce a couplet, to his noble patron, Lord Bolingbroke." The propriety of calling him Swift's patron is not indeed quite manifest.

But Swift's friendship for the Lord-treasurer Oxford knew no bounds. "How dearly Swift loved that statesman," writes Mr. Scott," in whom there were many qualities deserving of such attachment, appears from a thousand expressions in his letters and journal. The despair which he expresses at his being wounded by Guiscard is like that of a brother mourning for a brother. Swift retained to his dying-day, as a sacred relic, the pen-knife with which the wound was inflicted." It appears however, from several passages in his journal, that the Lord-treasurer did not, in his estimation, rank high as a politician. The following letter, addressed to the Earl from his retirement at Letcombe, lets us fairly into the secret of Swift's opinion of the public conduct of that minister, and exhibits a remarkable proof of the sincerity of his friendship; this letter, dated 1st July 1714, is as follows.

"My Lord,

"When I was with you, I have said more than once, that I would never allow quality or station made any real difference between men. Being now absent and forgotten, I have changed my mind: you have a thousand people who can pretend they love you, with as much appearance of sincerity as I; so that, according to common justice, I can have but a thousandth part in return of what I give: and this difference is wholly owing to your station: and the misfortune is still the greater, because I always loved you just so much the worse for your station; for, in your publick capacity, you have often angered me to the heart; but, as a private man, never once. So that, if I only look toward myself, I could wish you a private man to-morrow: for I have nothing to ask; at least nothing that you will give, which is the same thing: and then you would see whether I should not with much more willingness attend you in a retirement, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at London or Windsor. From these sentiments I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private person, or allow myself to have been obliged to you in any other capacity."

"The memory of one great instance of your candour and justice, I will carry to my grave: that having been in a manner domestic with you for almost four years, it was never in the power of any public or concealed enemy, to make you think ill of me, though malice and envy were often employed to that end. If I live, posterity shall know that, and more: which, though you, and some-body that shall be nameless, seem to value less than I could wish, is all the return I can make you. Will you give me leave to say how I would desire to stand in your memory? As one, who was truly sensible of the honour you did him, though he was too proud to be vain upon it: as one, who was neither assuming, officious, nor teasing; who never wilfully misrepresented persons or facts to you, nor consulted his passions when he gave a character: and lastly, as one, whose indiscretions proceeded altogether from a weak head, and not an ill heart. I will add one thing more, which is the highest compliment I can make, that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am now in any pain for the manner I write to you in. I have said enough; and, like one at your levee, having made my bow, I shrink back into the crowd.

I am, &c.

Jon. Swift."

Neither was the Earl's affection lest ardent; on 27th July, the very day he retired from office; he wrote to Swift a letter, from which I quote the following passage.

"If I tell my dear friend the value I put upon his undeserved friendship, it will look like suspecting you or myself. Though I have had no power since July 25, 1713, I believe now, as a private man, I may prevail to renew your license of absence, conditionally you will be present with me; for to-morrow morning I shall be a private person. When I have settled my domestic affairs here, I go to Wimple; thence alone, to Herefordshire. If I have not tired you *tete-a-tete*, fling away so much time upon one who loves you. And I believe, in the mass of souls, ours were placed near each other."

Dr. Lyon, in a passage of his MS additions to Hawksworth's life, informs us, that when the Earl of Oxford was under persecution, Swift wrote some observations upon a pamphlet, entitled, "The Conduct of the Lord-treasurer impartially considered;" but, whether they were ever published or not, the Doctor professes himself ignorant. There was published in 1715, (the date, however, of the "Imprimatur," is 16th Oct. 1714,) a work, entitled, "A Second Tale of a Tub; or, the History of Robert Powel, the puppet show-man," which reflects severely, not only upon the Earl, who is designated by the name of Robert Powel, and the other members of the Queen's last ministry, but likewise upon the Queen herself. I was so fortunate as to procure a copy of this tract, illustrated with marginal notes, and a key, written by Swift, in his own hand, at the sale of the late Mr. Jos. Cooper Walker's library: as the hand-writing was not known to be Swift's, and the article not attended to, I obtained it for the trifling sum of fifteen pence. Swift exhibits no very ill temper in his remarks, except where the author makes free with the character of the late Queen; against such passages he exclaims with great indignation: at the foot of the frontispiece of another copy of the same tract, likewise in my possession, are the following words in MS. "ex dono authoris, G. Ducket." Ducket was one of the Dunciad heroes; he threatened to cudgel Pope because he mentioned him as loving Burnet with "a pious passion," but he was appeased by the poets changing the obnoxious words, in a subsequent edition, to, "cordial friendship."

[k] He concludes his poem, entitled, "The Author upon Himself," with the four following lines:

"By faction tired, with grief he waits a while,
His great contending friends to reconcile;
Performs what friendship, justice, truth require:
What could he more, but decently retire?

[l] In his letter to Miss Vanhomrigh, dated the 8th June, Swift describes his mode of living whilst at Letcombe.

"I am at a clergyman's house, whom I love very well; but he is such a melancholy thoughtful man, partly from nature, and partly by a solitary life, that I shall soon catch the spleen from him. Out of ease and complaisance, I desire him not to alter any of his methods for me; so we dine exactly between twelve and one. At eight we have some bread and butter, and a glass of ale; and at ten he goes to bed. Wine is a stranger, except a little I sent him; of which, one evening in two, we have a pint between us. His wife has been this month twenty miles off, at her father's, and will not return these ten days. I never saw her; and perhaps the house will be worse when she comes. I read all day, or walk; and do not speak so many words as I have now writ, in three days: so that, in short, I have a mind to steal to Ireland; unless I find myself take more to this way of living, so different, in every circumstance, from what I left. This is the first syllable I have writ to any body since you saw me. I shall be glad to hear from you, not as you are a Londoner, but as a friend; for I care not three pence for news, nor have heard one syllable since I came here. The

speculation among the party writers of the day.[m] In his retirement he composed, "Free thoughts on the present state of affairs;" this pamphlet was, with great precaution, sent, under a feigned name, to Barber the printer, who brought it to his patron, Lord Bolingbroke; that statesman, desirous of making it suit his own purposes, inserted many things unfavorable to the credit of his adversary; Swift was soon apprised of these alterations, which accorded not with his determinations of neutrality, he therefore recalled the manuscript, the publication of which was, accordingly, for that time, abandoned.

Upon the fall of Oxford[n] the favour of Swift was early solicited by the incipient ministry; Lady Masham's letter, of the 29th of July, contains at once an account

Pretender, or Duke of Cambridge, may both be landed, and I never the wiser: but if this place were ten times worse, nothing shall make me return to town, while things are in the situation I left them. I give a guinea a week for my board, and can eat any thing." Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 141.

[m] A Grub-street tract, entitled, "The Hue and Cry after Dean Swift," was published upon this occasion; it pretends to be a copy of his own diary, found in his pocket book; it has some humour, and some of the incidents are, perhaps, in a slight degree characteristic of his manner of living; as a specimen I shall insert the transactions of the first two days.

Thursday.

"Waked with the head-ache. Said no prayers that morning. Drest immediately. Looked confounded rakish. Repeated verses whilst I was washing my hands. Resolved (whilst I was putting on my gowns) to ridicule the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, after dinner at my Lord Bolingbroke's. Went to drink tea in York buildings. The earl looked queerly. Left him in an huff. Bid him send for me when he was fit for company. Took coach to Lord Harry's. The viscount looked whimsically. Left him. Promised to sup with him at the earl's. Drove to the cocoa-tree. Sate till one, musing and thinking of nothing. Plagued for half an hour with three impertinent puppies, an Irish lord, an English colonel, and a Scotch gamester. Retired into a private corner, where a whim came into my head which I will shortly give the world an account of. Went to dine at the George with two papists, three jacobites, and a tory. Damned the cook: liked the wine. No wit. All politics. Settled the succession. Fixed the place, and time, and manner of his landing. Went to my lodgings at five. Slept. Writ an examiner. Supped at York buildings. Earl and Lord Harry part in dudgeon and division. Displeased with all that happened. Go home pensive. resolve upon some odd and new schemes of life. Spent ten shillings. Take a dram. Go to bed."

Friday.

"Resolve to fast. Send a note to church to pray for the conversion of a great sinner. Read the Bible. Find that no man can serve two masters; and that an house divided against itself cannot stand. Consider of these words; When ye hear of these things flee unto the mountains. Begin a sermon upon this text, Be as wise as serpents. Throw it aside, and read Toland's Art of Restoring, and my own Meditation upon a Broom-stick. Received a silly letter from Ireland. Walk in my room for two hours. Loll on my couch for two hours. Take a manual for devotion in my hand, but say extempore prayers. Mightily given to ejaculations. Don't like the Lord's prayer. Think often of Steele and Tom Wharton. Eat at six; dress; loiter. Hum a tune till eight. Give a farthing to a poor man. Pay my barber. Put on a new pair of gloves. Go to St. James's. Don't like things. Confirmed concerning the animosities between the Earl and Lord Harry. In a quandary. Go to the club of ugly faces. Some wit. Much impiety. Drink hard. Am treated. Expences one shilling. Mem. This-day-month I had clean sheets." Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 227.

[n] Several of Swift's pieces, written in defence of Harley's administration, have been already noticed; I shall, however, attempt to furnish the reader with a connected list of those publications, although it must of necessity be imperfect, because we cannot ascertain, otherwise than by some imperfect hints thrown out in his letters to Stella and elsewhere, which of the anonymous publications of that period were by him. Swift seldom deigned openly to acknowledge, even the most celebrated productions of his pen; it cannot, therefore, be supposed, that he should feel great anxiety about determining his share of property in those minor pieces, for none of which he ever had any degree of permanent esteem.

I. Of his prose works, written at this period of time, the most considerable was—

The Examiner, a weekly paper; which has been already noticed in page 257. Of these the 13th was the first, and the 45th the last number, contributed by Swift.

The comparative degrees of estimation in which this periodical work, and its opponents, the Whig-Examiner and the Medley were held, at the time they appeared, may be fairly ascertained by the following account extracted from a pamphlet, printed in May 1711, entitled, "The present State of Wit." This piece proposes to give a character of all the papers of the day. Swift, in his letter to Stella, of 14th May 1711, expresses an opinion, that Steele and Addison were privy to the publication of this tract; "the author of which," he says, "seems to be a Whig."

"The Examiner is a paper which all men, who speak without prejudice, allow to be well written. Though his subject will admit of no great variety, he is continually placing it in so many different lights, and endeavouring to inculcate the same thing by so many beautiful changes of expression, that men who are concerned in no party may read him with pleasure. His way of assuming the question in debate is extremely artful; and his letter to Crassus is, I think, a masterpiece. As these papers are supposed to have been written by several hands, the critics will tell you, that they can discern a difference in their styles and beauties, and pretend to observe, that the first Examiners abound chiefly in wit, the last in humour."

"Soon after their first appearance, came out a paper from the other side, called the Whig-Examiner, written with so much fire, and in so excellent a style, as put the Tories in no small pain for their favourite hero. Every one cried Bickerstaff must be the author; and people were the more confirmed in this opinion upon its being so soon laid down, which seemed to shew that it was only written to bind the Examiners to their good behaviour, and was never designed to be a weekly paper. The Examiners, therefore, have no one to combat with at present, but their friend the Medley; the author of which paper, though he seems to be a man of good sense, and expresses it luckily enough now and then, is, I think, for the most part, perfectly a stranger to fine writing. I presume, I need not tell you, that the Examiner carries much the more sail, as it is supposed to be written by the direction, and under the eye, of some great persons who sit at the helm of affairs, and is consequently looked on as a sort of public notice which way they are steering us. The reputed author is Dr. Swift, with the assistance sometimes of Dr. Atterbury and Mr. Prior."

"The Medley is said to be written by Mr. Oldmixon, and supervised by Mr. Maynwaring who perhaps, might entirely write those few papers which are so much better than the rest." Scott's Life of Swift. Appendix, page L.

of that event, and a warm invitation to the Dean, to assist them with his councils; "I own," she writes, "it looks unkind in me not to thank you, in all this time, for your sincere kind letter; but I was resolved to stay till I could tell you the Queen had got so far the better of the Dragon, as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind, because my dear mistress is not well, and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the treasurer, who, for three weeks together, was teazing and vexing her without intermission,

An adequate description of the contents of this celebrated publication could not be given within the compass of a few lines. The *quantum* of service it rendered to the ministry may be calculated by perusing the 16th number, which attempts a task no less arduous than that, of reconciling the nation to the degradation of a successful general, and to the termination of a prosperous war. How admirably is the following passage calculated to convert the then prevailing sensations, of affection for their general on account of his success, into the opposite sentiments, of jealousy and distrust because of his power. Alluding to the charge of ingratitude, which it had been insinuated was shewn to the Duke of Marlborough by the queen, because, when she changed her ministers, she discarded two persons allied to the General by marriage, he says, "Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight unless they can have their own lord-keeper, their own president of the council, their own parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve."

The same paper exhibits a comparison between the rewards conferred upon the Duke of Marlborough, and those supposed to be conferred upon a Roman general; it is entitled, "A bill of Roman gratitude and English ingratitude," and must have had very considerable effect; nothing can be more imbecile than the parody on it, contained in the 19th number of the Medley. It was perhaps this paper that caused the Duke of Marlborough to say, that "there was nothing he desired so much as to contrive somehow to soften Dr. Swift."—Letter to Stella, 8th January, 1711–2.

The Examiner remarkably excels in the aptness of its quotations. It would not, I apprehend, be easy to select passages more appropriate than those which Swift has chosen upon each occasion; that from Lucan, prefixed to the first number, applies happily to the subject of the war, alludes likewise to the debt which had been contracted on that account, and insinuates, that it had no advocates but those who personally profited by it.

"Hinc usura rapax, avidumque in tempore foenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

II. "Not satisfied," says Mr. Scott, "with directing his artillery on the main body of the enemy, Swift singled out for his aim particular and well-known individuals; Wharton, whose character laid him too open to such an attack, was the first of those victims." Besides three papers in the Examiner, the 13th, 17th and 22d, where his character is reprobated under the name of Verres, (the most infamous governor, except himself, of whom any history bears record,) he published a tract, entitled,

"A short Character of his Excellency Thos. Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with an account of some smaller facts during his government, which will not be put into the articles of impeachment."—This tract is dated, London 30th August 1710. It was not, however, printed, nor perhaps written, until the month of December in that year.

In his letter to Stella, dated 8th December 1710, Swift announces the publication of this piece. "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against Lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some of his actions: the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's lodgings, and I had one or two of them, but nobody knows the author, or printer." Again, 1st Jan. "The character is reckoned admirable; but most of the facts are trifles. It was first printed privately here; and then some bold cur ventured to do it publicly, and sold two thousand in two days: who the author is must remain uncertain. Do you pretend to know, impudence? How durst you think so?"

For more reasons than one, Swift hated the Earl of Wharton; he was odious to him on account of the profligacy of his character, and his hatred of the clerical order; Swift emphatically describes him, as "a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion;" to these causes of dislike was superadded, his infamous conduct as chief governor of Ireland. From what is mentioned in his "History of the four last years of Queen Anne" it appears, that Ireland was given up to him to pillage. "He had," says Swift, "contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right."

III. "Some Remarks upon a pamphlet, entitled, 'A Letter to the seven Lords of the committee appointed to examine Greg;' by the author of the Examiner."

This Greg was a clerk in the secretary of state's office, in the year 1708, when Mr. Harley held that employment; he was a vicious and necessitous person, who, having access to many official papers, which were not taken as much care of as they ought, was tempted to enter into a treasonable correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, to betray the secrets of the British government to France. He was soon detected, and a committee of seven lords, all zealous Whigs, was appointed to examine him. The members of this committee were, of course, anxious to criminate Mr. Harley, and to prove him accessary, in some way, to the crime of his clerk: accordingly, Greg underwent many examinations, even after he had been tried and condemned: he was reprieved from time to time, and thus stimulated, by the fear of death, to accuse the secretary; but he never varied from his original declaration, that he had no accomplices, and, even in his dying speech he exculpated Mr. Harley by name, which, as Dr. Hawksworth shrewdly remarks, he would have scarce thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made upon him. To this declaration there was not given that publicity which is usual on such occasions. Greg was executed in April 1709.

When Harley was wounded by Guiscard, Swift revived, in the 32d and 33d numbers of the Examiner, this story of Greg; and a parallel was drawn by him between the conduct of the seven Whig-lords and Guiscard, both having attempted, though after different manners, to take away the life of that statesman. An answer to the Examiner appeared in the Medley, Number 26.

The Letter, to which this pamphlet was written in answer, attempted to exculpate the Whig lords from what was insinuated against them in the Examiner, and likewise in a tract which very directly urged the charge of subornation: this latter piece was entitled, "Secret Transactions during the hundred days Mr. William Greg lay in Newgate, under sentence of death for high treason:" it was written by one Francis Hoffman, and records the solicitations that had been

and she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last, (27 July). I must put you in mind of one passage in your letter to me, which is, 'I pray GOD send you wise and faithful friends to advise you at this time, when there are so great difficulties to struggle with.' That is very plain and true; therefore will you, who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than any body, and given wise advice (if that wretched man had had sense enough and honesty to have taken it) I say, will you leave us and go into Ireland? No, it is impossible; your goodness is still the same, your charity and compassion for this poor Lady, who has been barbarously used, would

used towards Gregg, and gives his dying declaration, wherein he exculpated Mr. Harley. See somewhat of Francis Hoffman in "Noble's continuation of Grainger," Vol. II. page 365; it does not, however, appear, that he knew of the pamphlet here mentioned.

Swift alludes to these remarks in his letter to Stella, dated Aug. 24, 1711—"There is a pamphlet come out, in answer to a letter to the seven lords who examined Greg; the answer is by the real author of the Examiner, as I believe, for it is very well written."

IV. "A New Journey to Paris: together with some Secret Transactions between the French King and an English Gentleman. By The Sieur du Baudrier. Translated from the French."

The ministers had been secretly carrying on negociations for a peace, which were discovered by the following untoward accident. Mr. Prior, who was the person trusted upon this occasion, came over from France in a small vessel, and having landed at Deal, was detained by the custom-house officers. When questioned who he was, he told a wrong name, to prevent being discovered; but, being recognised by one of the officers, they kept him in custody, till they should receive instructions form the secretary. This mishap placed the ministers in an aukward predicament; they were forced, because of the insight which the public had thus obtained into the matter, either to acknowledge or deny the negociation: but Swift's mind, ever fertile in expedients, devised the following mode of diverting the public attention, which, without communicating a syllable of real intelligence, answered the several purposes of "amusing the idle, confusing the suspicious, and sounding the temper of the nation at large, upon the subject of a negociation."

Swift notifies to Stella, on the 31st August 1711, his intention of writing this pamphlet. "I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you, that it is known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day, and I will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take."

On the 11th of September, he announces its publication. "This morning the printer sent me an account of Prior's journey; it makes a two-penny pamphlet; I suppose you will see it, for I dare engage it will run; 'tis a formal lie, from the beginning to the end."—"Mr. Secretary sent to me to dine where he did; it was at Prior's; when I came in, Prior shewed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, here is our English liberty. I read some of it, and said I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought; for had it come into my head, I should certainly have done it myself." Of its success, the same journal bears testimony; on the day following he writes; "The printer tells me he sold yesterday a thousand of Prior's Journey, and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite." It appears, the conclusive part was not by him; for, on the 13th, he writes to Stella; "The two last pages, which the printer got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil the rest."

"There are few, even of Swift's more celebrated writings," says Mr. Walter Scott, "in which the peculiarity of his grave humour is more conspicuous. The affected Gallicisms and blunders, with respect to the most common and notorious points belonging to his English *dramatis personæ*, mark the genius of a people who think nothing belonging to their neighbours worthy of being learned with accuracy. Writing, too, in the character of a French valet, who was desirous of representing himself as a secretary, and who, in declaring the menial offices in which he was employed, affects to have condescended to them solely from his own obliging temper. Swift has displayed, without much exaggeration, all the whimsical conceit of such a character. There is great ingenuity also, in chusing such a person as the narrator of an imperfect tale. A real secretary must have been able, if willing, to have told much of the secret, and an ordinary English attendant would have known nothing of the matter. But Mons. du Baudrier's supposed situation removed him from real confidence; while the meddling and inquisitive disposition, proper to such a coxcomb, might make him likely enough, both to glean up, and to communicate, such shreds and patches of information, as Swift thought it advisable to detail in the "New Journey to Paris." Swift's Works, Vol. IV. page 208.

V. "Some Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club. In a Letter from a person of honour."

In his letter to Stella of 18th January, 1711-12, Swift writes; "I have made Ford copy out a small pamphlet, and send it to the press, that I might not be known for author; 'tis a letter to the October Club, if ever you heard of such a thing." On the 21st, he writes. "I dined to day in the city, where my printer shewed me a pamphlet, called Advice to the October Club, which he said was sent him by an unknown hand; I commended it mightily; he never suspected me; 'tis a two-penny pamphlet." Again, on the 23d; "I was to-night at Lord Masham's; Lord Dupplin took out my new little pamphlet, and the secretary read a great deal of it to lord-treasurer; they all commended it to the skies, and so did I, and they began a health to the author. But I doubt lord-treasurer suspected; for he said, this is Dr. Davenant's style; which is his cant when he suspects me: but I carried the matter very well." It seems, from the following passage of 28th January, that it was not so popular, at first, as Swift expected: "The little two-penny Letter of Advice to the October Club does not sell; I know not the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell. You know that is usual to writers, to condemn the judgment of the world: if I had hinted it to be mine, every body would have bought it, but it is a great secret." However, a few days after, it grew more into demand. On the 1st Feb. he informs Stella, "The pamphlet of Advice to the October Club begins now to sell."

But Swift's affection for this production was not of that wayward sort which he humorously describes it to be, and which some authors are said, like some parents, to entertain for the least worthy of their offspring. The Advice to the October Club is, as Mr. Scott observes, "indeed finely written, and well calculated to answer the purpose of the author. The secrets of state, which could not be spoken out, are decently insinuated: he hints the Queen's affection for the Duchess of Somerset, by means of which, many belonging to the routed party found support or protection; threatens them with the increasing power of the Whigs, the common enemy to them and the ministry; and cajoles them with the prospect of a gradual dismissal of the obnoxious office-holders, when their places should be filled up with the true friends of church and queen. In fine, the tract threw upon the state of parties and

not let you do it. I know you take delight to help the distressed; and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here; and do not believe us all alike to throw away good advice, and despise every body's understanding but their own. I could say a great deal on the subject, but I must go to her, for she is not well." Neither did Bolingbroke relax his endeavours to conciliate Swift; besides writing in terms expressive of the sincerest friendship, he, during his short ministry of three days, manifested an active zeal for his service, by obtaining the Queen's signature to an order on the treasury, in his

politics a sort of dubious twilight, particularly calculated for exercising the intellects of country gentlemen over their October ale; for, although these worthy members of the community cannot exist without news, the politics which are most clear and intelligible by no means afford them the greatest satisfaction." Swift's Works, Vol. IV. page 232.

VI. "Some Reasons to prove, that no one is obliged, by his principles as a Whig, to oppose the Queen: in a letter to a Whig Lord. To which is annexed, A Supposed Letter from the Pretender to another Whig Lord.

Mr. Nichols, from a MS. note of Charles Ford, Swift's intimate friend, informs us, that the Lord, to whom the first letter is addressed, was Lord Ashburnham, who married Lady Mary Butler, daughter to the Duke of Ormond. Swift alludes to this piece in his letter to Stella, of 17th June 1712. "Read the letter to a Whig lord."

The second letter is addressed to the Earl of Wharton; Swift therein retorts upon the Whigs the charge of favouring the Pretender. In his letter to Stella, of 19th July 1712, he alludes to this piece. "To day there will be another Grub; A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord. Grub-street has but ten days to live: then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half sheet at a half-penny." To this tax he humorously alludes, in the following lines of his Imitation of Horace's 7th Epistle, Book II. where he says, speaking of himself,

> "His works were hawked in every street,
> But seldom rose above a sheet:
> Of late indeed the paper stamp
> Did very much his genius cramp."

VII. "A pretended letter of thanks from Lord Wharton to the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, in the name of the Kitcat-club. To which are added, Remarks on the Bishop's preface."

About May 1712, William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, published four sermons, which he had preached during Godolphin's government, before the Queen; to these he added a preface, wherein he extolled the measures of the late administration, reprobated the peace, and reflected upon the ministers; the Whigs took active measures to circulate this tract, and for that purpose had it inserted in the Spectator, No. 384; but, upon a vote of the House of Commons, a great majority of whom were Tories, it was condemned to be burnt publicly; a sentence which was performed on the 12th of May.

The Kit-cat club, as is well known, was a society composed of the chief wits among the Whigs: as there were several latitudinarians in religion amongst them, Swift intended, by publishing this pretended letter of approbation, to cast some reflections upon the bishop's character. His Lordship was desirous too, of being thought fond of retirement; in his letter to Bishop Burnet, dated 17th June 1712, alluding to the vote, above-mentioned, of the House of Commons, he says, "I am not one that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part I confess I was uneasy." Swift wounded him, therefore, in a tender place, when he talked of his ambition. "Before I take my leave," he writes, "I cannot but congratulate your Lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the House of Commons has done your preface, by ordering it to be burnt. This will add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius."

This piece was probably one of those published by Swift, before the trade of Grub-street was prohibited, to which he alludes in his letter to Stella, of 7th August 1712. "Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's; but now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen."

Soon after the accession of George I. Fleetwood was translated to the see of Ely, for which preferment he was, perhaps, indebted to the vote of censure before alluded to.

VIII. "The Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry; in beginning and carrying on the present war."

The powerful effects of Swift's political writings are well known; not one of them appears, however, to have worked greater miracles than this celebrated tract. The uninterrupted train of success which attended the Duke of Marlborough, during his military progress, had so rivetted public attention, and engrossed popular applause, that his glory seemed to be identified with that of his native country; to dismiss him whilst the war lasted, was a measure of awful responsibility to the ministers; to employ him was equally hazardous, as every triumph of his would be an addition of strength to their adversaries; to render the war unpopular, was their only alternative; it was the purpose, therefore, of this pamphlet to persuade the nation to a peace, and "never," as Dr. Johnson remarks, "had any writer more success. The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the general and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage, when they found that 'mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed,' to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the Emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies."

The same writer concludes his observations upon this celebrated treatise, with the following sage remark: "Yet, surely, whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet with cool perusal, will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of the readers; that it operates by the mere weight of facts, with very little assistance from the hand that produced them."

In this passage Dr. Johnson expresses a doubt, that the operation of truth, which he contemptuously calls, "the mere weight of facts" should produce such powerful effects, without the assistance of irritated passions, which he therefore supposes were supplied by the readers themselves; but this is quite contrary to his own previous statement, and to every thing we know of the history of those times; for it appears, that the passions of the nation were moving them in a direction quite opposite, and it was the truth, or, if the Doctor will so have it, "the weight facts" displayed in this pamphlet, that recalled them from their error. "That is now no longer doubted," says Dr. Johnson, "of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have been continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder." The whole of Doctor Johnson's objections to this piece, are indeed levelled against

favour, for one thousand pounds, a boon which he had been in vain soliciting, from the Earl of Oxford, for near eighteen months. But the call of friendship sounded more powerfully in Swift's ear, than that of interest or ambition; from his letter to Miss Vanhomrigh, dated 1st of August, we learn what his determination was; "I am writ to," he says, "earnestly, by somebody to come to town, and join with those people now in power, but I will not do it. Say nothing of this, but guess the person. I told Lord Oxford I would go with him when he was out: and now he begs it of me, and I cannot refuse him. I meddle not with his faults, as he was a minister of state;

two qualities for which it is most admirable; in the full spirit of sophistry he censures Swift, because he had truth on his side, and because he used the simplest means to produce the most powerful effects; he was certainly not himself censurable upon any such accounts; he drew forth his own cumbrous eloquence more than once into the field of political controversy, but without any effect proportioned to the weight of metal; neither was it exercised upon the side of truth, under whose banners Dr. Johnson did not choose, always, to enlist, at least, (if we are to believe his biographer,) not always in his private conversations. I cannot quit this subject, of Dr. Johnson's remarks on Swift, without observing, with what a small degree of knowledge of an author's works, some, even great critics, think themselves qualified to decide upon their merits, or as is more frequent, their demerits; of this, although I have before quoted instances, I shall here add the following. Speaking of Marlborough, he says, "but, Swift, I suppose, did not know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him general for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of Lord Cowper, who refused the seal." There is scarcely a pamphlet published by Swift wherein he does not mention this instance of ambition in the Duke; he alludes to it, even so early as the 21st December 1710, in the 20th Number of the Examiner.

The mottoes in the title page of this piece are as appropriate as Swift's mottoes generally are; they have, indeed, in them, the characters of the work itself, pertinence and simplicity.

This tract was published, as we learn from Swift's letters to Stella, on the 27th November 1712; a second edition appeared on the 29th, which went off in five hours; a third was printed on the 3d of December; a fourth followed, and likewise a fifth, of smaller size, within the space of a few days after.

Several answers appeared almost immediately, the most remarkable was that published by Dr. Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, entitled, "The Allies and the late Ministry defended, against France, and the present Friends of France:" in four parts. "It is mentioned," says Mr. Scott, "in all the Whig tracts of the day, with an appearance of irritation suitable to the injury it had done their cause." The reader will find somewhat more upon the subject of this tract, at page 257.

IX. "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty between her Majesty and the States General; to which are added, the said Barrier Treaty, with the two separate articles; part of the counter-project; the sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Zinzendorf upon the said treaty; and a representation of the English merchants at Bruges."

This tract is a sort of continuation of the Conduct of the Allies. The author's general objections against the continental allies of Great Britain, furnished the subject matter of the former pamphlet, in this latter he confines himself solely, to the business of the Barrier Treaty; which, "at this distance of time, seems," as Mr. Scott remarks, "a most extraordinary production of diplomacy."

X. "An Appendix to the Conduct of the Allies; and Remarks on the Barrier Treaty." Published Jan. 16, 1712-13.

XI. "A compleat refutation of the falsehoods alleged against Erasmus Lewis, Esq." Feb. 2, 1712-13.

Erasmus Lewis was the intimate friend of Swift, and the confidential agent of the ministers. This tract was published on the following occasion. A person named Skelton intended to call upon Lewis, to return him thanks for passing his letter of privy seal, licensing his return from France; but he went, by mistake, to another person of the same name, who spread a report, that Skelton brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort, then with the pretender, for his great services. This account of the transaction, and his intent to publish a tract in vindication of his friend, is communicated to Stella, by Swift, in his letter of 26th Jan. 1712-13. In the same journal, on the 31st January, and 1st of February, he alludes to this piece. The mottoes prefixed to this tract are, as usual, selected with great judgement.

XII. "A Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England. By Gregory Misosarum." Published December 8, 1713.

Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, who, as Swift says, "could smell popery at five hundred miles distance better than fanatacism under his nose," previous to the publication of the third volume of his "History of the Reformation," from vanity, or rather from a motive not more commendable, the design of engrafting his political opinions upon the pages of history, thought fit to send forth a sort of introduction, in the shape of a pamphlet, which, as it preceeded a volume of a work, the greater portion of which was already before the public, was, supposing it published, solely for the purpose avowed, altogether unnecessary; it was, in truth, like the Bishop of St. Asaph's preface, a political pamphlet under a fictitious title; not, as it professed to be, an introduction to the history of past times, but, a controversial tract upon the subject of party politics: against this "Wolf in Sheep's cloathing," Swift accordingly, as soon as he discovered the cheat, raised the hue and cry with no small effect.

As the tone of irony which prevails throughout this piece is in Swift's best manner, a specimen or two cannot but be acceptable.

"I was debating with myself," he says, "whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent out upon the battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty giant there is in the castle; or whether the bishop copied this proceeding from the *fanfarronade* of Monsieur Boufflers, when the Earl of Portland and that General had an interview. Several men were appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haste toward the English camp, and cry out, *monseigneur vient, monseigneur vient:* then small parties advancing with the same speed, and the same cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareschal himself arrived. So here the Bishop (as we find by his dedication to Mr. Churchill, the book-seller,) has for a long time sent warning of his arrival by advertisements in gazettes; and now his introduction advances to tell us again, *monseigneur vient:* in the mean time we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his Lordship's real self shall think fit to appear, in the habit of a folio."

"I have seen the same sort of management at a puppet-show. Some puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at the window, to allure the boys and the rabble: the trumpeter sounded often, and the door-keeper cried a hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were just going to begin; yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before Punch himself in person made his entry."

but you know his personal kindness to me was excessive; he distinguished and chose me above all other men while he was great, and his letter to me the other day was the most moving imaginable." "It lessens not," says Mr. Scott, "the merit of this sacrifice, that, within three days, fate closed the prospects of the Tory party by the death of Queen Anne, when the accession of George I. confounded the triumphant Bolingbroke and the disgraced Oxford in common peril and proscription."

"But why, he adds, "this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another: let him appoint his hour, and make his visit, without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lackeys and pages."

Amongst the qualifications which the Bishop thinks necessary for all pastors, he mentions "that they should know the depths of Satan." "I am affraid," says Swift humorously, "it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifest reason, because, whoever had only half the cunning of the devil, would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a year."

But, upon the principles of sound reasoning, I think Swift has proved himself an over-match for this prelate; the latter seeks to create an alarm amongst the proprietors of the abbey lands, which, he insinuates, would be resumed should popery be restored, "for," he adds, "sacrilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin;" I must needs refer the reader to the original tract, for the arguments adduced by Swift upon this occasion, which exhibit a very fair specimen of his talents.

Swift's treatment of the Bishop, although it is undoubtedly severe, does not deserve to be stigmatised, at least it is not properly expressed, by the word, insult; and when we consider how great was Dr. Johnson's antipathy to him, there will remain little doubt in our minds, that he meant to fix censure, by making choice of that word, the full force of which he knew as well as any one, and could well calculate its effects, when applied to the conduct of a member of the church towards his spiritual superior. But when we consider, that the bishop was the aggressor, that in his manner of attack he was not justifiable, that it consisted, not in sound argument, but in a senseless cry against popery, Swift's conduct, whose province it was to defend the ministry by the exercise of his literary talents, will appear as defensible, perhaps, as that of the bishop himself; who, although he thought it unbecoming the episcopal dignity to write a tract avowedly political, yet did he stoop to cant, and endeavoured to raise the fanatic cry of, "no popery," when he knew there was no danger; thus did he, upon this occasion, prostitute, as far as in him lay, that high authority with which he was invested for peaceful purposes, to the exciting of public anarchy and the promotion of private interest.

In the concluding paragraph Swift takes the bishop pretty severely to task for his treatment of an adversary of his own, Henry Wharton, a learned divine, and author of the "Anglia Sacra," whom he calls, says Swift, "a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain;" this Swift declares to be, "an outrage upon the memory of the dead;" and he concludes with saying, "I meddle not with the moral part of his (the bishop's) treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself! and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe."

Upon the whole, this tract, if not the most powerful or the most humorous, is at least the liveliest of the whole set, published by Swift in defence of the Harleian administration; there is great force as well as beauty in the following remark: Alluding to the bishop's false cry of alarm, in his introduction, he says, that he is "confident nine parts in ten of those who have read it, have slept in greater security ever since. It is," he adds, "like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise that the door is fast."

XIII. "The Importance of the Guardian considered; in a second letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge. By a friend of Mr. Steele."

The demolition of Dunkirk was stipulated, upon the part of France, by the peace of Utrecht; some endeavours were made, however, to delay, if not altogether to evade the performance of this part of the contract. Monsieur Tugghe was deputed, by the inhabitants of the place, to solicit the Queen to spare, at least the harbour; this person, "with a perseverance," says Mr. Scott, humorously, "which his very name seems to imply," did not rest satisfied with a single refusal, but presented a second memorial, in reply to which, Steele, who at that time conducted the paper, entitled, The Guardian, printed, in No. 128, a letter to Nestor Ironside, signed, "English Tory," wherein he desired Mr. Ironside to inform Monsieur Tugghe, "that the British nation expected the immediate demolition of Dunkirk;" this sentence was thrice reiterated, and the whole letter was written in such a high strain of authority, that the Examiner, and another Tory publication, exclaimed against it, as insulting the Queen, and amounting to little less than treason.

Steele, however, republished the letter in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Importance of Dunkirk considered, in a Defence of the Guardian, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge;" he had been just returned one of the members for that borough, to the Parliament then about to meet. Swift, who beheld with an evil eye the recent promotion of his former friend, but now his political adversary, determined to humble the pride which had manifested itself upon this occasion, and that too, in the eyes of those persons to whom Steele owed his elevation, and before whom he was most desirous of displaying his own consequence. In this and the subsequent tracts he not only ridicules the pretensions of Steele to "interfere in the councils of princes," but attacks with inexcusable violence "the person, talents, history, and morals of his early friend."

Swift, in one passage, flings back their own arguments upon the Whigs, with considerable effect; he remarks that the bent of this discourse is, "to shew of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was;" and yet, he adds, "you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the queen, the Whigs declared it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, and fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them."

For the recovery of this pamphlet we are indebted to the exertions of Mr. Nichols, who at last obtained it with great difficulty, after having advertised for it without effect for some time: it was written by Swift, in 1713, after his return from Ireland.

XIV. "The Public Spirit of the Whigs, set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis: with some observations on the seasonableness, candour, condition, and style of that treatise."

So much has been already said upon the subject of this memorable tract, in page 272, that I feel it unnecessary to enlarge upon it in this place, any further than to relate an incident, not a little singular; that, whilst the violence of party was levelled against Swift in the house of peers, the commons expelled his adversary, Steele, from that house, for writing The Crisis, that very pamphlet which called forth Swift's answer.

There is, in this tract, a skilful piece of imagery, remarkably deserving of notice, which I shall therefore insert. Alluding

Notwithstanding the panick which had seized his party, Swift appears to have lost neither presence of mind, nor courage, he even sought to rally the dismayed and scattered forces of the Tories; hoping too, that misfortune would unite those whom success had separated, he exhorted Bolingbroke to take the field, and, fearless of per-

to the Crisis, Swift says. "In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, A miracle! a miracle! it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors: and so the cry goes round, without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the Crisis! the Crisis! not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recal their stragglers, and unite their numbers, by sound and impudence, as bees assemble and cling together by the sound of brass."

It was not in the Public Spirit of the Whigs that Swift first satirized the Scottish nation; he glances at the Scotch act of security, and the act of union, in the 19th Number of the Examiner, where he inserts a passage, pretended to be quoted from an old history of Sarmatia, "set down," as he says, "to perplex little smattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application;" the intended application was accordingly supplied by the Medley, in No. 14. The 19th Number of the Examiner was published before the death of the Earl of Godolphin, during whose administration the Scotch act of security was passed; and it must be allowed, that many ministers have lost their heads for being accessary to measures, not one hundreth part so flagitious as this appears to have been.

XV. "Some Free Thoughts upon the present state of affairs."

This tract has been already noticed in page 276. It was written by Swift, after he had retired to Letcombe, and had given up all hopes of reconciling the members of the administration: Mr. Scott remarks, that he seems, by this treatise, "to have meditated the extraordinary plan of an appeal to the public, at least to the Tory party at large, against those errors on which the administration seemed splitting asunder."

"Although Swift," says the same writer, "loved Oxford far better than Bolingbroke, and indeed better than any other man who lived, yet almost the whole censure expressed in the piece falls to the share of that statesman. His affectation of mystery, his want of confidence in his collegues, his temporising with the opposite party, and maintaining many of the Whigs in office, are noticed at length, and with some severity." Bolingbroke shares the blame with Oxford, he remarks, only in the particular of their internal dissentions; and, as he justly observes, "the measures recommended as a remedy for the imminent danger, are such as suited the headlong audacity of the former, rather than the slow and balancing policy of Harley." But the consideration of these matters may suggest a reasonable doubt, whether the tract exists in its original unaltered state, or in that to which we are told it was converted, by Bolingbroke, who wished to make it more suitable to his own political intrigues.

This pamphlet recommends very strong, and perhaps impossible, measures; it is written too, with the full impression, that the Whigs and low church men were, if not enemies to the constitution, at least so far averse from regal power, that the person of the Prince could not safely be trusted in their hands. Speaking of the army, he says, "It should well be remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen were so sanguine to express upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what theatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that, in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the mean time it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto, composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them." To prevent these ill effects, he proposes to new model the army, and chiefly the royal guards, "who," he says, "are most of them fitter to guard a prince under a high court of justice, than seated on a throne." "The peculiar hand of Providence," he adds, "has hitherto preserved her majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but since religion teaches us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those, who, by their public behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end."

It was, therefore, the criminal ambition of the Duke of Marlborough, who sought to be appointed general for life, and the indecent interference of the military in political matters, that suggested to Swift, who always dreaded the influence of a standing army, the necessity of this measure; his council was, indeed, precisely opposite to that which a late popular writer has represented it to be, who pretends, that by this passage Swift proposes, "that the Monarch should be made substantially absolute by the assistance of a military force." Edinb. Review, No. LIII. page 15.

The other point which Swift proposes is, the further security of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; he suggests, that the young Prince should to be invited to come over, and reside in England. Upon the subject of any design of the ministry to alter the succession in favour of the Pretender, he expresses a doubt, whether the opposite party, who circulated the report, did themselves believe it; he uses strong arguments to prove that, except professed non-jurors, that Prince could have but few adherents in England; and indeed the picture Swift draws of the Pretender himself, and the representation he gives of his prospects, are such as we cannot suppose to have been written by a well wisher to the house of Stuart; for the former is so unfavourable, and the latter so discouraging, that they would, had this tract been published, have produced effects quite opposite from those of gaining proselites to his party, or contributing to the success of his cause.

The four following tracts were written by Swift, after the queen's death.

XVI. "Some Considerations upon the consequences hoped and feared from the death of the Queen. August 9, 1714."

XVII. "An Inquiry in the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry, with relation to their quarrels among themselves, and the design charged upon them of altering the succession of the crown." Written in June 1715.

In the first part of this treatise Swift gives, at full length, the characters of the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Oxford, and Viscount Bolingbroke, and recounts the various dissentions which took place amongst the ministers. When this part was written, the Earl was under his trial for high treason, and the other two were attainted and in exile. Nothing can be more pathetic than the manner in which Swift alludes to the Duke of Ormond; he says, that every thing that had occurred, after the succession of the house of Hanover, fell out as was expected by the late ministry, except the attainder of that noble personage, "which," he adds, "neither they, nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and now it is done, it looks like a dream, to those who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well; and excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those, who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of

sonal hazard, offered to contribute his own services to the common cause, and to join them early the next ensuing winter. It was the magnanimity which Swift displayed that occasioned the following remarkable expression, which occurs in his friend Arbuthnot's letter to Pope; "I have seen a letter from Dean Swift,

religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to those, who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen his mistress, he committed those faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo."

The second chapter was written about a year after the first; the secret committee had then made their report, from whence it appeared, that there were no direct proofs of any design to bring in the Pretender: Swift shews, in this part, that there never was any such design; neither does he seek to withdraw himself individually from the charge, for he alledges, that such was his intimacy with the ministers, during the last four years of the queen's life, that had such a measure been in agitation it could not have been kept a secret from him.

The arguments adduced by Swift, to prove that there was no settled design ever entertained, by the queen or her ministers, of altering the succession, are too numerous and too long to be inserted here, and are moreover quite foreign to the purpose of this history, for I believe no one ever believed that Swift was privy to such a scheme, which appears, after all, to have been one of those sham plots with which this period of the History of England so much abounds.

XVIII. "Memoirs relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry in the year 1710."

This Memoir, besides the information it gives us concerning the intrigues and factions whereof it professes to treat, supplies us with some interesting facts concerning the author himself, and lets us into the secret of his own personal sentiments; it was in a great measure intended, as a vindication of his own political conduct, and to excuse the seemingly contradictory qualities which went towards the formation of his political creed; in his Sentiments of a Church of England Man he has been more full upon this subject, and has proved that, notwithstanding any seeming opposition in those principles, they were not however incompatible.

XIX. "Swift was, to the Tories," says Lord Orrery, "what Cæsar was to the Romans, at once, a Leader of their armies, and an Historiographer of their triumphs." During the period of his intimacy with the ministers, he compiled materials for a History of the Peace of Utrecht: in the year 1714, he meditated the publication of this piece, but that project was abandoned upon the accession of George I. In the year 1736 he again resolved to make it public, but was again prevented by the prudential fears of his friends. After his death, in the year 1758, it was published by an anonymous editor, who, although he has concealed his name, has been pretty communicative upon the subject of his own political opinions, which seem to have been not quite congenial to those of the author. We are informed, by Johnson, in his life of Swift, that this person was Dr. Lucas. Although this historical essay terminates abruptly with the proclamation of peace, on the 5th May 1714, the title has been nevertheless changed to that which follows, viz.

"A History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne."

This History, which Swift himself termed, "the best work he had ever written," was accordingly ushered into the world by a person, who professes himself "abstracted from all private regards," and "had long been hardily singular in condemning that great man's conduct, amid the admiring multitude;" indeed he occupies a large portion of the preface with telling us, how different his own political principles are from those of the author; a labour which he might have spared himself, as the public, who chiefly valued it as the work of Swift, could have but little concern about what might be the editor's political creed: he says too, that he prints it "for the satisfaction of the public," and insinuates as much as if it were "for the common good," which is an odd motive for publishing a pamphlet, the tendency of which he disapproves.

The editor's objections to Swift's manner of drawing characters are ill-founded; he calls them "confessedly partial" because the author declares he will give their political characters only; with like injustice he charges him with partiality, because "he more than hints at the queen's displeasure at its being moved in parliament, that the prince elector should be invited to reside in England"—"but it is always open upon the queen's insisting on the pretender's being sent out of France." In answer to this, and such like objections, I shall quote the words of Mr. Walter Scott. "Without enquiring how far Queen Anne was seriously a friend to the protestant succession, it may be here observed, that her disinclination to call over the Elector, is no proof of the contrary. What monarch would chuse to invite into his kingdom, a successor, only distantly allied to his family, and who, from the very circumstances under which he arrived, must have been necessarily the avowed head of the party which opposed the existing government?" Swift's Works, Vol. V. p. 156. But Swift himself, who, in his "Free Thoughts, &c." proposed that the young prince should be invited over, has forcibly depicted the evils, that would arise from a successor, of mature age residing in the kingdom, where he shews, that such might not be apprehended from the presence of an infant prince; this latter measure, he says, "could not, in any sort, be inconsistent with the safety of the queen: he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behaviour: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him how much more his levee was frequented, than the antechamber of St. James's." Doubtless, Swift recites here the reasons which he had heard alledged by the ministers, and they must be allowed to have been sufficiently cogent: but, had these persons been ever so well inclined, they could not have prevailed with the queen, who dreaded the presence of the Elector of Hanover above all things; this appears from her letter to the Duke of Marlborough, dated 22d July 1708, published in the "Account of the conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough." The queen alludes to an address, which she heard was designed to be moved in parliament, for inviting the electoral prince to settle in England, and a report that he would make a visit, after the campaign was over. Her Majesty directs, that the Duke should learn, if there was any design of his making such a visit, and that he should contrive some way to put it out of his head, that the difficulty might not be put on her, of refusing him leave to come if he should ask it, or forbidding him if he should attempt it. "For," she adds, "one of these two things *I must do:* it being a thing *I cannot bear*, to have any successor here, though but for a week, &c."

he keeps up his noble spirit; and, though like a man knocked down, you may behold him still with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries." But the spirit of the Tories was totally broken, and the chief leaders avowed such mutual inveteracy of hatred, that the utmost apprehensions of danger seemed ineffectual to work any reconciliation, or to unite them further in one common cause.

Although Swift did so intimately attach himself to the administration of Oxford and of Bolingbroke, that he became the advocate, to the public, of their chief political measures, yet we are not to suppose from thence, that all the acts of those ministers obtained the sanction of his entire approbation. On the subject of a peace, it is

Towards the conclusion of the preface, the editor, however, makes the *amende honorable*, by the following acknowledgment. "This work shews that he (Swift) knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian; and thus makes a history, composed rather of negociations than actions, most entertaining, affecting, and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and disagreeable."

This piece is valuable, chiefly, on account of the authentic information it contains. Swift tells us, in his own preface, that he was witness personally to every step the ministers made; never absent in business or conversation; that, besides the confidence personally reposed in him, he drew his materials from many hundred letters, written by our embassadors abroad, and from the answers, as well as instructions, sent to them by the ministers: although it may be objected, with truth, that this piece is not without partiality, and that it wants, therefore, the greatest qualification that history can have, yet this is perhaps incompatible with that degree of intimate knowledge of secret transactions which it contains, and which none can know but those who are trusted, for none are trusted but friends; the partiality which pervades this work, is not, however, any thing different from that natural bias which friendship must of necessity give rise to.

Besides the tracts above described, which are all, avowedly, by the pen of Swift, there are other prose pieces which have obtained a place amongst his works; some of them, because the facts were supplied by him, others, because he revised or corrected them, and not a few have obtained admission without any just claim or title to that distinction.

In the following account of those apocryphal pieces, I shall observe, as in the former list, the order of time, so far as it can be done.

The first tract of this description, published after Swift joined the Harleian administration, was that entitled,

1. "A True Narrative of what passed at the examination of the Marquis de Guiscard, at the Cock-pit, March 8, 1710-11; his stabbing Mr. Harley; and other precedent and subsequent facts, relating to the life of the said Guiscard."

This tract was written by Mrs. Manley, author of the "New Atalantis," as we learn from Swift's letters to Stella of 16th April and 3d November, 1711, where he likewise informs us, that the facts were supplied by himself. It would be easy to discover, even without such distinct information, from the "tawdry and declamatory style of the narrative," that this piece was not by the pen of Swift. This tract has been already noticed in page 261.

2. "The Congratulatory Speech of William Bromley, Esq. speaker of the honourable house of commons, to the Right Hon. Robert Harley, Esq. chancellor of her majesty's exchequer, upon his attending the service of the house of commons, on Thursday, the 26th of April, 1711; together with the chancellor of the exchequer's answer."

This speech, and the answer, were incorporated into Swift's works by Mr. Nichols, I apprehend without sufficient reason.

3. "The Reasons which induced her Majesty to create the Right Hon. Robert Harley, Esq. a Peer of Great Britain."

"It was objected by Harley's enemies," says Mr. Walter Scott, "that this patent was drawn up in a more elaborate and enlarged style of encomium than was consistent with the brevity and dignity of a royal deed. It was also insinuated, that he gave way to an unusual gratification of personal vanity in having it printed and dispersed. There is every reason to think, that Swift was consulted in composing an instrument to which Harley attached so much importance." There is, however, no reason to suppose, that this exordium was revised by Swift, except what may be drawn from the degree of intimacy which subsisted between those persons; upon the subject of its latinity Harley had abler advisers than Swift.

4. "A Learned Comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent Sermon, preached (Sept. 9, 1711,) before the Duke of Marlborough, on the surrender of Bouchain; by an enemy to peace."

Dr. Francis Hare, afterwards, successively, Bishop of St. Asaph, and of Chichester, was, during the war, Chaplain-general to the Queen's forces. Being appointed to preach before the Duke of Marlborough and his army, upon a day of thanksgiving for their success in passing the enemies lines at Bouchain, he expatiated upon the objects of the war, and the prospect of their being abandoned, by a premature peace. This tract was written by Mrs. Manley, as Swift informs us in his letter to Stella, dated 3d Nov. 1711, where he mentions the "Comment on Hare's Sermon by the same woman (Mrs. Manley,) only hints sent from Presto to give her."

If we may judge from internal evidence, Swift's share in this tract must have been very considerable, for, as Mr. Scott remarks, there are many passages in it not inferior in poignancy to his "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction."

Swift, more than once, glances at the Duke of Marlborough's scheme of getting himself made general for life. The doctor had noticed, as one of the evils of a popular or mixed government, and likewise of a confederacy, that measures at first resolved on by such, were hardly ever steadily pursued for any length of time. "A very good overture and warning," replies this commentator, "to make a general for life." The following passage is very severe upon more than one failing of that great general. "If the Duke of Marlborough be Moses, what promised land is he bringing us to, unless this sermon be preached only to the Dutch? He may have promised them land, and they him something else, and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out of Egypt, does the doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty years, or else it can be no parallel: we may easily see how near the comparison grows. Moses was accused by certain Israelites; 'Is it a small thing,' say they, 'that thou hast brought us out of a land that flowed with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?' Hath the Duke of Marlborough been suspected of any such design? Moses was wroth, and said unto the Lord, 'Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.' And to the same purpose Samuel, 'Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes with? and I will restore it you!"

true, he entered warmly into the views of the ministers. This, his public tracts and private letters sufficiently indicate; but, upon the measure of the Duke of Marlborough's dissimal, Swift appears not, perfectly, to have coincided with them; "I shall venture," he writes to Stella,"[2] to say a little more to the ministry, about the Duke of Marlborough, who, as the Whigs give out, will lay down his command; and I question whether any wise state laid aside a general who had been successful nine years together, whom the enemy so much dreaded, and his own soldiers cannot but believe must always conquer; and you know that in war opinion is nine parts in ten. The ministry hear me always with appearance of regard, and much kind-

[2] Journal to Stella, 7 Jan. 1710-11.

Besides his tract, entitled, "The Allies and the Late Ministry defended, &c." Dr. Hare was the author of some other pamphlets on the war. "The Negociations for Peace considered, in Letters to a Tory member," and, "The Barrier Treaty vindicated," were both by his hand.

5. "A New Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough; in answer to a pamphlet, lately published, called 'Bouchain;' or, A Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner."

In two passages of his journal, Swift disclaims having had any share in this production. On the 22d of October 1711, he informs Stella, that he had procured for her five pamphlets, "which," he adds, "I have either written, or contributed to, except the best, which is the Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough, and is entirely by the author of the Atalantis." On the 3d of November, he gives a list of the five pamphlets above alluded to, and repeats the same assertion, that this tract is *entirely* by Mrs. Manley.

6. "A True Relation of the several facts and circumstances of the intended riot and tumult on Queen Elizabeth's birth-day: gathered from authentic records; and published for the information of all true lovers of our constitution in church and state."

Swift, in his letter of 17th November 1711, communicates to Stella an account of this intended riot. "This is Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, usually kept in this town by apprentices, &c. but the Whigs designed a mighty procession by mid-night, and had laid out a thousand pounds to dress up the pope, devil, cardinals, Sacheverel, &c. and carry them with torches about, and burn them. They did it by contribution. Garth gave five guineas. But they were seized last night by order from the secretary." In his letter of the 26th, he mentions this pamphlet, "I saw to-day the pope, the devil, and the other figures of cardinals, &c. fifteen in all, which have made such a noise. I have put an understrapper upon writing a two-penny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design." It appears that the story had been much exagerated, for his letter of the 30th, informs us, that the fifteen images were not worth forty pounds.

7. "The New Way of selling Places at Court: in a letter from a small courtier to a great stock-jobber."

"Did I tell you," Swift writes to Stella, 24th March, 1711-12, "of a scoundrel about the court, that sells employments to ignorant people, and cheats them of their money? He lately made a bargain for the vice-chamberlain's place, for 7000*l.* and had received some guineas earnest; but the whole thing was discovered the other day, and examination taken of it by Lord Dartmouth, and I hope he will be swinged. The vice-chamberlain told me several particulars of it last night, at Lord Masham's." This pamphlet, as Mr. Scott remarks, has no very good title to be retained in Swift's works.

8. "The Story of the St. Alban's Ghost, or the Apparition of Mother Haggy. Collected from the best manuscripts."

In his letter to Stella of 22d February 1711-12, Swift mentions this tract. "I went to Lord Masham's to-night, and Lady Masham made me read her a pretty two-penny pamphlet, called, 'The St. Alban's Ghost;' I thought I had writ it myself; so did they; but I did not." Notwithstanding this disavowal, Mr. Scott has thought proper to introduce this piece into his edition of the works of Swift; he judges, from the style, that it is the joint work of Arbuthnot and Swift. It has, in some places, a resemblance to the History of John Bull; but neither has that work, which was written by Arbuthnot, any claim to be inserted among the works of Swift.

By Mother Haggy of St. Alban's is meant Frances, wife of Richard Jennings, of Saundridge, in the county of Hertford. This lady had two daughters, both remarkable for their personal charms, and both likewise celebrated in the annals of history, Frances, Duchess of Tyrconnel, and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. The Tory pamphleteers, who were the political enemies of the second daughter, have severely handled her memory; they characterise her as a second edition of Mother Shipton.

9. "The Character of Richard Steele, Esq. with some remarks. By Toby, Abel's kinsman, &c."

This piece is published in the Gulliveriana; the editor of which, Jonathan Smedley, attributes it to Swift. Mr. Walter Scott has given it a place in his edition of Swift's works, and thinks that it contains some strokes of Swift's peculiar humour.

Toby, whose real name was Edward King, was the nephew and journeyman of Abel Roper, publisher of the "Post-boy," a person of infamous character, who was alternately Whig or Tory, as suited his purpose; he is said to have been the original printer of the celebrated ballad of "Lilly-bullero." "By setting up the servant of a news-writer, himself low and infamous, as the critic and opponent of Steele, the author hoped," as Mr. Scott remarks, "to degrade the object of his satire:" perhaps the the editor of "Gulliveriana" was influenced by a motive not very dissimilar, when he attributed the work itself to Swift. A portrait is prefixed to the pamphlet; Mr. Noble mentions it in his Continuation of Grainger, and seems to apprehend that it is an actual resemblance of Edw. King, the pretended author.

Dr. Wagstaffe is joined, by Mr. Walter Scott, with Swift and Arbuthnot, as an associate in writing the St. Alban's Ghost, and with Swift in compiling the Character of Steele; but this is mere idle conjecture: neither is there any sufficient reason for inserting those pieces among Swift's works.

10. "A Letter from the facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to the venerable Nestor Ironside. With a description of the reception Mr. Ironside's late present of a Guardian met with from the worshipful Mr. Mayor, and other substantial inhabitants of that ancient city. To which is added, a prescription from the doctor, by way of postscript, exactly suited to his distemper."

Mr. Walter Scott perceives in this piece "some internal marks of Swift's corrections;" and has, therefore, thought fit to publish it among his works; and, because of the "profuse use of medical terms" that occur, he has set down Doctor Arbuthnot for a share in it, likewise. Mr. Scott thinks it "merits preservation, as a literary curiosity." This consideration might, indeed, excuse its insertion, in an appendix, as nothing that can illustrate the literary history of this classic age ought to be suffered to perish.

The immediate object of the satire is the 174th Number of the Guardian, published 30th September, 1713, which is employed upon the state of the polite world at Bath.

ness; but I doubt they let personal quarrels mingle too much with their proceedings." On the 1st of January 1711-12, when he communicates to Stella the news of the Duke's being turned out of all his employments, he accompanies that piece of intelligence with the following remark; "If the Ministry be not sure of a peace

11. "Law is a Bottomless-Pit; or, The History of John Bull; Published from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth, in the year 1712."

"Among the pieces," says Mr. Walter Scott, "usually published in Swift's Works, of which he is not the author, there is none which can bear comparison with the 'History of John Bull.' It is not only a Satire original in its outline, but the exquisite simplicity, brevity, and solemnity of the narrative, is altogether inimitable. If our author's Tale of a Tub be considered as the prototype of John Bull, it may be allowed to contain a greater display of learning, but is certainly deficient in the unaffected and ludicrous simplicity of the latter satire."

Dr. Arbuthnot was the author of this *jeu d' esprit*, he was a native of Scotland, and to the place of his birth, more than to his merit, which was nevertheless very great, he owes the praise conveyed in the passage which I have just quoted. As humour seems to be a production not indigenous to North Britain, it is not wonderful that its inhabitants should cherish the few specimens which its soil may occasionally produce; but, nevertheless, the praise bestowed should be tempered with moderation, nor should an author allow himself to be transported so far, even by that very amiable principle, love of his country, as to transgress the bounds of reason and right judgement; it is, in truth, a monstrous error in criticism to compare this piece to the Tale of a Tub: the History of John Bull is a good, homely piece of plain, broad humour; it is admirable, chiefly on account of its simplicity, and its humorous solemnity, but is totally deficient in variety, and wants all those higher graces with which the Tale of a Tub so remarkably abounds.

Although that is not exactly true which is somewhere asserted by the same critic, "that Arbuthnot's irony is hardly to be distinguished from Swift's," yet there is sufficient resemblance to occasion their names to be frequently coupled together; no where has that talent, with which both were so eminently gifted, been more faithfully, or more beautifully described, than in the following lines of the amiable and enlightened Cowper.

> "Nature imparting her satiric gift,
> Her serious mirth, to Arbuthnot and Swift,
> With droll sobriety they raised a smile
> At folly's cost, themselves unmoved the while.
> That constellation set, the world in vain
> Must hope to look upon their like again."

"The History of John Bull," as Mr. Scott informs us, "came originally forth in four parts, with an appendix; it was afterwards corrected, revised, and arranged, with some few alterations. The following are the original titles."

"Law is a Bottomless Pit, exemplified in the case of the Lord Strut, John Bull, Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon; who spent all they had in a lawsuit, &c."

"John Bull in his Senses: being the Second Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, &c."

"John Bull in his Senses: being the Third Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, &c."

"An Appendix to John Bull still in his Senses; or, Law is a Bottomless Pit, &c."

"Lewis Baboon turned Honest, and John Bull Politician: being the Fourth Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, &c."

This piece had prodigious success, and is well calculated to promote the desired effect. "It was scarce possible," says Mr. Scott, "so effectually to dim the lustre of Marlborough's splendid atchievements as by parodying them under the history of a suit conducted by a wily attorney, who made every advantage gained over the defendant, a reason for protracting law procedure, and enhancing the expence to his client. By this representation of the war, the public mind was swayed from consideration of its brilliant success, and instructed to regard it as mere matter of profit and loss."

This piece is mentioned by Swift, in his Journal to Stella; 18 March 1711-12, he writes, "The second part of 'Law is a Bottomless Pit,' is just now printed, and better, I think than the first."

12. "Proposals for printing a very curious discourse, entitled, Ψευδολογια Πολιτικη; or, The Art of Political Lying."

This tract was likewise written by Dr. Arbuthnot; the hint is taken from the 14th Number of the Examiner. Swift mentions it in his letter to Stella, of Oct. 9, 1712; "Arbuthnot has sent me, from Windsor, a pretty Discourse upon Lying; and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a proposal for publishing a curious piece, called, 'The Art of Political Lying, in two volumes, &c.' and then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets, which they call, 'The Works of the Learned.' Again, Dec. 12, "the pamphlet of 'Political Lying' is written by Dr. Arbuthnot, the author of John Bull. It is very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood."

13. "The Address of the House of Lords to the Queen." April 9, 1713; revised by Dr. Swift, at the command of the Lord-treasurer; and delivered by the Duke of Grafton."

This piece is mentioned by Swift, in his Journal to Stella, March 8, 1712-13; "Lord-treasurer shewed me some of the queen's speech, which I corrected in several places; and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech."

14. "A Modest Inquiry into the Reasons of the Joy expressed by a certain set of People, upon the spreading of a report of her Majesty's death."

Swift has, in his "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," given the following account of the event which occasioned this pamphlet. "In the midst of these dispositions at court, the Queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent." "The result was," he adds, "that the Queen laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death." The pamphlet above mentioned was written by Mrs. Manley, as it is said, under the direction of Swift, to excite the sympathy of the publick with the resentment which their sovereign had conceived against the Whigs.

Swift wrote likewise several poetical pieces, which had reference to the politics of the times, some of which have been already noticed in the preceding pages of this work.

The following is a list of such as have been recovered.

I. "The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod." This piece was printed early in October 1710. See page 254.

II. "Atlas; or, the Minister of State. To the Lord-treasurer Oxford." See page 271.

III. "An Excellent new Song, being the intended Speech of a famous Orator against peace."

This poem is written in ridicule of the Earl of Nottingham, of whom a further account is given hereafter at No. VI. Swift, in his letter to Stella, of 5th Dec. 1711, alludes to it, when he says, "Lord Nottingham, a famous Tory and speech-maker, is gone over to the Whig side: they toast him daily, and Lord Wharton says, it is Dismal (so they call him from his looks) will

I shall wonder at this step, and do not approve it at best. The Queen and the Lord-treasurer mortally hate the Duke of Marlborough, and to that he owes his fall, more than to his faults."—" I do not love to see personal resentment mix with public affairs." °

save England at last. Lord-treasurer was hinting as if he wished a ballad was made on him, and I will get up one against to-morrow." On the day following he writes, " I was this morning making the ballad, two degrees above Grub-street; at noon I paid a visit to Mrs. Masham, and then went to dine with our society." " The printer came before we parted, and brought the ballad, which made them laugh very heartily a dozen times." On the 18th, he writes, " there was printed a Grub-street speech of Lord Nottingham; and he was such an owl to complain of it in the House of Lords, who have taken up the printer for it. I heard at court, that Walpole (a great whig member) said, that I and my whimsical club writ it at one of our meetings, and that I should pay for it. He will find he lies; and I shall let him know by a third hand my thoughts of him." This poem was first incorporated into Swift's Works, in 1779.

IV. " The Windsor Prophecy." This piece, which has been noticed in page 267, is alluded to by Swift in several parts of his journal. On the 23d Dec. 1711, he writes, " I have written a Prophecy, which I design to print; I did it to-day, and some other verses:" on the day following; " my Prophecy is printed, and will be published after Christmas-day; I like it mightily: I don't know how it will pass." Again, on the 26th, " I called at noon at Mrs. Masham's, who desired me not to let the Prophecy be published, for fear of angering the Queen about the Duchess of Somerset; so I writ to the printer to stop them." On the 27th he writes, " I entertained our society at the thatched-house tavern. The printer had not received my letter, and so brought up dozens a piece of the Prophecy, but I ordered him to part with no more. 'Tis an admirable good one, and people are mad for it."

V. " The Table of Midas." This satire upon the Duke of Marlborough, was written soon after he was deprived of his employments; it is alluded to by Swift, in his letter to Stella, dated 14 Feb. 1711-12: " To-day I published ' The Fable of Midas,' a poem, printed in a loose half sheet of paper. I know not how it will take; but it passed wonderfully at our society to-night; and Mr. Secretary read it before me the other night to Lord-treasurer, at Lord Masham's, where they equally approved of it. Tell me how it passes with you?"

VI. " Toland's invitation to Dismal, to dine with the Calf's-head Club." Imitated from Horace, Lib. I. Epist. 5.

Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, is the person here satirized; he was a violent Tory, and a rigid High Church Man, but sided with the Whigs in their resolutions against the peace; that party purchased his support, upon this occasion, at a very dear rate; to obtain it they were induced to consent to the bill against occasional conformity.

The Earl of Nottingham was remarkably attached to the established religion; the University of Oxford, assembled in full convocation, voted him thanks, with unanimous consent, for his " Defence of the Christian Faith, contained in his lordship's answer to Mr. Whiston's letter to him, concerning the eternity of the Son of God and the Holy Ghost." His attachment to his prince was supposed to bind him rather too strongly to the exiled family; in 1715, he pleaded so zealously in behalf of the unfortunate lords who were implicated in the attempt of that year, to restore the family of Stuart, that he was deprived of his place of Lord-president of the Council, and of his pension of 2,500*l.* per annum. He is described by Mackay as " a zealous promoter of absolute power in the *state*, and implicit faith in the *church*, to that degree, as hardly to be in common charity with those of more moderate principles."

The severity of Swift's satire, which consists in a pretended invitation from a deist to the earl, to assist at the commemoration of a treasonable act, may be easily conjectured from this sketch of his character; he insinuates that, by joining the Whigs, his lordship had become an apostate from his former religious and political principles, a charge which it was likely would be very severely felt by one, the bias of whose sentiments was directly the reverse. The Earl was called, Dismal, because of his gloomy countenance; he was a thin, swarthy complexioned man, hence Swift, in the Windsor Prophecy, calls him " The Tall, Black Daventry Bird;" from his so nearly resembling, in his appearance and manner, a native of Spain, he obtained the nick-name of Don Diego, and he is characterised by that title in the Tatler, and in John Bull; he was so distinguished for regularity of life as to be termed by Rowe.

" The sober Earl of Nottingham,
Of sober sire descended."

Swift mentions this satire in his letter to Stella, of 1st July 1712. " Have you seen Toland's invitation to Dismal? How do you like it?"

VII. " Peace and Dunkirk. Being an excellent new song upon the surrender of Dunkirk to General Hill. To the tune of, " The King shall enjoy his own again."

This piece is probably the same with the " Ballad on Dunkirk," alluded to by Swift in his letter to Stella, of 17 July 1712.

VIII. " Imitation of Horace, Book I. Epist. 7." Addressed to the Earl of Oxford.

This poem has been already noticed in page 269; it was written, but not printed, in 1713.

IX. " The Author upon Himself."

This piece has been taken notice of in pages 264 and 266, a few of the first lines are wanting. It was written in 1713, but not then published.

X. " The Faggot." Written when the Ministry were at variance, 1713.

This poem has been noticed in page 272; it was written, but not printed, in 1713.

XI. " Imitation of part of the sixth Satire of the second Book of Horace, 1714."

This poem has been noticed in page 256; the poem was printed by Pope, in whose works the whole is printed.

XII. " Horace, Book II. Ode I. paraphrased. Addressed to Richard Steele, Esq. 1714."

XIII. " Horace, Book I. Epist. 5. John Dennis, the sheltering poets Invitation to Richard Steele, Esq. the secluded party writer and member, to come and live with him in the Mint. 1714. Fit to be bound up with the Crisis."

The two preceding poems were first added to the works of Swift by Mr. Nichols, from copies in the Lambeth library, K. 1. 2. 29. 30. 4to.

Besides these poems Swift wrote several other's which have not yet been recovered. In his Journal to Stella he mentions; " A Ballad full of puns on the Westminster election;" and on the 17th of July 1712, he writes as follows; " Pdfr has writ five or six Grub-street papers this last week. Have you seen ' Toland's Invitation to Dismal,' or, ' Hue and Cry after Dismal,' or, ' Ballad on Dunkirk, or, ' Agreement that Dunkirk is not in our hands." Supposing " Peace and Dunkirk," mentioned above at No. VII. to be the same with the " Ballad on Dunkirk, there remains unrecovered, " The Hue and Cry after Dismal," and, " Agreement that Dunkirk is not in our hands."

Two poems have been inserted in the later editions of Swift's works from the Lanesborough MSS. one is " On the Church's Danger," and the other is entitled, " A Poem on High Church," but there is no evidence of their being by Swift. There are, however, two others which have strong marks of his style; I allude to the parody upon William Crowe, the Recorder of Blessington's address to her Majesty, presented in 1704; and a like parody upon John Forster, the Recorder of Dublin's

Swift more than once expressed his dislike of another measure of those ministers, that of creating twelve new peers to obtain a majority in the upper house; in his letter to Stella, of the 29th Dec. 1711, we read his sentiments upon that occasion, "after all, it is a strange unhappy necessity of making so many peers together; but the Queen has drawn it on herself, by her confounded trimming and moderation:" this measure was indeed thought to be a dangerous precedent, and although it was undoubtedly lawful, it could scarcely, in any case, be considered as expedient, nor will that minister, who suffered himself to be reduced to such a necessity, be esteemed by posterity, a very proper manager of public affairs. [p]

On the 16th of August, Swift left Letcombe to proceed to Ireland, whither he was under the necessity of going, to take the oaths; he appeared at chapter on the 5th of September, upon which occasion he presided, personally, as he did likewise at every subsequent meeting until the 23d February 1715-6.

At this time the Dean experienced a full proportion of that unpopularity with which the whole party, with whom he had been politically connected, was visited; the recent disputes, relative to the election of a Lord Mayor, had served, in no small degree, to irritate the Citizens of Dublin against the late government, which had refused to confirm the elections of several of their most popular members; and, as the citizens had determined to adhere inflexibly to the resolution of choosing none

speech to the Duke of Ormond in 1711; which latter I have seen in print. There is, however, one difficulty in the way, the latter is not mentioned in Swift's journal to Stella, and I think, had he been the author of this piece, he would scarcely have failed to call her attention to it, and particularly as it relates to a subject of politicks which concerned the city wherein she resided at that time. Another parody, entitled, "The famous Speech-maker of England, or Baron (alias Barren) Lovel's charge at the assizes at Exon, April 5, 1710," was first inserted by Mr. Nichols, in his supplement to Swift's works, printed 1779. That this piece is by Swift, Mr. Scott thinks no one ought to entertain "the slightest doubt." "It is not only," he adds, "in the manner of Swift, but in his very best and most characteristic style of irony." But, notwithstanding the confident way in which this judgment is pronounced, I think there is some reason to doubt the authenticity of this piece, and that upon the very grounds whereupon it is attributed to Swift, internal evidence; but, however questionable the first position may be, I think, with regard to the second, that whoever shall take the trouble of perusing this poem, if he knows any thing of Swift's style, will agree, that it has but little of his manner, and is not in "his best style of irony."

There are some other poems, not relating to the Oxford administration, but written before the queen's death, which have been inserted by later editors amongst the works of Swift, upon slight evidence, or rather upon no evidence at all, viz.

"The Garden Plot;" 1709, from the Lanesborough MSS.

"Jack the French-man's Lamentation," printed 1708.

"A Poem occasioned by the Hangings in the Castle of Dublin, in which the story of Phaeton is expressed."

"A Ballad to the tune of "Commons and Peers," from a MS. in Swift's own hand, found among Dr. Lyon's papers.

Three other pieces, "The Swan Tripe Club in Dublin." "The Story of Orpheus, burlesqued," and "Actæon, or the original of Horn Fair," are placed at a respectful distance from the acknowledged works of Swift, they are inserted in the appendix of the last edition; and I cannot help thinking, that the same plan ought to have been pursued with regard to all those other pieces, which we cannot, with any degree of condence, attribute to him.

The Swan Tripe Club was printed in Dublin in 1706; it was reprinted by Tonson, who ascribed it to "the Author of the Tale of a Tub." "I cannot," says Mr. Scott, "discover any internal evidence; on the contrary, the terms in which King William is mentioned, both in the title and text of the poem, is totally inconsistent with the Dean's feelings towards that monarch. Indeed, if this poem had really been the Dean's writing, and known to be so by the celebrated Whig bookseller, whom he had offended, it would have been quoted against him, as a mark of apostacy, in the numerous libels of the day, where, however, it is never once mentioned. Besides, durst Swift, with such an evidence in every bookseller's shop, have ventured to assert, that, while he held Whig politics in the state, he was always of the High Church party in what regarded ecclesiastical matters?"

[o] Several virulent attacks upon the character of the Duke of Marlborough, were published by the more headstrong Tory writers; and some of those pieces have been attributed to Swift, how unjustly will appear from the following passages of his journal to Stella. On the 18th Feb. 1710-11, he writes as follows; "Lord Rivers, talking to me the other day, cursed the paper called The Examiner, for speaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough: this I happened to talk of to the secretary, who blamed the warmth of that lord, and of some others, and swore, that if their advice were followed, they would be blown up in twenty-four hours." Again, on the 25th Jan. 1711-12, he says, "I am of your opinion, that the Duke of Marlborough is used too hardly: I have often scratched out passages from letters and pamphlets sent me, before they were printed, because I thought them too severe."

[p] Swift, in his "History of the four last years of the Queen," Book I. gives us an account of the opinions of both parties relative to this very novel proceeding; likewise, in the tract, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," he adverts to it, and says, it was a measure he "did very much dislike," "perhaps," he adds, "he (the Lord-treasurer) was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction, they had so lately got rid of. And I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake." See Swift's Works, Vol. V. page 191, and Vol. VI. page 28

but Whigs, it so happened, that they remained for near two years without a chief magistrate; and until, after the establishment of the Hanover family upon the throne, the Irish Privy-Council received instructions to confirm the choice of the Citizens of Dublin. But, besides this partial cause of dislike, the charge of favouring the exiled house of Stuart, which had been insinuated against the last ministry of Queen Anne by their successors, was, of itself, enough to irritate, to a very high degree, the passions of the Irish protestants: the benefits which those men had received from the establishment of King William's government, and the dangers from which they had so recently escaped, were imprinted too deeply on their minds to be easily eradicated: as the spirit of party does not favour nice distinctions, all advocates for the high church interest were involved in one sweeping charge of jacobitism, and it was some time before those zealous advocates for protestant ascendency, could be sufficiently cooled to attend to the dictates of reason, or brought to consider how impossible it was, that an over zealous friend of high church government could become a party in a measure, which, were it to succeed, would infallibly destroy the church itself.[q] Being the only one in Ireland, against whom a charge could be made of having an immediate hand in such a design, Swift became the chief object of party rage; he was not only insulted by the lower class of citizens[r] as he walked the streets, but even those of higher rank forgot his station and their own, and sought to ingratiate themselves with the governing powers, by practising similar acts of wanton brutality.[s]

The great event of Swift's life was his removal from England into Ireland; it consisted not simply in a change of place, but occasioned such a mutation of friends and associates, such alterations in his habits and his interests, that it was like entering into a new world, not only different from, but far less alluring than that which he had quitted; neither could the recollection of former scenes be indulged with that satisfaction which the recurrence of pleasing images usually produces; his own personal disappointments were, it is true, compensated for, in some respect, by his state of actual safety; but Swift's mind was not of that selfish cast, that could receive satisfaction from the contemplation of his own security; the thoughts of the calamities which had visited his former friends and associates were perpetually agitating his mind, "nor did he," says Mr. Scott, "omit all that was in his power to manifest his sympathy with their distress, at every risk to his own person and fortune. He corresponded with Lord Bolingbroke, even while in banishment, through

[q] That Swift was considered as a person liable to some suspicion, appears from an insinuation of Archbishop King, who, as Mr. Scott observes, "seems to have yielded to no one in the art of conveying a sarcasm under the mask of a friendly wish or an amicable caution."—"We have a strong report," he writes to Swift, in November 1716, "that Lord Bolingbroke will return here, and be pardoned; certainly it must not be for nothing. I hope he can tell no ill story of you." This sarcastic insinuation Swift repels with becoming spirit. "I should be sorry, he answers, "to see my Lord Bolingbroke following the trade of an informer: because he is a person for whom I always had, and still continue, a very great love and esteem. For I think, as the rest of mankind do, that informers are a detestable race of people, although they may be sometimes necessary. Besides, I do not see whom his lordship can inform against, except himself: he was three or four days at the court of France, while he was secretary; and it is barely possible, he might then have entered into some deep negociation with the pretender: although I would not believe him, if he should swear it."—"As to myself," he adds, "if I were of any importance, I should be very easy under such an accusation; much easier, than I am to think your grace imagines me in any danger, or that Lord Bolingbroke should have any ill story to tell of me.—But I am surprised to think your grace could talk, or act, or correspond with me for some years past; while you must needs believe me a most false and vile man; declaring to you on all occasions my abhorrence of the pretender, and yet privately engaged with a ministry to bring him in.—I always professed to be against the pretender, and am so still. And this is not to make my court (which I know is vain), for I own myself full of doubts, fears, and dissatisfactions, which I think on as seldom as I can: yet, if I were of any value, the public may safely rely on my loyalty: because I look upon the coming of the pretender as a greater evil, than we are likely to suffer under the worst whig ministry that can be found."

[r] Dr. Lyon, in his MS. notes, mentions, that this is to be understood of the Whig faction only; and indeed it cannot be supposed that the rabble who, in Ireland, are chiefly of the Roman-catholic persuasion, should be very zealous in heaping insults upon the supposed friend of a popish successor to the throne.

[s] An instance of this is given by Sheridan, who has published, in his life of Swift, a petition of the dean, to the Irish house of peers, against Lord Blaney, who had grossly and cruelly insulted him as he rode upon the strand near Dublin.

bad report, and good report.' [t] He offered consolation to Lady Masham, and to the yet more unfortunate Duchess of Ormond. But to Oxford, his patron and his friend, then imprisoned in the tower, and threatened with impeachment for high treason, Swift manifested that affection which only generous and noble minds can feel, and which glows highest when it most compromises the safety of him by whom it is displayed." [3] He claimed it as his right to offer his service and attendance during his friend's imprisonment; "it is the first time," are his impassioned words, "I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me." With the zeal of a friend rather than of a politician, he adds, "I do not think myself obliged to regulate my opinions by the proceedings of a house of lords or commons; and therefore, however they may acquit themselves in your lordship's case, I shall take the liberty of thinking and calling your lordship the ablest and faithfullest minister, and truest lover of your country that this age has produced: and I have already taken care that you should be so represented to posterity, in spite of all the rage and malice of your enemies." [4] The words with which he addressed his friend Pope are those of the deepest melancholy; "you know how well I loved both Lord Oxford and Bolingbroke, and how dear the Duke of Ormond is to me: do you imagine I can be easy while their enemies are endeavouring to take off their heads; *I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros*--Do you imagine I can be easy, when I think of the probable consequences of these proceedings, perhaps upon the very peace of the nation, but certainly of

[3] Scott's Life of Swift, page 225.

[4] Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 260.

[t] An event happened in the month of May 1715, which is related by Tindal, in his continuation of Rapin's History, Vol. IV. page 425. His words are as follows; "Mr. George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and, being examined before the Lords Justices, a packet was found about him, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the Duke of Ormond's chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr. Swift having notice, and that search was made after him, he thought fit to abscond."

This story is quoted, by Tindal, from Oldmixon, and by the latter, from Boyer's annals (page 456); after the authorities through which we have traced it, we shall have no great cause to be surprized at finding it somewhat exagerated. Archbishop King, who was at that time a member of the Privy-council, was present when the packet alluded to was opened; in his letter to the bishop of Clogher, dated 23d May 1715, he relates the whole incident; I shall lay before the reader that prelate's account. "Two days ago one Mr. Jefferrys being searched, as he landed at Ringsend, several pacquets were seised on him, and brought to the custom-house, and by the commissioners sent to the justices; two were directed to the dean of St. Patrick's, in which were several treasonable and seditious *pamphlets*, such as, "The English Advice to the Freeholders, &c." "A Defence of the King against a speech, &c." "The Impartiality of the parliament in Sir William Wyndham's case, &c." with several letters, neither directed nor subscribed, but plainly meant for the Dean; they contained very bad matters; Mr. Jefferry swears, they were given him by Mr. Charleton, chaplain to the duchess of Ormond, and that he received the pacquets sealed, from Mr. Charleton, and knew not what was in them. These, and several other letters, represent Jefferrys as an ingenious man, that they durst not write their minds, but he knew *Arcana imperii*, I use their words, and could inform them of every thing; that these were iniquitous times, and that there was no place for honest men; that the pretenders men increase daily by the ill usage of such men. They complain that the dean did not write to them, and look on that as a forbidding them to write to him, which they greatly regret; I am of opinion they will have very little thanks from him for their unreasonable kindness. Amongst other pamphlets there is one intitled, "The Conduct of the Duke of Ormond;" I had not time to read it, nor was I desirous to do it, since it had no name to it; it is wrote in his Grace's favour, and hath many orders, sent him about the cessation; if I understand them right they may magnify his obedience, but I did not see how they justify his conduct. This Jefferrys seemed to me to be an agent, sent over to manage for the party here; he was bound over to good behaviour, and we sent some of his letters over to the secretary there."

It appears, therefore, that these papers, mentioned by Boyer, were printed pamphlets. The self confidence which Swift displays, in his answer to Archbishop King's letter, quoted in page 289, will, when we consider that it was addressed to one who was present when this packet was opened, prove sufficiently, that there was nothing contained therein that could give grounds for a charge against him of treasonable practices; from that of corresponding with his former friends I make no attempt to excuse him, because I think, with Mr. Scott, "it was highly to Swift's honour that, if he cultivated the great and ambitious in their hour of importance, he never neglected them in their fall."

Mr. Oldmixon would fain insinuate, that the Whig ministers were over merciful; but there is no very strong evidence of their being guilty of such a crime; "Posterity," he says, "will be in amazement to find not one of these libellers made an example."—"Posterity has been induced," says Mr. Scott, "from that very circumstance, greatly to doubt the grounds on which the historian has accused them." The latter part of Mr. Boyer's narrative is certainly untrue; Swift was not absent during any part of the time that intervened between the 5th Sept. 1714, and the 23d of Feb. 1715-16; at least he presided personally at every meeting of chapter that was convened during that interval. It is to be observed, that Swift's letter to the Earl of Oxford, offering to attend him personally at the tower, during his confinement, was written 19th of July 1715, and the event, above related, took place on the 21st of May in that year.

the minds of so many hundred thousand good subjects? Upon the whole, you may truly attribute my silence to the eclipse, but it was that eclipse which happened on the 1st of August." [5] He terminates this desponding letter with the following gloomy representation of his mode of life. "You are to understand," he writes, "that I live in the corner of a vast unfurnished house: my family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all at board wages, and when I do not dine abroad, or make an entertainment (which last is very rare), I eat a mutton pie, and drink half a pint of wine [u]: my amusements are, defending my small dominions against the Archbishop, and endeavouring to reduce my rebellious choir. [v] *Perditur hæc inter misero lux.*"

[5] Swift's Works, Vol. XVI. page 257.

It is true, that a temporary suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, which took place in the year following, did alarm Swift, but this was in no wise a proof of guilt; he had good reason to apprehend danger, when the power of imprisonment without trial was put into the hands of his enemies; accordingly, in his letter to Atterbury, dated 18th April 1716, he writes, "we are resolved to go beyond you, we have transmitted a bill to England, to be returned here, giving the government and six of the council power for three years to imprison whom they please for three months, without any trial or examination: and I expect to be among the first of those upon whom this law will be executed.—I am gathering up a thousand pounds, and intend to finish my life upon the interest of it in Wales."

[u] As nothing is more common than to compare the conduct of one who succeeds to an office, with that of his predecessor, and as hospitality is a virtue which is expected to be found in every dignified ecclesiastic, (the want of which, will, perhaps, be scarce compensated by any other,) so the different manner in which Stearne and Swift entertained their friends has not passed unregarded; the following lines, which are descriptive of their difference of conduct in this important business, are said to have been written on a window of the deanery.

"In the days of good John if you came here to dine,
You had choice of good meat but no choice of good wine.
In Jonathan's reign if you came here to eat,
You have choice of good wine, but no choice of good meat."

The Dean kept two public days in every week, but at other times he lived after the manner which he has described in his letter to Pope, above quoted; his mode of living is humorously versified in the following lines.

"On rainy days alone I dine
Upon a chick and pint of wine.
On rainy days I dine alone,
And pick my chicken to the bone:
But this my servants much enrages,
No scraps remain to save board-wages.
In weather fine I nothing spend,
But often spunge upon a friend:
Yet, where he's not so rich as I,
I pay my club, and so good b'ye."

The chapter used, by ancient custom, to dine together upon certain days; they met commonly at the Dean's mansion-house, and the expense of those entertainments forms an item among the extra-ordinary charges in the proctor's accounts. The dinner on St. Patrick's day was not discontinued until the year 1797. Upon the day for auditing the accounts, a dinner was likewise provided at the common charge. In Swift's time there were three of those entertainments provided in each year, as appears from the proctor's accounts for 1737, where we read among the extra-ordinary charges, as follows.

	£.	s.	d.
Dinner, St. Patrick's day - -	9	17	2
Audit dinner - - - -	7	0	10
Dinner, 23d Oct. - - -	8	0	1

The curious reader will not be displeased at seeing a bill of fare for one of those entertainments, the original of which is in my possession, and is endorsed by Swift, in his own hand-writing, as follows. "The chapter dinner, 17 March 1715."

March the 16th, 1715.

	£.	s.	d.
For Coals - - -	0	3	0
For Lemons, Chessnuts, Oringes and Wall-nutts - -	0	5	0
For Sallmon - - -	0	6	0
For Codd, Whitings, Flounders and other fish - -	0	5	5½
For Lobsters - -	0	10	10
Calfes head - - -	0	2	6
Meate for Gravy - -	0	0	6
Calfes feete and Palletts -	0	0	10
A side of Lamb - -	0	4	6
For Butter - - -	0	9	4
For Teals, Patridgs, Growes and Quails - -	0	16	10
For Bread - - -	0	3	0
For Creame - - -	0	0	8
For Charcoale - -	0	1	6
Sallett, by his bill - -	0	7	11
Oyesters - - -	0	3	4
Surloyne of Beefe - -	0	6	10
Flower - - -	0	1	6
Musturd - - -	0	0	2
Cleane Man - - -	0	0	6
Eggs - - -	0	0	6
Chees - - -	0	0	6
	4	11	5½
Wine from Clackston -	0	14	0
Nellson the Cook bill -	1	10	0
May's bill for Wine - -	1	5	10
Alle and Beere - -	0	6	2
Wine by Nellson - -	0	3	0
Cook Wages - - -	0	6	0
Washinge ye Linen - -	0	1	6
	8	17	11½

[v] During this period of his life Swift was occupied much with the business of his cathedral.

His first contest was with the sister cathedral: on the 10th Dec. 1714, the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's ordered the dean of Christ-church to be informed, that they had it in contemplation to repeal for ever, the order formerly made, that the members of St. Patrick's should preach in turns at Christ-church; they suspended too, for the present, the penalties incurred by neglect of that duty. Min. of Chapt. The fine incurred was, five pounds for each offence, and we find, from the book of Chapter-minutes, that Swift, soon after he was installed Preb. of Dunlavan, had become liable to that sum on account of his

The Earl of Orrery, whose mind was inflated with an immoderate degree of aristocratical pride, has vented some very injurious, and apparently very unfounded censures against those persons, with whom Swift thought proper to associate at this period of his life. "It is matter of astonishment," says this nobleman, "to find the same person, who had enjoyed the highest, and the best conversation, equally delighted with the lowest and the worst; and yet it is certain, from Swift's settlement in Dublin as Dean of St. Patrick's, his choice of companions in general shewed him of a very depraved taste.—Idleness and trifles engrossed too many of his hours: fools and sycophants too much of his conversation." [6]

[6] Orrery's Remarks, Letter VI.

neglect. The order is as follows: "1702, Dec. 22. It appearing to the dean and chapter, by complaint received from the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Kildare, Dean of Christ-church, that Dr. Jonathan Swift, Preb. of Dunlavan, lately neglected to preach his turn in Christ-church; it was thereupon ordered, by the aforesaid dean and chapter, that the register write to the aforesaid Dr. Swift, to acquaint him therewith, and to intimate to him that, unless he pay five pounds to the aforesaid dean of Christ-church for such his omission, they will proceed to sequester his living for the same." Min. of Chapt.

The college of Vicars Choral engaged much of his attention; and although he had not, himself, any skill in music, he advised with those that had: his friend Arbuthnot appears, from their mutual correspondence, to have been employed, frequently, in the business of procuring for him skillful performers; but the person whom he chiefly confided in, on those occasions, was Dr. Echlin; "as compleat a man," says Dr. Delany, "and as fine a gentleman, as any of his age: besides his skill in polite literature, and that of his own profession (divinity), he was highly distinguished for mathematical learning: and had a thorough knowlege and fine taste, in that branch of it, which treats of music. He was the person who set (among other things excellently well done) Swift's celebrated *Cantata*, in a manner, which nothing ever did, or can excel." Swift was, likewise, remarkably conscientious in promoting the members of the choir according to their merits; neither could he ever be prevailed on to appoint any one, who was not properly qualified; when Lady Carteret applied to him for a vicarage, in favour of a man who had been warmly recommended to her, he answered, that if her ladyship had applied to him for a deanery, or a bishoprick, and it were in his power to give it, he would readily comply, because those are preferments where merit is no way concerned; but, in the situation of a vicar it would be brought to the test every day. Swift was likewise attentive to the temporal concerns of this body, he particularly reprobated the practice, which had become frequent, of granting leases without consent of the dean and chapter; a renewal of the Earl of Abercorn's valuable tenement in York-street having been given in this way, the dean and chapter, on the 2d of April 1714, transmitted a petition to the government, complaining of the proceeding. Min. of Chapt.

But it was not from the minor corporation alone that Swift experienced opposition, several members of the chapter combined together to resist every exercise of his power; this body of malcontents was headed by Robert Dougat, Precentor, nephew to Archbishop King, who, himself fomented those divisions; this conduct of the Metropolitan drew from Swift a spirited but respectful remonstrance. I shall extract from his letter to the Archbishop, dated Gallstown, 17th June 1716, the following passages. After an humble proposition of some arrangement with regard to the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Luke, in both of which Swift had (as patron) a better right to prescribe to the Archbishop, than the Archbishop to him, he proceeds, "I should add my humble entreaties to your grace to consent to this proposal, if I had not many reasons to apprehend that it would succeed just so much the worse for my solicitation. I confess, every friend I have, discovered before myself that I had wholly lost your grace's favour, and this to a degree that all whom I was disposed to serve were sure to thrive the worse for my friendship to them.—With respect to myself, I can assure your grace, that those who are most in your confidence make it no manner of secret, that several clergymeu have lost your grace's favour by their civilities to me. I do not say any thing of this by way of complaint, which I look upon to be an office too mean for any man of spirit and integrity, but merely to know whether it be possible for me to be upon any better terms with your grace, without which I shall be able to do very little good in the small station I am placed.—I cannot but think it hard, that I must upon all occasions be made uneasy in my station, have dormant prebends (Timothan) revived on purpose to oppose me, and this openly acknowledged by those who say they act under your grace's direction." The concluding paragraph of this letter conveys as keen a sarcasm as can well be imagined, in words sufficiently polite, and in a manner seemingly unconscious of their effect. "When I was first made dean, your grace was pleased, in a very condescending manner, to write to me that you desired my friendship: I was then in the service of the ministry, and the peace was made; and if I had any share in their ill designs I was then guilty, but I do not know that I have ever done any thing since to forfeit your good opinion: I confess I lost many friends by the queen's death, but I will never imagine your grace to be of the number."

The chief subject of dispute was, whether the dean had a negative in all cases; or, in other words, whether he could annul the proceedings of the majority, by denying to give his assent. In Swift's letter to Dr. Robert Mossom, Dean of Ossory, dated 14th Feb. 1720-21; he alludes to those contests. "About five years ago I had some disputes with my chapter, upon this occasion of my negatives, which was never contradicted before, nor did the members directly do it then, but by some side ways of arguing the ill consequences which might follow if it had no exceptions. This they were spirited to by the A. B. of Tuam, (Theop^{s}. Bolton,) who incited the A. B. of Dublin, and who said he had long entertained an opinion against my negative. Since that they never contradicted it: and the point is, as you say, perfectly absurd."

On the 24th of March 1715-16, Swift applied to Bishop Atterbury, and required his advice upon the subject of this controversy; "I am here," he writes, "at the head of three and twenty dignitaries and prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the chapter-house; and a ring-leader among them has presumed to debate my power of proposing, or my negative, though it was what the deans of this cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what has never been once disputed." The learned bishop's reply, dated 16th April 1716, is calculated to dissuade the dean from a trial of his right at common law; he distinguishes, learnedly, between the deans of the old and new foundation; those who were established before, and since the accession of Hen VIII. "In all the former," he writes, "the deans have no extraordinary power or privilege, and are nothing more than residentiaries, with a peculiar corps belonging to them as deans; the

Mr. Deane Swift, and Dr. Delany, justly offended at this illiberal attack, have each, in their respective works, defended the characters of those very distinguished and truly respectable persons.

" ———————— Animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, nec queis te magis opstasses amicum."

" They were," Dr. Delany exclaims, with a just feeling of resentment at this injurious libel, " men of fortune, scholars, men of parts, men of humour, men of wit, and men of virtue. Greater companions Swift might have conversed with, but better he neither did nor could." [7] Indeed the words of his admirable poem on

[7] Observations, &c. Letter VIII.

first of the chapter, but such whose presonce is not necessary toward the dispatch of any one capitular act, the senior residentiary supplying their absence, in every case, with full authority. Thus, I say, the case generally is in the old deaneries, unless where the local statutes may have expressly reserved some peculiar power or privilege to the deans of those churches. But none of them, I dare say, have a negative, either by common law, custom, or local statute. Thus much to shew you, that a nice search into the peculiar rights of the dean of Sarum will be needless, if not mischievous to you. The three deaneries which I have had, (Carlisle, Christ-church, and Westminster,) are all of the new foundation, by Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth. In the charters of all there is a clause, empowering the dean to make, punish, and unmake all the officers. In the statutes of one of them (Carlisle) the dean's consent, in all the *graviores causæ*, is made expressly necessary, and in the other two nothing from the foundation of those churches ever passed the seal without the dean's *sigilletur* first written on the lease, presentation, &c. which is a manifest and uncontested proof of his negative. As to the power of proposing, that I apprehend not to be exclusive to the other members of chapters. It is a point chiefly of decency and convenience; the dean being the principal person, and supposed best to be acquainted with the affairs of the church, and in what order they are fittest to be transacted. But if any one else of the body will propose any thing, and the rest of the chapter will debate it, I see not how the dean can hinder them, unless it be by leaving the chapter; and that itself will be of no moment in churches where his absence does not break up and dissolve the chapter; as it does, where his consent to any thing there treated of is expressly required before it can pass into an act. Where, indeed, he is allowed such a negative, he is generally allowed to make proposals; because it would be to no purpose for any one to make a proposition, which he can quash by a dissent; but this is not, I say, a matter of right, but of prudence."

Swift's letter, in reply, dated 18th April 1716, is worthy of insertion, inasmuch as it serves to explain several of the privileges, possessed by the deans of this cathedral. " Your conjectures," he writes, " from whence my difficulties take their rise, are perfectly true. It is all party. But the right is certainly on my side, if there be any thing in constant immemorial custom. Besides, though the first scheme of this cathedral was brought from Sarum, yet by several subsequent grants, from popes, kings, archbishops, and acts of parliament, the dean has great prerogatives. He visits the chapter as ordinary, and the archbishop only visits by the dean. The dean can suspend and sequester any member, and punishes all crimes except heresy, and one or two more reserved for the archbishop. No lease can be let without him. He holds a court leet in his district, and is exempt from the lord mayor, &c. No chapter can be called but by him, and he dissolves them at pleasure. He disposes absolutely of the petty canons and vicars-choral places. All the dignitaries, &c. swear canonical obedience to him. These circumstances put together, I presume, may alter the case in your lordship's judgement. However, I shall, as your lordship directs me, do my utmost to divert this controversy as much as I can. I must add one thing, that no dignitary can preside without a power from the dean, who, in his absence, makes a sub-dean, and limits him as he pleases."

" It is indeed," as Swift himself expresses, in his letter to Dean Mossom of 14 Feb. 1720-21, " an infallible maxim that not one thing is done without the Dean's consent. If he, proposeth, it is then left to the majority; because his proposal is his consent."

But the important business of a negative was not the only one wherein the dean met with opposition from his chapter; they shewed an inclination, at first, to oppose almost every exercise of his power; even the choice of a proctor to the oeconomy was, in 1715, debated with great heat; the person he proposed on the 17th of March, was rejected, by a majority of eight voices to six; although he afterwards, on the same day, proposed serving in that capacity himself, his offer was rejected by the same number of votes: the election was therefore, of necessity, postponed until the 24th, when Mr. Theophilus Harrison was proposed by the dean, and was elected by a majority of ten voices to nine. But this system of vexatious opposition did not last long; " it was soon discovered," says Dr. Johnson, " that between prudence and integrity he was seldom in the wrong; and that, when he was right, his spirit did not easily yield to opposition;" and indeed, so entirely did he prevail amongst his chapter, that, as Lord Orrery remarks, " The *Vox Decani* became the *Vox Dei*."

The most determined opponents of Swift upon these occasions, were, Robert Dougat, Precentor, nephew to the Archbishop; and Theophilus Bolton, Chancellor, the same who was afterwards made Archbishop of Tuam. To the latter Swift alludes, in his letter to Mr. Cope, dated 9th July 1717, where he says, " I made a good many advances to your friend Bolton since I came to town, and talked of you; but all signified nothing; for he has taken every opportunity of opposing me, in the most unkind and unnecessary manner, and I have done with him." Again, 9th October 1722, he writes, " your new bishop, Bolton, was born to be my tormentor; he ever opposed me as my subject, and now has left me embroiled for want of him." In this last place he writes jestingly, for he means, that Bolton left him in difficulties, because of the candidates who sought to obtain the curacy of St. Bride's, which Bolton, by his promotion, had vacated; and here I cannot help observing, how prone Swift was, at all times, to forgive injuries; with Bolton he had, before he left the chapter, contracted a friendship which continued ever afterwards, and we find that, during the contest, on the 10th Nov. 1715, Bolton was elected proctor, to represent the church in convocation, at a meeting of the chapter where Dean Swift presided; Robert Dougat too, was nominated sub-dean by Swift, on the 23d Feb. 1715-16, the first occasion that occurred after his return into Ireland. I am aware that Mr. Nichols, in his Lit. Anecd. of XVIII Century, Vol. III. pages 259, 260, tells a very different story; he represents Swift as holding in continual remembrance, during a long series of years, an ancient grudge; but that learned and industrious biographer is in error, nor has he been careful to distinguish between Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Tuam, and John Bolton, Dean of Derry.

his own death contradicts, in direct terms, those false insinuations of his malicious biographer; speaking of himself, Swift says,

"He only chose the wise and good;
No flatterers, no allies in blood." [w]

"There is a time," says Dr. Hawksworth, "when every man is struck with a sense of his mortality, and feels the force of a truth to which he has consented merely from custom, without considering its certainty or importance.—The Dean, whether by the vigour and activity of his imagination, the multitude of his

[w] Mr. Walter Scott imagines that Swift was, at this time, "secluded from the society of the great, powerful, and distinguished; the companion of Oxford and Bolingbroke," he adds, "of Prior, Pope, and Gay, had to select his society from the men of kindred taste in his own order, with a few of more elevated rank, who either had the sense and spirit to forsake politics for wit, or were not disinclined to High Church politics." But it appears, from the testimony of those who were better informed, that Swift's associates were selected, with taste and judgement, not adopted of necessity, or in the absence of those, whom, had he a choice, he would have preferred: and this supposition is moreover confirmed by the event, for we find that afterwards, when the dean's acquaintance was solicited, with the utmost anxiety, by all ranks of people, his attachment to the society, which he had previously selected, remained unaltered; "That group of acquaintance," says Mr. Deane Swift, "which, in 1720, frequented the deanery, sometimes in larger and sometimes in smaller parties, at least twice in the week, upon his publick days, were, even to my remembrance, the most learned and polite that were to be met with at any one place in the kingdom of Ireland: insomuch that, if I mistake not, there were at least eight or ten of his intimates, who would have acquired respect unto themselves for the variety and the excellence of their learning, their wit and their accomplishments, at any court in Europe." Deane Swift's Essay, &c.

With this account, that of Dr. Delany remarkably concurs, from his "Remarks, &c." the following description of "that admired, that envied society, in which Swift passed his life, at that period," is chiefly drawn.

"They consisted," says he, "of the Grattans, seven brothers, the sons of a venerable, and well beloved clergyman, Doctor Grattan, who gave them all liberal education: and, at the same time, (as I have often heard the old Bishop of Clogher declare) kept hospitality beyond both the lords who lived on either side of him; though both reputed hospitable. One of these brothers was an eminent physician, another an eminent merchant, who died Lord-mayor of Dublin: the youngest was first a fellow of the college of Dublin, and after, master of the great free-school at Enniskillen. The eldest was a justice of the peace, who lived reputably upon his patrimony in the country. The three other brothers were clergymen of good characters, and competently provided for in the church. Two of them Swift found in his cathedral—A set of men as generally, and as much beloved, as any one family in the nation.—The opinion which Swift had of the Grattans will best be judged of by the following little memoir. When Lord Carteret came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, Swift asked him, pray, my lord, have you the honour to be acquainted with the Grattans? Upon my lord's answering, that he had not that honour, then, pray my ord, take care to obtain it, it is of great consequence: the Grattans, my lord, can raise ten thousand men." It appears from hence, that this family has an hereditary claim, as well to talents, as popularity; this eulogium would be thought, half a century later, by no means adequate to the merits of one single successor. "These," continues Dr. Delany, "with their allies, the Jacksons, genteel, agreeable, and well bred men and women, were the companions of many of Swift's easiest and happiest hours." To this list may be added George Rochford, and Peter Ludlow, men of wit, humour and virtue; the first, whose family seat was at Gaulstown, represented the county of Westmeath in parliament, during several succeeding sessions; he was father to the first Earl of Belvidere; the second was, I apprehend, the same who represented the county of Meath, and whose son, Peter, was, in 1755, advanced to the peerage of Ireland by the title of Baron Ludlow of Ardsallagh, and, in 1776, was created Earl Ludlow. Another of Swift's associates was Mr. Matthew Forde, "a man of family and fortune; a fine gentleman, and the best lay scholar of his time, and nation." "These," says Dr. Delany, "with the fellows of the college, Dr. Walmsley, Dr. Helsham, Dr. Delany, Mr. Stopford, (afterwards Bishop of Cloyne) and Dr. Sheridan, among the men: and Lady Eustace, Mrs, Moore, and Lady Betty Rochford (daughter of Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda) and Mrs. Ludlow, ladies sufficiently distinguished, of the other sex, were, with Stella, and her friend, Swift's principal acquaintance, and companions, during this period, which the Earl of Orrery thinks fit to treat as the era of his infamy."

There was one person among his companions who could not, indeed, derive much honour from his lineage; a foundling, whom Swift therefore called Melchisedeck, his name was Worrall, a clergyman, master of arts, a minor-canon of St. Patrick's, likewise dean's vicar, and master of the song in both cathedrals; he was nearly of the dean's own standing in college, had good sense and much humour; he was educated at the Blue-coat-hospital, and afterwards in the University; he was married to a woman of great vivacity, good nature, and generosity; remarkably cleanly, and elegant in her person, in her house, and at her table. Another quality existed in Mr. Worrall, which contributed much to his intimacy with the Dean: he was a good walker, an exercise which Swift was fond of, from an apprehension that it was necessary to health and cleanliness; it followed generally their attendance at church, and the walk naturally ended, either in the Dean's dining with him, or he with the Dean: when the latter was Mr. Worrall's guest, he paid him at a certain rate which they came mutually to agree upon. This gentleman left a large sum to be expended in public charities; 500*l.* of which was appropriated, by his executors, to the Dean's hospital; he likewise bequeathed 100*l.* per annum, to be distributed amongst ten poor scholars, educated in Dublin University.—Delany's Remarks, &c. and Doctor Lyon's MS. additions to Dr. Hawksworth's Life of Swift. There is a remarkable testimonial of Worrall's merit recorded upon the book of Chapter-minutes; in 1746, when he retired from the duty of taking care of the Choir-boys, the Chapter voted that he should be presented with a piece of plate of the value of ten guineas, in token of their gratitude for his long and faithful services.

There is another of Swift's associates who merits particular attention; I mean, Dr. Thomas Sheridan, a clergyman, distinguished for learning as well as wit, who, when Swift succeeded to the deanery, was master of a classical school in Dublin. "He was," says Lord Orrery, "deeply versed in the Greek and Roman languages, and in their customs and antiquities. He had that kind of good nature, which absence of mind, indolence of body, and carelesness of fortune produce; and although not over strict in his own conduct, yet he took care of the morality of his scholars, whom he sent to the university, remarkably well founded in all classical learning, and not ill instructed in

ideas, or the ardour of his pursuits, escaped the force of this thought, till his retreat to Ireland on the death of the queen;" and then indeed it came upon him with such influence, that it was the first that occurred when he awoke, and the last which remained when he retired to sleep: a poem, written during the sickness which visited him in October 1714, represents forcibly the despondency of his mind[x]; upon all these occasions, however, the chief, if not the sole subject of his complaint, was the perilous situation of some of his friends, and his seclusion from the society of the rest.[y] So late as May 1719, he writes to

the social duties of life. He was slovenly, indigent, and chearful. He knew books better than men: and he knew the value of money least of all." To this account, which Dr. Delany admits, to be just in the mean, he adds, that Sheridan, "had a faculty, and indeed a felicity of throwing out hints, and materials of mirth and humour, beyond any man he ever knew. If he were not the stanchest hound in the pack, he was at least the best starter." With this easy, negligent, gay, contented creature, Swift spent much of his time, and when Lord Carteret came to Ireland, who was, himself, sufficiently well inclined to encourage learning, he obtained that Dr. Sheridan should be named one of the lord lieutenant's chaplains, and he was likewise, soon after, presented to a small living near Cork. When he went down to be inducted, he was invited, by Archdeacon Russel, to preach for him; without considering the day, which was the anniversary of the accession of the house of Hanover, he was so unfortunate as to select a sermon which had for the text, "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." It so happened that Mr. Richard Tighe, a man, as Swift says, "of no large dimensions of body or mind," but of great zeal for the house of Hanover, was one of the audience; he carried the account up to Dublin, and the result was, that the doctor's name was struck out of the list of chaplains, for Lord Carteret durst not venture to give such occasion for slander as the overlooking this misdemeanor might give rise to. Thus did he, says Swift, shoot his fortune dead, by chance medley, with this single text; and yet, as he informs us, there was not a syllable in the whole sermon relating to government, or party, or to the subject of the day. See Swift's Vindication of Lord Carteret, &c. Sheridan's good fortune, however, made up to him what he had lost by his imprudence; Archdeacon Russel, the person for whom he was to preach, and who was therefore the innocent cause of his misfortune, with a munificence quite unparelleled, and which, therefore, should not pass unrecorded, bestowed on him a lease, yielding a profit rent of 150*l.* yearly.

About the year 1734, Swift was deprived of the society of this sincere and disinterested friend. His indiscretions had involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, and he was obliged to retire, in that year, from Dublin to the free-school of Cavan; "with a diminished income, but unbroken gaiety of heart and spirits." When he was removing "Swift happened to call in just at the time that the workmen were taking down the pictures, and other furniture, in the parlour; that parlour where, for such a number of years he had passed so many happy hours. Struck with the sight he burst into tears, and rushed into a dark closet, where he continued a quarter of an hour before he could compose himself." This circumstance is related by the younger Sheridan, who observes that Swift was then verging on 70, "an age in which the heart generally is callous, and almost dead to the fine affections, nor can there be a stronger confutation of the charge made against him of his want of feeling; as the instances are very rare of persons at that time of life capable of being so much moved by such an incident."

Sheridan died at Rathfarnham, in the year 1738; his scheme of keeping a school in Cavan had failed, and he had, a short time before, sold his interest therein, and in his bishop's lease of Drumlane, the sum derived from whence scarce served to pay his debts.

The Earl of Orrery gives, as usual, an ill turn to the motive of the Dean's friendship for Dr. Sheridan. Indeed that nobleman's prelude to the character of this latter manifests no very good inclinations towards either; "as in a former letter," he says, sarcastically, "I drew a picture of Swift's *wife*, let me here give you some sketches of Swift's *friend*." "Swift," says his lordship, "fastened upon him, as upon a prey with which he intended to regale himself, whenever his appetite should prompt him. Sheridan therefore was kept constantly within his reach." This is an unlucky observation, because it is remarkably untrue; the Dean interested himself but twice to obtain preferments for his friend Sheridan, one was for a benefice in the county of Cork, the other for the free-school at Armagh. It would be difficult to point out two eligible situations much farther removed from his own place of residence.

Some of Sheridan's literary productions have obtruded themselves amongst the works of Swift, a place to which they can shew no title but a sort of prescriptive right; they add considerably to that class, which Lord Orrery calls his *Minutissimæ*, which are, I apprehend, sufficiently numerous, of themselves, without any such addition; and indeed this practice of publishing the works of one, so eminently distinguished as Swift, with those of any other person, is not quite justifiable, and is a liberty too, that has been taken with Swift beyond any other person whatever. I presume that the booksellers have found his shoulders broad enough to sustain this weight of extraneous matter. It is remarked, in the preface to Swift and Pope's miscellanies, that "the greatest fame a writer is in possession of, the more of such trash he may bear to have tacked to him."

[x] This poem consists of but a few lines, the insertion of them may be therefore forgiven.

"'Tis true—then why should I repine
To see my life so fast decline?
But why obscurely here alone,
Where I am neither loved nor known?
My state of health none care to learn;
My life is here no soul's concern:
And those with whom I now converse
Without a tear will tend my hearse.
Removed from kind Arbuthnot's aid,
Who knows his art but not his trade,
Preferring his regard for me
Before his credit, or his fee.
Some formal visits, looks, and words,
What mere humanity affords,
I meet perhaps from three or four,
From whom I once expected more,
Which those who tend the sick for pay,
Can act as decently as they:
But no obliging, tender friend
To help at my approaching end.
My life is now a burthen grown
To others, ere it be my own.
Ye formal weepers for the sick,
In your last offices be quick;
And spare my absent friends the grief
To hear, yet give me no relief;
Expired to-day, intomb'd to-morrow,
When known, will save a double sorrow."

[y] Mr. Walter Scott, Dr. Warton, the Writer of Article 1. Numb. LIII. of Edinburgh review, and others have written much upon the subject of Swift's sorrow and despondency, which they are inclined to attribute to selfish motives. The

Lord Bolingbroke, "When I reason on the case of some absent friends, it frequently takes away all the quiet of my mind. I think it indecent to be merry, or take satisfaction in any thing, while those who presided in councils and armies, and by whom I had the honour to be beloved, are either in humble solitude, or attending, like Hannibal, in foreign courts, *donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.*" "My health," he adds, "is somewhat mended; but, at best, I have an ill head and an aching heart." The true cause, however, of this mental depression, is to be accounted for by the state of comparative inactivity wherein Swift spent the time which intervened between the queen's death and the year 1720, when he became engaged in politics, as actively as ever. But, though Swift's mind was not so occupied during this period, as to exclude the recurrence of unpleasing images, yet it appears that his time was neither wasted in idleness nor fruitless employment; besides what he humorously calls, in his letter to his friend Pope, "his amusements, of defending his small dominions against the archbishop, and endeavouring to reduce his rebellious choir,"[z] he was likewise employed actively in improving the glebe of Laracor. Some of his occupations there, are described in a letter to Archbishop King, dated Trim, 22d December 1716. "I have been here some days to finish the purchase of a glebe for my country parish. I prevailed on a gentleman to alienate twenty acres for 200*l.* to be had from the trustees of the first-fruits. He then sets me twenty-three acres more for 999 years. Upon these last twenty-three acres, I am, by agreement, to lay out the said 200*l.* in building, and to give the gentleman immediately 55*l.* out of my own pocket, and to pay him 14*l.* per annum, for ever, which is near the value of the whole forty acres; these last twenty-three acres, after I have built and improved, I design to leave to my successor,[a] who will then have forty-three acres of good glebe, with house, gardens, &c. for 14*l.* per annum.[8] I reckon to lay out of my own money above 250*l.* and so to be an humble imitator of your grace, *longo intervallo.*"[b] In the year 1716, he set on foot a charity school for boys, the children of the poor inhabitants of the precincts, and in that year preached himself a charity sermon for their benefit.[c] "The acquaintance he fell into," says Dr. Delany,[d] "with men of learning, (more learned and more in number, than any preceding era of this kingdom records as cotemporaries) laid him

[8] Min. of Chapt.

latter writer thinks "that, of this, he need produce no proofs; for they are to be found in every page of his subsequent writings." This, however, is mere *assertion*, for there is not a line of Swift's works, or correspondence, which exhibits lamentation or complaint upon the score of his own private disappointments.

[z] Swift's characteristic oeconomy had begun to manifest itself, in the management of the public fund of the cathedral, so early as April 1715; on the 27th of that month there appeared to be, for the first time, a redundancy of money in the proctor's hands. We find, on the book of Chapter-minutes, an order of that date, that the sum of two hundred pounds should be lent out to interest: this saving was made notwithstanding an extraordinary expense incurred by repairs, after the destruction by storms in the preceding year.

[a] See the dean's will, where, with a degree of generosity of which we have but few examples, he left those improvements to his successor, unincumbered with any charge whatever.

[b] Swift was remarkably fond of gardening, and other rural occupations; he constructed, about this time, near the deanery, a garden of no inconsiderable dimensions, to which he gave the name of Naboth's vineyard; a whimsical appellation, the origin of which I have not been able to discover. This piece of ground consisted of an acre and an half, situated on the south side of Kevin-street, upon some land belonging to the Oeconomy of St. Patrick's. Swift purchased, from the tenant then in possession, an assignment of his lease under the chapter; and, having resigned the residentiary house in the south close, he obtained, in consideration thereof, a grant, dated 14 May 1718, "whereby the fields and parks, near St. Kevin's church, were determined to be for ever annexed to the deanery." The garden above mentioned was built on a portion of this land; the walls still remain; that facing the south, which sustained Swift's favourite fruit trees, is fronted with brick.

To insure to his successor the like gratification, he induced the chapter, on the 8 Jan. 1721, to pass the following resolution: "That a lease for forty years should be granted to the dean and his successors, and renewed every fourteen years, with a fine, and so to continue from time to time; provided that the dean should also renew the lease of the residentiary house to the chapter." Min. of Chapt. It continued to be annexed, in this manner, to the deanery until the year 1814, when the ground was sold for the purpose of erecting an hospital thereon. See page 83.

[c] Min. of Chapt. He likewise built an alms-house for poor aged women, at his own private expense.

[d] Observations, &c. Letter IX. He went through a voluminous course of ecclesiastical history, likewise, about this time.

under a necessity of revising his Greek and Latin with care: he had not else appeared with the advantage that became him, in that society: nay, he could so ill bear to be considered as a cypher in any scientific society, that he applied himself even to the mathematics, in that period; and made some progress in them. And I have seen him more than once, undertake to solve an algebraic problem by arithmetic." [e]

Before we enter upon that busy scene of public life in which Swift was afterwards engaged, some matters of more private concern require discussion. Public report, which seldom fails to unite, in the bands of wedlock, those persons of opposite sexes between whom a mutual interchange of affection is perceived to exist, is said to have performed that kind office for Swift and the accomplished Stella: it was an event by no means improbable, and such of their cotemporaries as gave credit to it, assented to what usually happens in the ordinary course of nature; it not being avowed openly, could not of itself be sufficient to prove that which was rumoured to be a fiction; such matters are often, from prudential motives, kept secret for a time, and those who believed that a marriage had taken place, expected that, one day or other, the union itself, and the motives for its being kept secret, would be divulged. Those however who continued, after the death of both parties, to give credit to this story, had not the same reasonable grounds for their assent; and probably the whole tale would have been forgotten, had it not been revived, and industriously circulated, as perhaps indeed it was originally invented, by the active malice of John, Earl of Orrery. [f] Swift's biographers have uniformly followed the track of their biased leader; the facts, however, which are related by some, are altogether inconsistent with what is asserted, with as much confidence, by others, deserving an equal degree of credit; they each of them maintain their point by a subversion of all those rules of evidence which ought to regulate our assent; hearsay and tradition, no matter how far removed from original testimony, [g] are deemed sufficient proofs of the most improbable acts, for which no motive that ever actuated

[e] Swift published, during this period, two pamphlets, which have been already noticed; the one intitled, "Memoirs relating to that change which happened in the queen's ministry, in the year 1710;" the other, "An Inquiry into the behaviour of the queen's last ministry, with relation to their quarrels among themselves, and the design charged upon them, of altering the succession to the crown." His poetical productions, written during this period, were not numerous. In this interval he wrote the Letter to a young gentleman, lately entered into holy orders, "which shews," says Dr. Delany, "a large extent of genius, wit, observation, and learning, throughout." Although Dr. Delany denies that Swift was engaged, at this time, in writing Gulliver's Travels, it appears, however, from a passage of Vanessa's letter to him, where she alludes to the adventure of the Ape, that he had made some progress in the work before 1722. We find from his letter to Pope, dated June 1715, that some proposal had been made to him to undertake some work of such light sort; "truly I must," he replies, "be a little easy in my mind before I can think of Scriblerus."

[f] Although I have assented to the statements of some biographers, and admitted that a report did prevail during the lifetime of Swift, yet there is no trace of any such; on the contrary, there is every probability that Lord Orrery was himself the first framer of this scandalous story. Not even do the enemies of Swift object any thing against him of this kind; throughout the whole volume, called "Gulliveriana," it is never once insinuated; we cannot doubt but that the editor would have anxiously seized upon so fruitful a topic, had he supposed it would have gained credit; but, so far is he from countenancing any such report, that he satirizes Swift for his aversion to matrimony, in the following lines, (page 42.)

"Or, is he settling schemes of life?
Money, besure; besure, no wife."

Another forcible argument against the existance of any such report may be drawn from the letters of Vanessa, some of which are extant, written at so late a period as 1722, and yet there is not one word which indicates jealousy throughout the whole series; nay, hopes of ultimate success were manifestly entertained to the latest period of her life, which terminated in 1724. Bishop Ashe, who is said to have performed the ceremony, died in 1717, if the secret was ever divulged it must have been before that event; that it should be currently reported, and believed, and yet, for eight years, never have reached the ears of a person so deeply interested, and resident in the same town, is a circumstance to which, before we gave our assent, we should require some more satisfactory proofs than such sort of evidence as has been transmitted to our times doth supply. It is scarce necessary to prove, that Vanessa was much inclined to the passion of jealousy; this will sufficiently appear from perusing her earliest letters, where she exhibits great uneasiness whenever Swift shews to her younger sister, Mary, more attention than to herself.

[g] Although hearsay and tradition have been so much relied on, yet, as it is stated by all those who pretend that the marriage ceremony was performed, that there were no witnesses present, that sort of evidence cannot reach to the act, nor prove any thing upon that score; nay, on the contrary, such testimony as we have of that sort, tends rather to prove that there never was any marriage, because it demonstrates that the parties lived, after the pretended ceremony, in the same manner as before.

the heart of man is urged[h]; for none of these writers alledge that sensual gratification was the cause of this pretended union[i]; it is manifest, that to silence the tongue of slander[k] could not be the intention of a marriage which was never avowed; no arrangement of a pecuniary nature was compassed; What then was the object? "It relieved," says Mr. Walter Scott, "the mind of Stella from all scruples on the impropriety of the connexion." These words, apparently significant, are nevertheless without meaning; what scruples could she have concerning the propriety of a connexion founded in mutual disinterested friendship? her conscience must have acquitted her in the presence of that God, who seeth in secret, as well before, if not better than after, such an inefficient ceremony, better surely than after such a vile profanation of a sacred religious rite.[l]

[h] There are many persons who charge Swift with caprice, and expect, by that single word, to ward off all arguments that may be drawn from analogy, or alledged upon the score of likelihood; for example—If you should say that it is not natural to suppose Swift would decline to cohabit with a woman to whom he was married, and whom he loved affectionately, because it is what every other man would do, if so circumstanced; they will immediately answer, but Swift was so capricious, that what other men did or would do was no rule to him. It is difficult, indeed, to argue with persons, who deny the truth of general rules, who will not admit the force of arguments drawn from analogy, or general experience, but postpone all such kind of evidence, not to the direct testimony of actual witnesses, but to vague report, and the scandalous tales of idle, and commonly malicious, gossips. I think too, those persons argue as it were in a circle; they accuse Swift of caprice, because of his strange conduct to Stella, and then seek to prove his conduct to have been strange, because of his caprice. Mr. Bowyer has, in his tracts, a remark upon Swift, which appears very judicious, and is particularly applicable to this subject. "If we deduct," says this learned printer, "somewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greatest part of Swift's conduct may be accounted for, by the common operations of human nature." The learned Doctor Hawksworth too, by far the most intelligent of Swift's biographers, seems to have had some doubts of the truth of this story about the marriage; his observation upon it is couched in words which exhibit how contrary to nature he conceived it; "Why the Dean," he says, "did not sooner marry this excellent person; why he married her at all; why his marriage was so cautiously concealed; and why he was never known to meet her but in the presence of a third person, are enquiries which no man can answer, or has attempted to answer, without absurdity; and are therefore unprofitable objects of speculation." True, they can be answered but one way, without absurdity, that is, there was no such marriage. Perhaps Dr. Hawksworth, and perhaps some others of Swift's biographers would have rejected this idle story, had they visited this kingdom; they would then have discovered, that what they supposed to be generally believed by all, was the opinion only of a few persons.

[i] During the whole of that period of life, when the passions are most violent, Swift never exhibited symptoms of an amorous disposition; "we cannot find," says Mr. Walter Scott, "any one line in his writings or correspondence, intimating his having felt such a source of passion; nor is there a single anecdote of his life recorded, which indicates his having submitted to what he irreverently terms "that ridiculous passion which has no being but in play-books or romances." "He was a man," Lucio would say, "whose blood was very snow-broth." In his letter to the Rev. John Kendall, dated 11 Feb. 1691-2, he even boasts of his "cold temper;" upon the subject of matrimony he expresses himself in the following words: "I shall speak plainly to you, that the very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the university, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years; and even then itself, I am so hard to please, that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world." Again, "I confess I have known one or two men of sense enough, who, inclined to frolicks, have married and ruined themselves out of a maggot; but a thousand household thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am sure, frighten me from that; beside that I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which usually produces those effects." Mr. Scott remarks, that this continence might have been owing to physical as well as moral causes; be this as it may, not a line of his writings indicates that he ever felt the passions of love or desire; "the sense of decency," the same writer observes, "which gave uniformly way before the slightest temptation to exercise his wit, would scarce have restrained him from expressing voluptuous as well as disgusting ideas.—The qualities, likewise, for which he extols his favourites, are uniformly mental, and not only so, but such as are rather of a masculine character, as courage, frankness, constancy and sincerity.—In short, he praises in his female friends those attributes chiefly which are most frequently met with in the other sex, and appears embarrassed, rather than gratified, by the superior ardour of passion with which his temperate predilection was returned." Swift's Works, Vol. XV. page 220, &c. Scott's Life of Swift, pp. 244, 245.

[k] Mr. Sheridan, in one place, (page 349) says that the pretence made with regard to her character was an idle one, "as no woman living had a more unblemished reputation, being considered by all who knew her as a perfect pattern of modesty to her sex, *and so reported in the world;*" in another place, (page 309) he says, "her apprehensions about her character's suffering, seemed to weigh heavy on her mind." Again, in another place, he alledges a dog-in-the-manger-like motive for her conduct; he attributes her desire to have the ceremony performed to her jealous apprehensions, lest Swift might be induced to marry Miss Vanhomrigh, and he adds, that then "she would at least have the satisfaction, by this measure, of rendering such a union with her rival impracticable."

[l] All this talk about scruples of conscience being satisfied by performing the ceremony of marriage, "without any view," as Mr. Sheridan says, "to the usual ends of matrimony," is really quite absurd and extravagant. There is more to alarm than quiet a tender conscience in such a procedure. How would the parties, under such circumstances, answer to the address, beginning with the words, "I require and charge you both, &c.?"

There is, indeed, little probability, that a respectable divine of the episcopal order, and therefore, as an ecclesiastical, judge having cognizance of such matters, would consent to such vile profanation of a sacred religious rite, as to perform a ceremony, without witnesses, to the due performance of which, publication is, by law, an essential requisite, and this, out of his own diocess, without licence, and in an uncanonical place. Mr. Sheridan makes the Rt. Rev. Prelate a party to the whole transaction, employed in the whole negociation, as the common friend of both, and the conditions of the union, he adds, were punctually fulfilled; which conditions, as we are informed, was,

But let us examine what evidence has been produced of the truth of this improbable event. The first person that mentions it is John, Earl of Orrery,[m] who relates, "that they were married in the year 1716, by Dr. Ash, then Bishop of Clogher."[n] This, however, he is far from asserting positively, rather doubtingly he adds, "if my informations are right;" so that this testimony, when we

a denial of all conjugal rights; and this he will have us believe was guaranteed, and approved of, by a bishop, before whom, as a judge, actions for restitution of such rights do lie, when brought within his own diocess. Of this impropriety Sheridan himself seems sensible, for afterwards (p. 347) he gives it as a reason for Swift's refusing to acknowledge Stella as his wife; because, if the real state of the case were known, and it were believed that no consummation ever followed the rite of marriage, "he thought it would ill become the character of a dignitary of the church, to have it known to the world, that he had made a mockery of so sacred a ceremony."

[m] The Earl of Orrery's testimony tends, upon the whole, rather to disprove than confirm the fact of an actual marriage between Swift and Stella.—I. Because he adduces no evidence that such a ceremony had been performed, but that of hearsay, which must have been communicated to him at least twenty years after the event, and it might have passed, nay probably it did pass through many persons before it came to him. We are not, therefore, to suppose the communication to his Lordship, to be evidence of such strong nature, as the direct testimony of a witness actually present; it may, for aught we know, have been of the weakest sort, derived through several intermediate persons, and therefore not sufficient to create a belief of a matter, like this, uncommon, and unnatural, and consequently incredible; in truth it appears, when we consider his own words, that he had no other evidence but common report; "*If my informations are right,*" says the Earl, "she was married to Dr. Swift in the year 1716, by Dr. Ash, then Bishop of Clogher."

II. But Lord Orrery, if he fails in establishing the fact of the marriage, is perfectly successful in proving some things which are quite inconsistent with such an act. First, he establishes the character of Stella to have been that of one, incapable of performing a weak or unworthy part—"she was a most amiable woman—had an elevated understanding—virtue was her guide in morality, sincerity was her guide in religion. She was constant, but not ostentatious in her devotions." Secondly, he proves that there would have been no disgrace to him, had Swift acknowledged her as his wife. "Surely a diamond of so much lustre might have been publicly produced, although it had been fixed within the collet of matrimony." Thirdly, he proves that there was no difference in their manner of living before and after the period of time in which he says they were married. "Dr. Swift and Mrs. Johnson continued the same oeconomy of life after marriage, which they had pursued before it. They lived in separate houses; he remaining at the deanery, she, in lodgings at a distance from him, and on the other side the Liffey. Nothing appeared in their behaviour inconsistent with decorum, or beyond the limits of platonic love. They conversed like friends, but they industriously took care, to summon witnesses of their conversation: a rule to which they adhered so strictly, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove they had ever been together without some third person." I appeal to the reader whether this would not, in a court of justice, be considered decisive evidence against a marriage. Fourthly, he acknowleges that Swift, although he was fond of the society of women, had no amorous propensities, and therefore felt no incitements of that sort to contract matrimony.—"It is true, my friend the Dean kept company with many of the fair sex, but they were rather his amusement than his admiration. He trifled away many hours in their conversation, he filled many pages with their praise, and by the power of his head, he gained the character of a lover, without the least assistance from his heart.—If we consider Swift's behaviour, so far as it relates to women, we shall find, that he looked upon them rather as busts than as whole figures. In his panegyrical descriptions, he has seldom descended lower than the center of their hearts (an odd expression this): or if ever he has designed a complete statue, it has been generally cast in a dirty, or in a disagreeable mould: as if the statuary had not conceived, *or had not experienced*, that justness of proportion, that delicacy of limb, and those pleasing, and graceful attitudes which have constituted the sex to be the most beautiful part of the creation." Fifthly, his Lordship not only declares, that Swift was not susceptible of the passion of love, but that his affection for Stella was of a quite different nature. "If you review his several poems to Stella, you will find them fuller of affection than desire, and more expressive of friendship than of love, for example,"

> 'Thou, Stella, wert no longer young,
> When first for thee my harp I strung;
> Without one word of Cupid's darts,
> Of killing eyes, or bleeding hearts:
> With friendship and esteem possest,
> I ne'er admitted love a guest.'

"Most of the poems," continues the Earl, "which are absolutely addressed to Stella, or which describe her in a variety of attitudes, turn upon her age: a kind of excuse perhaps for Swift's want of love." Lastly, it appears from the length of time during which this love affair did continue before it had any visible ill effects upon Stella's health, that there was nothing very irksome in its nature, or any thing very mortifying in Swift's conduct to her; "She began to decline in her health in the year 1724;" this was above twenty years after her first settlement in Ireland, and eight after the pretended ceremony of marriage. Mrs. Johnson was then in her 43d year and Swift in his 57th; a late period for one to die for love, or the other to occasion so dreadful a catastrophe.

If, therefore, we judge Lord Orrery out of his own mouth, we must decide, that he had no reasonable grounds for believing that Swift was actually married to this, his amiable and accomplished friend; his lordship's judgement was in this, as in other matters, influenced by a motive, in its nature different; there was a certain bias in his mind which inclined him to give credit to any story that was discreditable to the memory of *his friend* Swift; this is pretty discernible throughout his memoir; charity demands that we should suppose his lordship was himself ignorant of this evil propensity, but no one who reads his work cautiously, can, I think, harbour the least doubt of its existance.

It is difficult to suppress a smile when we read Dr. Delany's sly compliment to the Earl, upon that part of his narrative which relates to this supposed matrimonial alliance. "The secret of this conduct of Swift towards Stella, is not however, I think (with great submission) what your lordship apprehends it: though set off with much *wit, a fine imagination, and signal sagacity of conjecture.*" These are admirable qualities in an historian and biographer, and, to their credit be it spoken, such as no biographer of Swift has been, heretofore, found deficient in.

[n] Mr. Sheridan relates as follows, "The ceremony was performed *without witnesses*, and the connubial knot tied in the year 1716, by Dr. Ash, Bishop of Clogher, to whom Swift had been a pupil in the college; and who, as I have been informed, was the common friend to both, employed in the above negociation." In the note he says, "the whole account of this transaction was given me by Mrs. Sican, a lady of uncommon understanding, fine taste, and great goodness of heart: on which account she was a great favourite both with the Dean and Mrs. Johnson." But what is all this to the purpose? Mrs. Sican does not testify that, to her knowledge, the marriage

consider the temper and disposition of the narrator, the faultering manner in which it is advanced, and the weak arguments with which it is supported, becomes at length very feeble evidence indeed. The Earl's account is, however, supported by that of Dr. Delany,° who, in his "Observations on Lord Orrery's remarks,"

ceremony was performed, for she says that there were no witnesses to the transaction; she does not testify that she derived her information from the subsequent conduct of the parties, for that, it is admitted, was the same after as before; what then is the value of her testimony beyond that of any common reporter? it comes to this, she heard that they were married; but from whom? not surely from one of the parties, for, had it been so, she would not have suppressed so important a circumstance; she must therefore have derived her information from one who know no more than herself. By the way, this Mrs. Sican was, I apprehend, a person of no very considerable rank in life; I have seen a bill for providing a chapter dinner in 1734, endorsed by Swift with his own hand, "Sican's bill," if this be the same person, which is very likely, because the name is by no means one of common occurrence, this goody Sican was just such a sort of person as would be likely to propagate a gossip story, such as this of the marriage between Stella and Swift. This passage of Sheridan's is important for another reason, he mentions the authority from whence his information is derived, it rests therefore upon the validity of that testimony, and it is very remarkable that he goes beyond that of his own father, who would have been the best evidence possible; it is therefore reasonable to conclude, that the younger Sheridan never did hear his father attest this story of a *marriage by the Bishop of Clogher*, or he would scarcely have quoted, in preference, the testimony of a mere common acquaintance.

I shall exhibit to the reader a curious specimen of the manner in which an honest and intelligent person may, in his narrative, recede from the truth of what he reads or hears, unconsciously, and without the least evil intention; if it answers to no other purpose, it will, at least, serve to point out the great difference there is, in value, between original testimony and tradition.

Mr. Walter Scott, in his Life of Swift, page 238, has the following passage; "Dr. Madden told the same story (of the marriage) to Dr. Johnson, *upon the authority of* Dr. Sheridan, to whom Stella unfolded the secret shortly before her death." Let us now read Dr. Johnson's words, pretended to be here quoted; "Alas! poor Stella, as Dr. Madden told me, related her melancholy story to Dr. Sheridan, when he attended her as a clergyman to prepare her for death." See the difference of import in the original words and quotation; in the former Dr. Madden relates what he had heard, "that Stella had, on her death bed, related the story to Sheridan," but he does not say that he heard it from Sheridan, that important link in the chain of evidence is supplied by Mr. Scott, in his quotation of this passage, where he says, "that Dr. Madden told the same story to Dr. Johnson *upon the authority* of Dr. Sheridan." Thus it is, that what was a matter of doubt at one period, becomes a matter of certainty after the expiration of a century of time, and from hence we may deduce a proof, if a proof be necessary, of the old adage, "A story never looses, &c." I cannot quit this subject without remarking how very unlikely it is that Sheridan should disclose a secret, which so intimately concerned his friend the Dean, to Dr. Madden, with whom it is probable he was not at all acquainted, and scarce possible that he was very intimate, considering how remarkably those persons differed in politics; Dr. Madden, it should be observed, was a great Whig, the zealous friend of Primate Boulter, to whose memory he dedicated a poem, entitled, "Boulter's Monument."

° Dr. Delany does not, in his own work, give us any additional proof of the marriage ceremony having been performed, neither does he say that he received any direct communication upon the subject; this would have been more to the purpose than all his reasoning, nor can we suppose, had he such direct proof, that he would have recourse to such weak arguments as he employs.

Dr. Delany's testimony does, in the same manner as the Earl of Orrery's, rather disprove than confirm the fact of a marriage between Swift and Stella. He finds it necessary to account for Swift's conduct in not acknowledging Stella, but, whatever reasons he alledges in his fifth letter, he compleatly controverts them in that which follows. "He was in debt, and Mrs. Johnson's fortune was small: he could not, in those circumstances, live up to the dignity of his station. Nor would his honour allow him to run the least risque of hurting her fortune; and therefore, he chose rather to lie by, and save, till he had wherewithal to enable him to appear as he ought. And this, also, I take to be the true cause of his abstaining (as he undoubtedly did) from all marital commerce with that lady for a considerable time; to prevent the increase of a family under such circumstances." All this is answered in the next following letter. "Had he taken her to the deanery immediately after his marriage; and lived with her, professedly in the character of a husband; I verily think, he might have attained all those ends, which he proposed to himself, from his unseasonable and ill-judged prudence, in concealing his marriage so long. He was of a character, which well enabled him to live in the world, after what manner he thought best: and I am satisfied he might have kept house at the deanery, under the direction of his well-judged and long-practised frugality and oeconomy, with very near, if not altogether as little expense as they were at in their separate dwellings: he at the deanery, and she at lodgings."

The Doctor has, by answering his own arguments, saved us that trouble, and moreover, furnishes us himself, with a proof against the marriage, because he shews, that those reasons for Swift's not acknowledging Stella as his wife which have been drawn from oeconomical motives, are all null and void: as to what the doctor says of Swift's abstaining from marital commerce, lest he should have too large a family, or until he should have accumulated a sufficient fortune to provide for them, it is too monstrous a supposition to require that it should be coolly controverted; when Stella died Swift was above sixty years old; but, moreover, it appears that, until after that event Swift had not set about increasing his fortune with great eagerness; nay, it will be shewn in a future page of this memoir, that he was scarcely richer at the time of Stella's death, than he was, when first nominated to the deanery. Almost all the other reasons, adduced by Dr. Delany, which are intended to shew, how much better it would have been for Swift to have brought Stella to live at the deanery than let her live in separate lodgings, serve as so many additional proofs that they were not married; "how honoured and unreproached," he exclaims, "would Swift have lived, and died, had Stella presided all her life long at his table: delighted his friends, and done honour to his choice, every day of her life! and by her festivity, (for she had a great fund of natural cheerfulness,) her wit, her elegance, her humour, her address; set off his slightest entertainments, and brightened them into banquets! let me repeat it again: how much happier had he lived! how much happier had he died!"

But Dr. Delany has been, since his death, introduced to the world as giving further testimony upon the subject of this marriage. I quote the following passage from the Life of Swift, by Mr. Walter Scott, page 239. "Immediately subsequent to the ceremony, Swift's state of mind appears to have been dreadful. Delany, (as I have learned from *a friend of his relict*,) being pressed to give his opinion on this *strange union*, said, that, about the time it took place, he observed Swift to be gloomy and agitated, so much so, that he went to Archbishop King, to mention his apprehensions. On entering the library, Swift rushed out with a countenance of distraction, and passed him without speaking. He found the Archbishop in tears, and upon asking the reason, he said, "you have just met the most

declares his opinion of its truth. That Dr. Delany's acquaintance with this matter should go no farther than opinion, furnishes argument against, rather than for it, and yet, the belief of this intimate friend of Swift is the best evidence we have in favour of the marriage, and that which most deserves our attention: what has been adduced by Mr. Monck Berkeley, in his Literary Reliques, is certainly without

unhappy man on earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." "Delany's inference," we are told, "from this circumstance, was, a suspicion that Swift, after his union with Stella, had discovered that there was too near a consanguinity between them, to admit of their living together, and that he had been stating the circumstance to the Archbishop."

I cannot let this narrative pass, without making a few strictures upon it. First, observe how near the story is to original testimony; we have it from Mr. Scott, who had it from a friend of the relict of Dr. Delany, who had it from himself! Next, observe the connexion between the conclusion and the premisses; Swift communicated some intelligence to Archbishop King which affected them both, and from hence we are told, a proof of Swift's marriage with Stella, and the impossibility of their ever cohabiting together is to be deduced. Why may not I, who do not believe the marriage, as well draw a conclusion directly contrary? Is not just as possible, nay much more probable, that Swift had been privately communicating to the Archbishop some reasons which prevented him from marrying, rather than explaining why, having married, he did not cohabit with his wife. But it is not possible that any such conversation could have happened "immediately subsequent to the ceremony," because that ceremony took place, as is pretended, in 1716, and, as it appears from the chapter books that Swift was absent from Dublin until the middle of July, it must have occurred in that month or later in that year; but Archbishop King, as appears from Swift's correspondence, went to England in June 1716, before the Dean came to town, and continued there, at least until the end of March 1716-7, probably until late in May 1717, because, in a letter, dated 1st May, Swift communicates to the Archbishop some intelligence of events which happened in Dublin, and this proves that the Archbishop had not, at that time, returned home. Thus I think an *alibi* may be proved sufficiently to set aside this evidence, notwithstanding the great length of time which has since elapsed. But there are other objections to this testimony, Doctor Delany is made to acquiesce in, or to insinuate, what he must have known to be false, that there was a degree of relationship, between Swift and Stella, sufficiently near to prevent their marrying together; but the Doctor does not say so, in his observations, and if he knew or thought that was the cause of their not cohabiting together, I ask, why does he contradict Lord Orrery's account, and give other reasons of his own? Methinks, they who give such sort of reasons for Dr. Delany's belief in the marriage, do not much mend his testimony, or strengthen his evidence; if he had no better proof than those here adduced, he had but slight grounds for believing a very improbable story; so that I think Mr. Scott, who has adduced those proofs, must either admit that this testimony is not derived from Dr. Delany, or if it be, that the Doctor's evidence is of little value. If this precious piece of evidence be not meant to pass for Delany's, but for that of *the friend of his relict*, (which is no evidence at all,) I ask, why does Mr. Scott, so frequently, throughout this story, annex the Doctor's name? "Delany, being pressed.—Delany's inference.—The construction assigned by Delany." See Scott's Life of Swift, pages 239 and 240.

I have dwelt thus long upon this narrative, not because I think it, in itself, important, but because I conceive some service may be rendered to the cause of truth, by scouting such sort of arguments out of works of history or biography, and because I apprehend that it would be better to substitute, in their place, a sort of legal evidence, at least when we are to determine upon any important fact. We may possibly render works of this sort less amusing thereby, but they will become proportionably more valuable; by this sort of refining we may reduce the quantity, but the quality will be improved, and the sterling value increased accordingly.

In like manner, the reasons which Mr. Deane Swift gives for his relative not *acknowledging* Stella to be his wife, serve as well, if not better, to prove, that they were not *married* at all. "If any one should ask, why this renunciation of marriage rites? I shall answer that question by asking another. Why did not Swift marry this adorable creature in or about the year 1702? was he not exactly at that era thirty-five, just rising into the meridian of his abilities, and Mrs. Johnson twenty-one, in the full splendor of the most attractive beauty, surrounded with every grace, and blessed with every virtue, that could allure the affections and captivate the soul of the most stubborn philosopher? And without dispute, if the meanness of her birth, like an evil genius, had not stood in the way to oppose her felicity, not all the Dr. Swifts on earth could have resisted the force of her enchantments. It may be asserted, however, with great truth, that Dr. Swift never had any serious thoughts of marriage after he was one and twenty." It is here acknowledged, and again, in another place, plainly declared, "that the Doctor made no addresses to this charming fair upon her first arrival in Ireland, when she was in the prime of life and splendor of beauty;" whatever objections her low birth might have raised in Swift's mind, they were surely not weakened as she encreased in years, if this impediment was powerful enough to stem the torrent of his youthful passion, it is extraordinary if it was overcome afterwards by a weaker force. But this writer makes the low birth of Stella to be an impediment in the way of an actual marriage in the former case, and an acknowledgement in the latter, whereas I think the case is quite reversed, because, there might have been good prudential motives for concealment, in the one, but none at all in the other, for Swift's prospects in life were then defined, and his advancement in the world could not be impeded, nay, perhaps it would have been rather assisted, by his alliance with such a woman. Mr. Swift dilates much, in another part of his Essay, upon the subject of Stella's low birth, but this appears to be dictated by his family pride, which is quite intolerable, neither had he any pretensions to so great a share, as the family was in no respect illustrious, and scarce on any account could be ranked above mediocrity; he is not however, I believe, mistaken as to the lowness of Stella's origin, for Sir William Temple, in his will, calls her "the servant of his sister Gifford:" Deane Swift says, "that Mrs. Johnson, when she was about 10 or 11 years old, was appointed to wait upon the Doctor's sister in the character of her little servant, during the summer that she spent at Moore-park, in the year 1692. "Neither can we suppose," he adds, "that even the Doctor's sister, with whom he had quarrelled to such a degree as never to see her face, on account of a match he thought greatly beneath her acceptance, would have stifled her indignation; or with any patience have forborn to retaliate the severities of her brother upon his own back, when he himself had married, and acknowledged a wife so very meanly extracted, and particularly that individual person whom she despised and hated beyond all the inhabitants on earth." I apprehend, nevertheless, that such motives would not have had great influence with the Dean, who estimated mankind more on account of mental qualities than rank; his objections too, to his sister's marriage, arose as much from his dislike of the man, as of his profession or station in life, and the event proved he had judged right. Mr. Deane Swift seems to exaggerate the difference placed between Swift's sister and Stella, in the family of Sir William Temple: some allusions that occur in Swift's journal to Stella, seem to favour the opi-

foundation, viz. " that the Bishop of Clogher himself related the circumstance to Bishop Berkeley," by whose relict, he says, it was communicated to him: the Bishop of Clogher never could have had any communication with Berkeley upon the subject, for the former died in the year (1717) following that in which the marriage is reported to have been celebrated, and the latter was at that time in Italy, where he had resided during several preceding years.

Mr. Thomas Sheridan did likewise believe that the ceremony of marriage had been performed between Swift and Stella, the proof he adduces is contained in the following narrative. " Mrs. Johnson, as she found her final dissolution approach, a few days before it happened, addressed Swift in the most earnest and pathetic terms to grant her dying request. That, in order to put it out of the power of slander to be busy with her fame after death, he would let her have the satisfaction of dying at least, though she had not lived, his acknowledged wife." " Swift," he tells us, " made no reply, but turning on his heel, walked silently out of the room, nor ever saw her afterwards during the few days she lived. This behaviour threw Mrs. Johnson into unspeakable agonies, and for a time she sunk under the weight of so cruel a disappointment. But soon after, roused by indignation, she inveighed against his cruelty in the bitterest terms; and sending for a lawyer, made her will, bequeathing her fortune by her own name to charitable uses."

This account Sheridan says he received from his father, who was an eye witness to the whole transaction: it is, nevertheless, undeserving of credit, because it is irreconcileable with itself, contradictory to other known facts, and to what he relates, himself, in other parts of his memoir; all which, I trust, is made sufficiently manifest in the note below. [p]

nion that there was not so great an inequality as Mr. Deane Swift represents. It may be worth remarking, in this place, that the estrangement of Swift's affection from his sister may have arisen from, or was possibly increased by the dislike the latter appears, from the above passage, to have manifested towards Stella.

[p] Sheridan's narrative is inconsistent with itself, and with other parts of his own memoir, for he informs us elsewhere, that Mrs. Johnson had avowed her marriage several years before to Miss Vanhomrigh; his account is, that Dr. Sheridan too, was informed of it; he quotes likewise the authority of Mrs. Sican, a mere common acquaintance; if it was already known to friends and foes, how could Mrs. Johnson think it necessary to demand permission, in this formal way, to publish a secret which she had, herself, already made known, without license, to so many persons? or how can we reconcile the Dean's conduct with reason or common sense, that he should refuse, in this inhuman way, what it was to so little purpose for him to deny. This story is likewise inconsistent with Sheridan's own description of Mrs. Johnson's character; her vanity alone, he says, urged her to make this request, " to have her name preserved to future ages as the wife of so extraordinary a man;" it was a strange time for a person, whom he reports to have been remarkably free from this passion, to be seized with such an extraordinary fit of vanity.

But Sheridan's account of Mrs. Johnson's indignantly leaving her property away from Swift, because of this his cruel conduct, is quite erroneous; for it appears from a letter of Swift to Mr. Worrall, dated 15 July 1726, that he was well acquainted with her intentions as to the disposition of her property; " I wish it could be brought about," he writes, " that she might make her will, her intentions are to leave the interest of all her fortune to her mother and sister during their lives, and afterward to Dr. Stephen's hospital:" neither does the will itself exhibit any sympatoms of anger towards him, for she desires, " that her strong box, and all the papers in it, or elsewhere, should be delivered to Dr. Jonathan Swift;" but it is manifest, from a clause contained therein, that Swift was particularly consulted upon the occasion, for the words are very singular, and exactly resemble those of a clause in his own will, as the reader will perceive by comparing the following passages. After her bequest to the chaplain of Stephens's hospital she adds, " and if it shall so happen, which God forbid, that at any time hereafter, the present established episcopal church of this kingdom should happen to be abolished, and be no longer the national established church of the said kingdom, I do in that case declare wholly null and void the bequest above made, &c." Swift accompanies his bequest of the tithes of Effernock with a similar clause, viz. " I bequeath the said tithes to the Vicars of Laracor, for the time being, that is to say, so long as the present episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith and profession of this kingdom, &c." As I am now upon the subject of Mrs. Johnson's will, I shall notice another passage, which exhibits an intolerance of matrimony, which must be allowed to be rather extraordinary, if she was actually suffering, at that time, on account of a denial of its rights. " It is likewise my will that the said Chaplain shall be an unmarried man at the time of his elevation, and so continue while he enjoys the office of Chaplain to the said hospital, and if he shall happen to marry, he shall be immediately removed from the said office, and another chosen in his stead."

Dr. Delany's account, it is to be observed, is quite irreconcileable with this of Mr. Sheridan; Mr. Walter Scott, who gives the preference to Mrs. Whiteway's, or rather Mr. Theophilus Swift's narrative, offers the following objections to that of the younger Sheridan. " Sheridan was a boy at the time of his father's death, and might have mistaken what his father said to him on such a subject.—The hardness of heart imputed to Swift, is not only inconsistent with an affection agonized by the view of its dying object, but with every circumstance—Vanessa was dead—Stella was dying—The Dean could no longer fear that the society or claims of a wife should be forced upon him—The scene was closed, and every reason for mystery at an end." These are solid objections to Sheridan's

The last attempt at a circumstantial proof is that which has been, for the first time, communicated to the world by Mr. Walter Scott, upon the credit of Mr. Theophilus Swift, about ninety years after the event is said to have taken place. The Dean is there introduced, sitting by Stella, who lay on a bed at the deanery house, whither she had been conveyed in a sedan chair; Mrs. Whiteway was the *only third* person present, who, *having no idle curiosity*, *had too much honour to listen* to their conversation, nevertheless, *without listening*, she heard the Dean say, "well my dear, if you wish it, it shall be owned," and Stella answer, "it is too late."[q] By a new sort of logical inference we are taught to draw the following conclusion, "that, *without doubt*, their marriage was the secret to be owned," although "the word marriage *was not mentioned*."[9] We are not allowed to take into consideration the possibility, that one word or other might be mistaken by good gossip Whiteway, more particularly as *she did not listen*, nor are we permitted to suppose that either Swift or Stella had any other secret. But let us look a little closer into this account. Swift arrived in Dublin in October 1727, between that period and the time of her death, which happened in January following, this conversation must have taken place; it was unconscionably cruel of Mr. Theophilus Swift to take a dying patient from her death bed,[r] and put her, at that dreary season, in a sedan chair, to convey her to the opposite end of the city, that his friend, Mrs. Whiteway, should overhear the words above-mentioned; for it appears that this dangerous undertaking was for no other purpose, Stella having, as the story goes, refused that very thing, which according to this narrative, she came to request. Such is the story communicated by Mr. Theophilus Swift, which is quite irreconcileable with Sheridan's,[s] and, in spite of what the late editor says to the contrary, one must prove the other a falsehood; if this story did come from the lady to whom it is attributed,[t] it will prove nothing, but that she possessed a quality usually concomitant with that idle curiosity of which she, upon this occasion, exhibited so remarkable an example.

Having thus briefly noticed the vague arguments brought in favour of this "strange union," I shall now proceed to lay before the reader, a few remarks, which will, I trust, relieve his mind from all doubts upon the subject, and allow him to give unqualified praise to the actions and writings of this extraordinary personage,

[9] Scott's Life of Swift, page 356.

account, but they do not, therefore, confirm that of Mrs. Whiteway. See Scott's Life of Swift, page 358. Mr. Walter Scott might have added another objection to Sheridan's narrative; it is not likely that the elder Sheridan should communicate such a secret, as this of the marriage, to a boy, whilst the dean was yet living. Sheridan's Life of Swift was not published till near fifty years after his father's death.

[q] These words, which are said to have been repeated by Stella, in some conversation she had with Swift, appear to be, more properly, applicable to an offer of marriage, made at that time, than to the acknowledgement of one, which had been previously performed; a marriage may be proposed *too late*, but it is unaccountable, how an acknowledgement of a former marriage could have been so, at any period of time whatsoever.

[r] Swift informs us, in his account of Stella written the night of her death, that, for twelve months preceding, she never had a day's health; and, properly speaking, *she had been dying for the last six months*, but kept alive, almost against nature, by the generous kindness of two physicians, and the care of her friends.

[s] Mr. Walter Scott prefers Mr. T. Swift's story to Mr. Sheridan's, but thinks they are reconcileable, by supposing the events might have occurred at different periods of time; it appears that he gave them very slight consideration, for they are as opposite as light is to darkness. The event recorded by Mr. Swift could not have happened *after* that related by Sheridan, for the latter occurrence took place but a few days before Stella's death, and she never saw Swift afterwards; neither could it have happened *before*, for then Swift's positive refusal of Stella's request would have been absurd, as he had already assented to it.

[t] Mrs. Whiteway was the daughter of Adam Swift, uncle to the Dean; her daughter by her first husband, Mr. Theophilus Harrison, was married to Mr. Deane Swift, and Mr. Theop[s]. Swift, the son of this marriage, has been a great contributor of goody Whiteway's reminiscences to the Swiftiana, and Mr. Walter Scott's edition of Swift's works; some of these communications consist in practical jokes, very unlikely to have been practised by any one, but much less likely by Swift, with whose character they are remarkably discordant.

For some years before his last illness Swift had scarcely any other female acquaintance but this Mrs. Whiteway; that she did not, however, reside at the deanery, appears from Doctor Lyon's MS. emendations, who says, "that she came from her own house, at the other end of Dublin, three times in each week, to read and chat to him, after Stella's death."

It is very unaccountable how Mr. Deane Swift, who married the daughter of Mrs. Whiteway, should have been ignorant of this story, which has been so confidently related by his son,

a tribute which must have been paid with regret, if not entirely withheld, whilst he laboured under the imputations of hypocrisy, injustice, cruelty, and caprice, to all which a belief of his participation in those crimes, must have unavoidably subjected him. Whatever vices he had, and no man is without his share, those which are akin to dissimulation or falsehood cannot, surely, be attributed to Swift: when the Princess of Wales praised him to Dr. Arbuthnot for wit and good conversation, he told her Royal Highness, it was not for that he valued him, "but for being a sincere, honest man, and speaking truth when others were afraid to speak it.[1] Mr. Addison's testimony is not unimportant, "I always honoured you," he writes,[2] "for your good nature, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man who has talents so much more shining in the eyes of the world:"[u] as to the last bad quality above mentioned, caprice, his whole life will not furnish another instance whereupon such a charge may be fairly grounded.

It has been asserted by Mr. Walter Scott, that "not any of Swift's intimate friends[v] doubted the fact of this unhappy marriage[3];" but this is so far from being the case, that the direct contrary is nearer to the truth. No very intimate friend of Swift's, except Dr. Delany and Mrs. Whiteway, did believe it; in proof of this assertion I shall quote the words of Dr. John Lyon,[w] who confirms, with the high authority of his own testimony, matters which are conformable to the dictates of reason and common sense.

"Notwithstanding Dr. Delany's sentiments of Swift's marriage, and notwithstanding all Lord Orrery[x] and others have said about it, there is no authority for it but a hear-say story, and that very ill founded. It is certain that the Dean told one of his friends, whom he advised to marry, that he himself never wished to marry, at the time he ought to have entered into that state; for he counted upon it as the happiest condition, especially towards the decline of life, when a faithful, tender friend is most wanted. While he was talking to this effect, his friend expressed his wishes to have seen him married; the Dean asked, why? because, replied the other,

[1] Letter to Swift, 20 Sept. 1726. [2] Letter, dated 20 March 1717-18. [3] Vol. I. page 238, *note*.

[u] The two passages here quoted from the letters of Arbuthnot and Addison might be strengthened by a variety of others; I shall add two more, because some modern writers have ventured to deny that Swift was possessed of those amiable qualities; their scepticism arises from a belief in this absurd marriage, more, probably, than from any other cause. On the 12 Aug. 1714, Arbuthnot writes to Swift with an affection which does equal honour to himself and his correspondent. "Never repeat that melancholy tender word, that you will endeavour to forget me. I am sure I never can forget you, till I meet with (what is impossible) another, whose conversation I can delight so much in as Dr. Swift's; and yet that is the smallest thing I ought to value you for. That hearty sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I never can find in another. Alas! I shall often want a faithful monitor, one that would vindicate me behind my back, and tell me my faults to my face." Mr. Addison's letter to the Dean, of 1st Oct. 1718, has the following passage. "When a man has so much compass in his character; he affords his friends topics enough to enlarge upon, that all sides admire. I am sure, a sincere and zealous friendly behaviour distinguishes you as much as your many more shining talents; and as I have received particular instances of it, you must have a very bad opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love and respect you."

[v] It is extraordinary that Mr. Scott should make such an assertion with evidence to the contrary before him, in print. Sheridan (p. 350) tells us that the fact was then denied, "upon the authority of persons, so closely connected with the parties, *as to give it great weight.*"

[w] This important passage is quoted from Dr. Lyon's manuscript notes to Dr. Hawksworth's Life of Swift; a work which he had prepared for the press. I am indebted for the use of this volume to the late Lord Sunderlin, brother to Mr. Malone, the well known editor of Shakespeare; it was presented to the latter gentleman by Mr. Nichols, the ingenious editor of Swift's works. None of these gentlemen were acquainted with the important fact, that Dr. Lyon was the writer; I cannot, however, be mistaken in attributing it to him, being well acquainted with his hand-writing, of which I have seen many hundred pages, and do possess many volumes of his notes and memoranda. I had made considerable use of this volume before I was informed, by Mr. Nichols, that he had published the greater part of it, in his supplemental volume to Swift's works, printed 1779. Dr. Johnson probably alludes to this publication, where he mentions "some remarks lately published on the Life of Swift, wherein his marriage is mentioned as fabulous, or doubtful;" but, much as he was inclined to disregard any work which sought to do credit to Swift's memory, he would not have treated this piece so slightingly, had he known the writer to have been Dr. John Lyon, the intimate friend of Swift, who was intrusted with the chief care of him during his last illness. Mr. Walter Scott has not taken any notice of this piece in his late edition of Swift's works.

[x] From this passage it appears, that the report was first propagated by those persons, and therefore was not generally prevalent during the life-time of the parties.

I should have had the pleasure of seeing your offspring, all the world would have been pleased to have seen the issue of such a genius. The Dean smiled, and denied his being married, in the same manner as before, and said he never saw the woman he wished to be married to.—The same gentleman, who was intimate with Mrs. Dingley for ten years before she died, in 1743, took occasion to tell her that such a story was whispered [y] of her friend, Mrs. Johnson's, marriage with the Dean, but she only laughed at it as an idle tale founded only on suspicion.—Again, Mrs. Brent, [z] with whom the Dean's mother used to lodge in Dublin, in the queen's time, and who was his own house-keeper after he settled in Dublin in 1714, and who, for her many good qualities in that situation, was much confided in, never did believe there was a marriage between those persons, notwithstanding all that love and fondness that subsisted between them—she thought it was all platonic love, and she often told her daughter Ridgeway so, who succeeded her in the same office of house-keeper; she said that Mrs. Johnson never came alone to the deanery, that Mrs. Dingley and she came always together, and that she never slept in that house, if the Dean was there, only in the time of his sickness, to attend him, and see him well taken care of [a]— and during this course of her generous attendance, Mrs. Dingley and she slept together, and, as soon as he recovered, they returned to their lodgings on Ormond-quay. These ladies slept, two other times, at the deanery, at an * * * * pleasant house, and near his garden called Naboth's vine-yard, and that was for those months in 1726 and 1727 which he spent in England; it chanced she was taken ill at the deanery, and it added much to his affliction that it happened at the deanery, for fear of defamation in case of her dying in his house, whether he was at home or abroad.—Had he been married he could not have lived in a state of separation from her, he loved her so passionately, for he admired her upon every account that can make a woman amiable, or valuable, as a companion for life. Is it possible to think that an affectionate husband could first have written, and then have used those several prayers, [b] by a dying wife, with whom he never co-

[y] This expression likewise favours the opinion which I have before expressed, that the report did not prevail, generally, until the publication of Lord Orrery's remarks.

[z] This Mrs. Brent was appointed by Swift his house-keeper, as soon as he was made Dean of St. Patrick's; he calls her humorously, "his Walpole," in some of his letters; she was married to a printer, by whom she had a daughter, Anne, who, after her mother's decease, succeeded to the management of the dean's household concerns. Anne married an idle spend-thrift, one Ridgeway, a cabinet-maker; for the relief of whose necessities, she was once about to sell an annuity of 20*l.* per annum, which had been bequeathed to her by her former mistress, Lady Newtown. The dean, in commiseration of her case, became, himself, the purchaser, aud ever after paid her the annuity. For her better encouragement to take care of him in that illness which he always dreaded, he left her 100*l.* more; but, to bind her more strongly to her duty, after he had settled his affairs by will, he signed a bond and warrant, for a farther sum of 300*l.* observing at the same time, "it may be that the jade may hereafter demand interest upon this bond, though only intended as an additional legacy;" upon which she declared, she never would do so, and expressed her wonder that the dean should suspect her of it: however, his conjecture proved true; she married, afterwards, an avaricious man, one Henry Land, whom the dean had appointed sexton of his cathedral, an office in which he acquired some wealth; he persuaded her, in 1748, to join him in demanding 144*l.* for eight years interest due on said bond, which, with the principal sum, was paid by the executors, except a small part which she remitted by way of benefaction to the hospital. Lyon, MS.

There is now resident with me, a female servant of the highest respectability, and strictest probity, who has lived in my family from a period, not much subsequent to that of Swift's death, she was well acquainted with this Mrs. Ridgeway, who afterwards married Henry Land—"She often heard her and the other servants say, that the dean was never married, and that, besides this, many other things were published of him which never happened." The remarks above-mentioned were made shortly after the appearance of Lord Orrery's work.

[a] This Swift himself acknowledges, in the following lines.

"Then Stella ran to my relief,
With cheerful face and inward grief;
And, though by heavens severe decree
She suffers hourly more than me,
No cruel master could require,
From slaves employ'd for daily hire,
What Stella, *by her friendship* warm'd,
With vigour and delight perform'd."

These lines furnish an additional proof, that no marriage ever took place, for if there had, this poem would have been an insult, not a compliment, for which latter it was evidently intended; these and such similar lines, as attribute to friendship Mrs. Johnson's affection for Swift, would certainly not have been written at all, if they had not been intended to gratify her; Swift might, if he pleased, have avoided writing upon those occasions; but, that he should have chosen those moments to insult, is not credible; they must therefore be admitted to be good proofs, that *friendship, not love*, was the proper and true motive of Stella's kindness, and that no act was ever performed which could entitle either to expect, from the other, a more tender appellation than that of friend.

[b] Written, as Mr. Thomas Sheridan says, "in as pure a strain of christian piety as ever came from an uninspired pen." They

habited, and whose mouth must have been filled with reproaches for denying her all conjugal rites, for a number of years, nay, from the very period (1716) that is pretended to be the time of the marriage? Would he have suffered his wife to make a will, signed Esther Johnson, and to demise 1500*l.* away from him, of which 1000*l.* is enjoyed by the chaplain of Stevens's hospital for the sick, and accept of a gold watch only, as a testimony of her regard for him?—If he could direct, or rather command her, to leave her fortune as he pleased, it is probable he would have directed the application towards the future support of lunatics, which was the species of charity he thought most worthy the attention of the public.—Is it not probable that two gentlemen of honour and fortune, still living, who knew them both intimately, and who were her executors, [c] would have known of a marriage if there was one [d]? And yet they always did, and do positively declare, they never had cause to suspect they were married, although they were in company with both, one thousand times; they saw proof enough of the warmest friendship, and any love but connubial love.[e]—If she made him a present of a book, you may read in the title-page these words—and so he distinguished every book she gave him.

'Esther Johnson's gift to
Jonathan Swift--1719.'

Would he deny his marriage with a woman of good fortune at that time, when he says "she had a gracefulness, somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action?"

Such are the sentiments of Dr. John Lyon, who had the chief care of this great man, in the state of debility to which, in his latter years, he was reduced. How a secret of such importance should remain unrevealed during that period of mental derangement, is not easy to be conceived: one at least of his attendants would not have been unwilling to profit by any involuntary declaration. The ravings of the Dean would have been judged, not unfit to be publickly divulged, by one who scrupled not to communicate subjects of intimate conversation, treacherously stolen from the bosoms of unsuspecting friends.

If we suppose this marriage to have taken place, this man of truth will become, not only, as Dr. Lyon remarks, an hypocrite in his prayers, but in those pathetic

are sincere and honest effusions of piety, but not altogether deserving of such extravagant praise.

[c] The executors of Stella's will were, Dr. Sheridan, Dr. John Grattan, Dr. Corbet (afterwards dean of St. Patrick's) and John Rochfort, Esq. The two former had died before these MS. notes were written, the two latter were, therefore, the persons to whom Dr. Lyon alludes, and no one can doubt but the evidence of either was at least equal to that of Dr. Delany. John Rochfort, of Cloghgrennan, in the county of Carlow, was the younger brother of George Rochfort, of Gallstown; he represented in parliament the borough of Ballyshannon, and afterwards that of Mullingar; he died in Jan. 1771.

[d] It appears that Swift's acquaintances in England did not apprehend that he was married. Mrs. Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk, his intimate friend and correspondent, was so unfortunate as to be very unhappily married; to this difference between their situations, she alludes, in the following passage of her letter to Swift, dated Sept. 1727.—"I did desire you to write to me a love-letter; but I never did desire you to talk of marrying me. I would rather you and I were dumb, as well as deaf, for ever, than that should happen. I would take your giddiness, your head-ach, or any other complaint you have, to resemble you in one circumstance of life. So that I insist upon your thinking yourself a very happy man, at least whenever you make a comparison between yourself and me." The light way in which Lord Bolingbroke mentions Stella, in his letter, dated 17 Feb. 1726-7, proves, not only, that he did not apprehend there was any thing of so very serious a nature in their connexion, but likewise, that no report of such had reached him; in either case the insinuation would have been too indelicate to be uttered by a person so well instructed in the manners of the polite world.—"My wife writes to you herself, and sends you some fans just arrived from Lilliput, which you will dispose of, to the present Stella, whoever she be." A commentator upon Swift's works, whose observations are distinguished in the later editions by the letter F. (by whom I presume is meant, George Faulkner) has the following note upon the passage; "Mrs. Johnson died the month preceding the date of this letter. But, considering the tenderness with which the dean was known to regret her loss, this is a strange expression." This sagacious annotator labours under a mistake, into which he was led, perhaps, by not paying sufficient attention to the variation, in date, occasioned by the difference between the old and new style; Mrs. Johnson died in Jan. 1727-8, not in the month which preceded the date of this letter, but eleven months after.

[e] Lord Orrery says, that "nothing appeared in their behaviour inconsistent with decorum, or beyond the limits of platonic love. They conversed like friends, but they industriously took care, to summon witnesses of their conversation: a rule

addresses to Stella, with which she was annually presented on her birth-day.[f]— Hardly will the reader believe that they flowed not from the heart, that they were intended to mock, not to compliment, and yet, what absolute mockery would the following couplet convey, if we suppose it to be addressed by a married man to his wife.

"Thou, Stella, wert no longer young,
When first for thee my harp was strung;
Without one word of Cupid's darts,
Of killing eyes or bleeding hearts;
With friendship and esteem possest
I ne'er admitted love a guest."

Will not the reader, after contemplating those beautiful effusions of the most exalted friendship, be inclined to exclaim in the writers own words,

"Let malice look with all her eyes,
She dare not say, the poet lies."

There are two letters, which Swift wrote, in the agony of his heart; one to Dr. Stopford, on the 20th of July 1726, and the other to Mr. Worrall, dated the 15th of the same month, which contain a short history of this friendship; no one who reads this simple tale can, I think, deny his assent to the truth of what is there so naturally, and pathetically related, nor will he, I apprehend, prefer, as more credible, the unnatural and improbable legend of the marriage. Swift writes to Dr. Stopford, "I lately received a letter from Mr. Worrall, that one of the two oldest and dearest *friends* I have in the world is in so desperate a condition of health, as makes me expect every post to hear of her death; it is the younger of the two, with whom *I have lived in the greatest friendship* for thirty-three years. I know you will share in my trouble, because there were few persons whom I believe you more esteemed. For my part, as I value life very little, so the poor casual remains of it, after such a loss, would be a burden that I must heartily beg GOD ALMIGHTY to enable me to bear; and I think there is not a greater folly than that of entering into too *strict and particular a friendship*, with the loss of which a man must be absolutely mise-

to which they adhered so strictly, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove they had ever been together without some third person." Orrery's Remarks, Letter II.

[f] Mr. Scott remarks, "that in these verses, the most elegant compliments were bestowed with *an affectation of* bluntness, which *seemed only to* warrant for their sincerity." I shall subcribe to the truth of this observation, provided the words which I have printed in the Italic character be expunged.

Some ingenious interpreters insist, that Swift, in the following lines of a poem addressed to Stella on her birth-day, in 1726, alludes to the reproaches she used to utter against him, on account of his conduct after their marriage.

"O then, whatever Heaven intends,
Take pity on your pitying friends!
Nor let your ills affect your mind,
To fancy they can be unkind;
Me, surely me, you ought to spare,
Who gladly would your suffering share."

But, I apprehend, those persons have not attended to the obvious meaning of the words. First, if Swift's *wilful* neglect was the cause of her reproaches, or rather her complaints, what could be meant by the words in the first line, "whatever Heaven intends?" is it not manifest that they allude to the uncertain state of her health, the termination of which, whether happy or otherwise, could be known only to the Almighty? Secondly, the next line proves that those complaints were not applied to Swift alone, but were uttered against all her friends. Thirdly, if they arose from Swift's own particular conduct, how comes it that he pleads special exemption, and that, on account of his readiness to "share her sufferings," than which no plea could be more absurd, if his own conduct was the cause of her ill humour? Surely this passage is sufficiently plain, if those critics will only allow it to be construed according to its obvious meaning, and not seek to torture it so as to suit their own purposes.

Dr. Delany has published, in his Remarks, a short poem on jealousy, which he insinuates, in the following words, *might* have been written by Stella." "I had a little poem shewed to me, with this assurance, that the author must not be known, and would never own it—whether Stella was the author, or somebody else wrote it in her character, I shall not take upon me to say." Mr. Walter Scott has re-published the poem, which he prefaces with the following remark: "under the impression of such feelings, (jealousy of Vanessa) she is said to have composed the following lines, &c."–And in the note he adds; "I say *said* to have composed, because there is room to suppose Stella received assistance (from Delany probably,) both in these, and the much more beautiful verses addressed to Swift on his birth-day." The ingenious editor appears, here, to have indulged his imagination rather too much; I do not perceive how such a conclusion can be deduced from Dr. Delany's words, above quoted.

rable; but especially at an age when it is too late to engage *in a new friendship;* besides, this was a person of my own rearing and instructing, from child-hood; who excelled in every good quality that can possibly accomplish a human creature. —Dear Jim, pardon me, I know not what I am saying; but *believe me that violent friendship is much more lasting, and as much engaging, as violent love.* Adieu." To Mr. Worrall he writes; "What you tell me of Mrs. Johnson I have long expected, with great oppression and heaviness of heart. We have been perfect friends these thirty-five years. Upon my advice they both came to Ireland, and have been ever since my constant companions; and the remainder of my life will be a very melancholy scene, when one of them is gone, whom I most esteemed, upon the score of every good quality that can possibly recommend a human creature." Hear now the remark of Mr. Walter Scott upon the first of those letters.[4] "Even the approaching calamity did not prevent him clinging to his peculiar system—He labours to impress on his correspondent, that the agony which he felt at parting with Stella, was that of friendship, not of love. He mentions her, as 'one of the two oldest and dearest friends he had in the world,' and only distinguishes her from her gossiping and common-place companion Mrs. Dingley, as 'the younger of the two.' Truth to the prejudiced mind, is like a sweet potion to the palate of the sick, as the latter is swallowed without relish, the former is uttered without effect, and its influence will be exercised in vain until the mental, like the corporeal, malady be first removed. I shall conclude this part of my subject, and my quotations from Swift's works in illustration of his real sentiments, with a passage from a letter of the Dean to an intimate friend, one whom he could not, on account of his intimacy with Mrs. Johnson, expect to deceive[g]: he concludes his letter to Dr. Sheridan, of 2d Sept. 1727, with the following words; "I long knew that our dear friend had not the *stamina vitæ;* but *my friendship* could not arm me against this accident, although I foresaw it. I have said enough in my last letter, which now I suppose is with you. I know not whether it be an addition to my grief or not, that I am now extremely ill; for it would have been a reproach to me to be in perfect health, when such a *friend* is desperate. I do profess upon my salvation, that the distressed and desperate condition of *our friend,* makes life so indifferent to me, who by the course of nature have so little left, that I do not think it worth the time to struggle[h]; yet I should think, according to what hath been formerly, that I may happen to overcome this present disorder; and to what advantage? Why, to see the loss of that person for whose sake only life was worth preserving. I brought both those *friends* over, that we might be happy together as long as God should please; the knot is broken, and the remaining person, you know, has ill answered the end; and the other, who is now to be lost, is all that was valuable.[i] You agreed with me, or you

[4] Scott's Life, page 324.

[g] From Dr. Sheridan's testimony we derive, as his son, Mr. Tho. Sheridan, assures us, "the only unequivocal proof of the marriage ceremony having been performed between Swift and Mrs. Johnson." Yet, when we read this letter from the Dean to their mutual confidant, we meet with a denial of the connexion, expressed in as plain terms as could well be used by one not actually accused. How far this letter goes to disprove all that has been related, by the younger Sheridan, of this pretended marriage, I leave to the reader to determine.

[h] The writer of Art. I. Num. LIII. of the Edinburgh Review remarks, (page 42) that, "in the whole of Swift's later writings, we shall look in vain for any traces of penitential regret—or even of that solemn self-reproach which is apt to beset thoughtful men in the decline of life and animation." I admit this to be true, but I ask, does it serve to the purpose for which it was intended, that of aggravating the guilt with which this writer thinks fit to load the memory of Swift? quite the contrary: it disproves the whole charge. I will not trespass so much upon the reader's patience, as to enter upon proof of a proposition so manifestly true as the following.

——— "Prima hæc est ultio, quod se
Judice *nemo nocens* absolvitur."———

[i] It is very remarkable that Swift never appears, in these letters to his friends, to be under any apprehension of expressing, in the most animated terms, his interest in the welfare of his female friend, he exhibits no fear of their misunderstanding the nature of his passion; had any of those reports reached his ears, which

are a great hypocrite. What have I to do in the world? I never was in such agonies as when I received your letter, and had it in my pocket. I am able to hold up my sorry head no longer."

Upon consideration of the whole matter it appears, there are not sufficient grounds for our believing that any such unnatural contract ever took place, as this of the pretended marriage. It seems, indeed, to have originated in a tale of scandal, to which some of Swift's biographers have had recourse, as a means of accounting for what seemed to them otherwise inexplicable; Swift's not having married Mrs. Johnson, to whom he was well known to have been tenderly attached: but this is only to get rid of one difficulty by proposing another still greater, whereas it may be accounted for in a manner which does not violate, in the same degree, the rules of reason and common sense. Swift, we know, was subject to a constitutional malady, of which he frequently experienced the ill effects, and from which he forboded still worse consequences; he had reason too, to apprehend, that it was in some degree hereditary[k]; deprived thus of the chief motive for contracting matrimony, it is no wonder he should resist what were, to a person of his cold temper, lesser temptations; particularly as he might have been strengthened in such a resolution by the consideration, that his self denial was, under those circumstances, a meritorious act. This way of accounting for the matter cannot, I think, be objected to upon the score, that it was never avowed; such an act of humiliation could not be expected; no one can doubt, but that Swift was acquainted with the true cause of his malady, who has been

are said to have been, even then, circulated, he would probably have been more temperate in expressing his feelings upon this occasion, through fear least his ardent affection should be set down to the account of love rather than friendship; but Swift, who was insensible, throughout life, to the former passion, appears to have been likewise fearless of the imputation.

The endearing words used by Swift, in his journal, appear to me to prove, in a remarkable way, that no thoughts of a matrimonial engagement were ever indulged by either party; throughout the whole of this correspondence he never exhibits an apprehension, lest his meaning should be mistaken by the person whom he addresses: neither does he display the smallest anxiety to shew off to advantage, his personal qualifications; there is nothing of what Shakespeare calls "the old signs"—"no brushing of his hat o'mornings"—nor does "his jesting spirit," like Benedick's, "creep into lute-strings." This great observer of nature, whose words I have just quoted, has noted here the true symptoms of this passion, for I apprehend it is a matter quite impossible, that a lover should not desire to appear personally amiable to his mistress; which is however so far from being the case with Swift towards Stella, that there occur, throughout those letters, several passages, which give so disgusting descriptions of himself, as to have occasioned their being, on that account, omitted, in the later editions of his works; nevertheless, they furnish so strong arguments in favour of my position, that I cannot persuade myself to pass them by unnoticed, and therefore intreat the reader's permission to insert one of them. On the 24th of April 1712, Swift writes, "I have taken my breeches in above two inches, so I am leaner, which answers one question in your letter, *I still itch terribly, and have some few pimples, I am weak and sweat: and then the flannel makes me mad with itching: I must purge and clyster.*" I believe such like expressions as those never before formed part of a letter from a lover to his mistress. The words which have been suppressed, by the editors, are those distinguished by being printed in the Italic character.

Mr. Walter Scott is not only a strenuous advocate for this marriage, but likewise insinuates, that a previous matrimonial engagement did exist between Swift and Stella, and that he discouraged the addresses of, at least one, admirer of hers, that he might keep her for himself. But even Mr. Scott is not able to extract a single proof, that such an engagement existed, from any part of this intimate correspondence, which, it is admitted, was the sole medium of communication that existed between those persons, during three years of their closest intimacy. How minutely this journal has been inspected, and how diligently ransacked, for evidence of a matrimonial connexion, either actual or conditional, and to how little purpose, will appear from the following passage, which, as it proves nothing, shews likewise that there is nothing to be proved.

In Swift's journal to Stella, "there are," says Mr. Walter Scott, "two passages, in particular, worthy of notice, *as illustrative of the history of Stella and Vanessa.* The first occurs when Swift obtains the deanery of St. Patrick's. 'If it be worth 400*l.* a year,' he says, 'overplus shall be divided * * * * besides usual * * *' an imperfect phrase, which, however, implies, that his relation with Stella was to continue on its former footing, and that she was only to share the advantage of his promotion, by an increase of her separate income: this hint was probably designed to bar any expectations of a proposal of marriage. Another *ominous* sentence in the journal is the following intimation: 'His (Mr. Vanhomrigh's) eldest daughter is come of age, and going to Ireland to look after her fortune, and get it into her own hands.' This plan, which Miss Vanhomrigh afterwards accomplished, boded no good to the unfortunate Stella."

It would be hard to persuade a person of less lively imagination than Mr. Scott, that there was so much in those passages as he discovers; if the first be really such a deed of separate maintenance as he describes, it is the most laconic thing of the kind, that exists upon record; it has likewise another peculiarity; I dare venture to say it is the only deed of seperate maintenance, that ever preceded the ceremony of marriage. Neither does the second sentence appear particularly *ominous*, that a young lady, coming of age, should proceed to take possession of her estate, is no very extraordinary communication; it would, in truth, puzzle the most ingenious to discover, in either of those *pregnant passages*, one single incident *illustrative of the history of either female.*

[k] Swift always apprehended that he would outlive his intellects; his uncle, Godwin Swift, had been reduced to a state of mental imbecility, under which he laboured several years;

informed, that he had, all along, miserable forebodings of that dreadful catastrophe which terminated his life; we cannot suppose, however prudent it might be to attribute it to such like causes, that he did seriously believe such permanent effects could follow from his having, once in his youth, eat too many apples, or, at another time, contracted a cold by reading in a summer-house. I attribute, therefore, Swift's refraining from marriage, partly to the natural coldness of his temper, of which his life and writings furnish us with incontestible proofs, and partly, to the small prospects of gratification which he could promise to himself from the sight of a healthful progeny. It was, perhaps, the consideration of these matters that induced him to make a resolution of leading a life of celibacy, which he appears to have formed at a very early period; and these motives, doubtless, urged him to adopt, in place of natural heirs, that part of the community, whose pitiable and helpless condition rendered them the fittest objects of his parental affection, and philantropic care.

In the year 1710, when Swift was resident in London, he became domesticated in the family of Mrs. Vanhomrigh, who had removed thither, with her children, about the year 1709. She was the widow of Bartholomew Vanhomrigh,[1] a Dutch Merchant, who had settled in Dublin about the close of the seventeenth century, and having been appointed, by King William, to several beneficial employments, he accumulated an ample fortune, which he transmitted to his children.

Notwithstanding his extensive acquaintance with the chief persons of rank and power, Swift found an agreeable relaxation in the domestic society of this family. For the company of women[m] he had always a strong predilection; in his proposal for improving the English language, he laments their being so much secluded from the society of men, and even attributes to that circumstance, a deterioration in the language, and a degeneracy in common conversation. He was, indeed, possessed, at that time, of those qualities which are the surest passports to female favour. His talents were of the first rate, he moved in the highest circles, and was concerned in the most important business of his time; "in private society, the varied richness of his conversation, the extent of his knowledge, his unequalled powers of wit and humour, even the somewhat cynical eccentricities of his temper, joined to form a

indeed, the termination of his life was very much after the same manner of that of his illustrious nephew, who might, perhaps, have known other such like instances in his family, although they are now forgotten: it is not easy to account, in any other way, for that previous knowledge of his fate, which Swift undoubtedly possessed.

[1] Bartholomew Vanhomrigh was appointed commissary of stores, during the civil wars, and afterwards muster-master-general; when peace was restored he was made a commissioner of the revenue. He was lord mayor of Dublin in 1697, when King William presented a collar of SS, to be worn by the chief magistrates of that city; he died in Jan. 1703, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Andrew's.

He had, not many months before his decease, purchased, at the sale at Chichester-house, about 240 acres of land in the county of Kildare, the forfeited estate of the Earl of Tyrconnel, part of which was situated near Celbridge; and likewise 1,132 acres in the county of Cork, which had been the property of the Earl of Clancarty; these purchases cost him about 3,500*l*. By his will he directed that his estates, both real and personal, should be appraised, and then divided into portions, one more in number than the number of his children, who were to share, each an equal part; after his death they obtained an act of parliament, (11th Anne) which empowered them to sell their father's landed estates, for the purpose of paying off incumbrances, and making a more equal distribution. Mrs. Vanhomrigh, his widow, died in London, in the year 1714. She was the daughter of commissioner Stone.

Bartholomew Vanhomrigh left two sons and two daughters; one of the former, Ginckel, died before his mother; the other, Bartholomew, soon after he became of age. In March 1713, the latter made his will, whereby he directed that his share of his father's property should be laid out in the purchase of land; the interest or yearly profits he bequeathed to his sisters, during their lives, but, after their death, to Bartholomew Partington, his father's god-son, and his heirs, provided he should take the name of Vanhomrigh; but, if he should refuse to take the name, or should die without issue male, he willed that his property should be expended in erecting new buildings, for the accommodation of students in Trinity-college, which were to be called, Vanhomrigh's buildings. He died at Rathcormuck, in the county of Cork, before the 6th July 1715, for on that day, his will was proved.

Mary, the second daughter died, early in the year 1721; she bequeathed her portion of her father's property to her sister Esther, the celebrated Vanessa, who became, in that year, intitled, to an interest, for life, in the whole of the property which her father had accumulated, and likewise a perpetual right to all, except that portion which her brother had, by his will, disposed of in the manner above-mentioned. Wills, Prerog. office. Book of postings at Chichester-house, &c.

[m] "Swift was readily admitted," says Mr. Scott, "to the intimate society of many of the most beautiful and accomplished women of the age. His correspondence with the unfortunate Mrs. Long, shews how well he knew to support the character of a favourite of the fair. The friendship of Lady Betty

character equally interesting from its merit and originality [5];" to these were added an ease and address such as became the companion of statesmen and courtiers.

> " He mov'd, and bow'd, and talk'd with too much grace,
> Nor show'd the parson in his gait or face." [6]

Endowed with these qualities, Swift entered the family of Mrs. Vanhomrigh, which, at that time, consisted of herself, a son, and two daughters; her eldest daughter, Esther, who has since been immortalized under the poetical appellation of Vanessa, had not yet entered her twentieth year; of her personal charms little is known, she was of a lively disposition, but with a greater inclination for reading, and mental cultivation, than is usually combined with so gay a temper; it was by this last qualification that she so remarkably, and so fatally, engaged the attention of Swift; for he, charmed by her docility, undertook the dangerous office of her tutor, and that familiar intercourse, into which their literary avocations had unwarily seduced them, generated, at first, in the mind of the pupil, an esteem, which afterwards grew into ardent passion, and at length into "an enraged affection, past the infinite of thought." "It is easy," says Mr. Scott, "for those who look back on this melancholy story, to blame the assiduity of Swift, or the imprudence of Vanessa; but the first deviation from the strait line of moral rectitude is, in such a case, so very gradual, and, on the female side, the shades of colour which part esteem from affection, and affection from passion, are so imperceptibly heightened, that they who fail to stop at the exact point where wisdom bids, have much indulgence to claim from all who share with them the frailties of mortality." [7] On the part of Miss Vanhomrigh it may be said, it was no offence to reason or virtue that she should hope to form an union with one, whose admirable talents had secured her affections, and to whom, if we except the disparity between their years, she might have imagined herself in no way ill suited; she might reasonably hope, with the advantages of youth and fortune on her side, to prevail with one, who had already manifested, by his attention and assiduity, the pleasure he took in her society. Swift's intimacy with Mrs. Johnson, it is true, was an insuperable bar to his forming a matrimonial connexion with any other person; for, if we conceive his objections to that state could be, by any possibility, removed, we cannot imagine that he should have preferred before her any other female. But of this previous engagement, if such I may call it, Miss Vanhomrigh could have known nothing, and indeed, had she been endowed with even more prudence than she seems to have possessed, her preference might well be justified by the worthiness of its object. To Swift however the whole progress of her affection was a matter of surprize, nor can we doubt but that he actually felt "the shame, disappointment, guilt, surprize," which he has expressed in his celebrated poem of Cadenus and Vanessa. [n]

[5] Scott's Life of Swift, page 226. [6] Cadenus and Vanessa. [7] Scott's Life of Swift, page 229.

Germaine, of Mrs. Barton, of the Countess of Winchelsea, the Duchess of Ormond, Lady Masham, and many other ladies eminent for beauty or accomplishments, rank or fashion, evinces how high he stood in the estimation of those, by whom it is almost every man's ambition to be distinguished." Scott's Life of Swift, page 227. To this list might be added the names of many other illustrious females, and chiefly, the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, Mrs. Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk, and the Duchess of Queensborough; in a letter to this last, written at the foot of a letter to Gay, dated 19 Nov. 1730, he alludes to a custom which he, humorously, affected to establish, of requiring those ladies, who were desirous of his acquaintance, to make the first advances. " My beginning thus low is meant as a mark of respect, like receiving your grace at the bottom of the stairs. I am glad you know your duty, for it has been a known and established rule above twenty years in England, that the first advances have been constantly made me by all ladies who aspired to my acquaintance, and the greater their quality, the greater were their advances. Yet, I know not by what weakness, I have condescended graciously to dispense with you upon this important article."

[n] The name Cadenus is an anagram of Decanus; that of Vanessa is formed much in the same way, by placing the first syllable of her sir-name before her christian-name, Hessy.

This poem is supposed to have been written at Windsor, in 1713; the intention was, to rally her upon the subject of her passion, which had not then arrived at that acmè of violence to which it afterwards attained

Although Swift, in this poem, declared, with as much openness as the forms of politeness could warrant, that his sentiments for Vanessa partook not of the tenderness of love, yet that passion had taken too deep root in her mind to be so easily eradicated.[o] But still "there is something," as Mr. Scott, very feelingly, remarks, "in the eloquence of affection that must always extort a corresponding answer;" just such an answer was Swift's, and although objections[p] have been raised against this poem, they do not appear to be well founded. The rejection of her proffered hand was doubtless a great humiliation to a female, young, elegant, and accomplished; it is no wonder that Swift should think fit to qualify the

The following passages are selected from this poem, because they are descriptive of the circumstances which relate to this melancholy event, and are illustrative of Swift's sentiments upon that occasion.

"Vanessa, not in years a score,
Dreams of a gown of forty-four;
Imaginary charms can find
In eyes with reading almost blind:
Cadenus now no more appears
Declin'd in health, advanc'd in years.
She fancies music in his tongue;
Nor further looks, but thinks him young.

Cadenus, common forms apart,
In every scene had kept his heart;
Had sigh'd and languish'd, vow'd and writ,
For pastime, or to shew his wit,
But books, and time, and state affairs,
Had spoil'd his fashionable airs:
He now could praise, esteem, approve,
But understood not what was love.
His conduct might have made him styl'd
A father, and the nymph his child.
That innocent delight he took
To see the virgin mind her book,
Was but the master's secret joy
In school to hear the finest boy.

But now a sudden change was wrought:
She minds no longer what he taught.
Cadenus was amaz'd, to find
Such marks of a distracted mind:
For, though she seem'd to listen more,
To all he spoke, than e'er before,
He found her thoughts would absent range,
Yet guess'd not whence could spring the change,
At first he modestly conjectures
His pupil might be tir'd with lectures;
Which help'd to mortify his pride,
Yet gave him not the heart to chide:
But, in a mild dejected strain,
At last he ventur'd to complain.

Vanessa, fill'd with just disdain,
Would still her dignity maintain,
Instructed from her early years
To scorn the art of female tears.
Had he employ'd his time so long
To teach her what was right and wrong;
Yet could such notions entertain
That all his lectures were in vain?
She own'd the wandering of her thoughts;
But he must answer for her faults.

I knew, by what you said and writ,
How dangerous things were men of wit;
You caution'd me against their charms,
But never gave me equal arms;
Your lessons found the weakest part,
Aim'd at the head, but reach'd the heart.

Cadenus felt within him rise
Shame, disappointment, guilt, surprise.
He knew not how to reconcile
Such language with her usual style:
And yet her words were so exprest,
He could not hope she spoke in jest.
His thought had wholly been confin'd
To form and cultivate her mind.
He hardly knew, till he was told,
Whether the Nymph were young or old;
Had met her in a public place,
Without distinguishing her face:
Much less could his declining age
Vanessa's earliest thoughts engage;
And, if her youth indifference met,
His person must contempt beget:
Or grant her passion be sincere,
How shall his innocence be clear?
Appearances were all so strong,
The world must think him in the wrong:
Would say, he made a treacherous use
Of wit, to flatter and seduce:
The town would swear, he had betray'd
By magic spells, the harmless maid:
And every beau would have his jokes,
That scholars were like other folks;
And, when platonic flights were over,
The tutor turn'd a mortal lover!
So tender of the young and fair!
It shew'd a true paternal care—
Five thousand guineas in her purse!
The doctor might have fancied worse."—

[o] He humorously contrasts, in the following passage, the disparity of their years, and fondly hoped, by representing the absurdity, and the ill consequences, of so incongruous a connexion, to subdue the violence of her passion, or at least to change the ardent affection of love, into the temperate predilection of friendship.

"What mariner is not afraid
To venture in a ship decay'd?
What planter will attempt to yoke
A sapling with a falling oak?
As years increase, she brighter shines;
Cadenus with each day declines:
And he must fall a prey to time;
While she continues in her prime."

[p] From the following passage of this poem, conclusions have been drawn, injurious to the credit of both parties.

"But what success Vanessa met
Is to the world a secret yet,
Whether the nymph, to please her swain,
Talks in a high romantic strain;
Or whether he at last descends
To act with less seraphic ends;
Or, to compound the business, whether
They temper love and books together;
Must never to mankind be told,
Nor shall the conscious Muse unfold."

harshness of a refusal, with an agreeable compliment; his answer was conveyed in terms, which, although they might gratify her vanity, [q] were not calculated to inflame her passions; he judiciously selected such qualities as he might safely praise, without raising hopes or inspiring love [r]; and from hence, perhaps, arises that coldness, which pervades some parts of this poem, an objection which has been raised against it by some critics; but, doubtless those persons would have quarrelled with it as much, though with more reason, had its tendency been opposite; so hard, nay impossible, it is, to satisfy those, whose trade is censure.

Such was the state [s] of their mutual affections, when the two young ladies came over to Dublin, [t] upon the death of their mother, in 1714; the importunate letters

To those who can distinguish the peculiarities of Swift's humour, the above lines will be sufficiently intelligible: to imagine that they were not meant jocularly would be to suppose the poem written for no purpose; the whole of it having a directly opposite tendency to any insinuation of an immoral kind, which those words may be conceived to imply. Cadenus is represented, all throughout, as a clergyman of strict morals, and Vanessa as a pattern for her sex: indeed, I think, this arch allusion conveys something like a proof of innocence, for it is not likely that Swift would have used it, had there been any real foundation for what he insinuates. It ought to be remembered too, that the effect of this sentence is quite changed by publication, a matter which Swift could not have foreseen, and which this very sentence serves, in a remarkable way, to prove he never calculated upon, for it must at least have had the ill effect of exciting jealousy in the mind of Stella, a passion which I do believe to be as contrarious to friendship as to love.

[q] In one part of this poem, as if it were to qualify the harshness of a refusal, he politely compliments her, not indeed on account of her personal charms, but for her mental accomplishments; the qualities feigned to be bestowed on his heroine, at her birth, by Venus and the Graces, are not expatiated upon in the manner they doubtless would have been, by a real lover; the Goddess, in nectar thrice infuses bays and therewith sprinkles the new-born maid,

> "From whence that decency of mind,
> So lovely in the female kind,
> Where not one careless thought intrudes;
> Less modest than the speech of prudes."

The qualities too, bestowed by the Graces, are but slightly noticed; they inspire

> "That gentle, soft, engaging air,
> Which in old times adorn'd the fair."

But the gifts from the Goddess of Wisdom are distinctly enumerated, being those to which alone, in Swift's estimation, any value should be annexed. The Queen of Learning

> "Down from Olympus comes with joy,
> Mistakes Vanessa for a boy;
> Then sows within her tender mind
> Seeds long unknown to woman-kind;
> For manly bosoms chiefly fit,
> The seeds of knowledge, judgement, wit.
> Her soul was suddenly endued
> With justice, truth and fortitude;
> With honour, which no breath can stain,
> Which malice must attack in vain, &c."

This passage, with some others which I have elsewhere quoted, will furnish a sufficient reply to Lord Orrery, and that tribe of critics who have ransacked this poem for the purpose of instituting a charge of criminality against the parties. I imagine that the last two lines could never have been written for any purpose but that of confirming, in the principles of virtue, the person to whom they were addressed. Indeed every line appears to point out, like an index, to the wavering female, the true dignity of her nature, and Swift's object, throughout the whole poem, appears to be that of strengthening her mind against the seductions of a wayward passion.

[r] "He never tempted her with word too large,
But, as a brother to his sister, shew'd
Bashful sincerity, and comely love."

[s] The correspondence between Swift and Vanessa commenced about May 1712: a few letters, which are not dated, may perhaps have been written earlier; they were, at first, little more than effusions of gallantry, and Swift's were addressed in some measure to the whole family. We may plainly discover from one, written to Mrs. Vanhomrigh, from Chester, on 6th June 1713, that there was no exclusive attention paid by him, to the elder sister; and the manner in which he notices, to her mother, her jealous impatience of his attentions to the younger, shews that her predilection was not apprehended to be, by any of the parties, a matter of very serious import. "You have heard of me from Dunstable by the way of Hessy. I have had a sad time since. If Moll's even so had been there, she would have none left. Now Hessy grumbles that I talk of Moll." He alludes, humorously, in the following passage, to the loss they will feel from his absence. "Who will Hessy get now to chide, or Moll to tell her stories, and bring her sugar-plumbs? We never know any thing enough till we want it." More of this, and somewhat of their manner of conversation is represented in the following passage; "Lord Lanesborough has been here lately in his way to Ireland, and has got the good will of all the folks in our town. He had something to say to every little boy he met in the streets. Well, he is the courteousest man, and nothing is so fine in the quality as to be courteous. Now Moll laughs because I speak wisely, and now Hessy murmurs again. Well, I had a charming handsome cousin here twenty years ago. I was to see her to-night, and, in my conscience, she is not handsome at all; I wonder how it comes about; but she is very good-natured, and you know, Moll, good-nature is better than beauty, &c."—Vanessa's jealousy of her sister breaks out in several passages of her letters, written about the same period; on the 6th June 1713, she writes, "Why did not you remember me at Dunstable as well as Moll? Lord! what a monster is Moll grown since. But nothing of poor Hess, except that the mark will be in the same place of Davila where you left it." Either there is an error in the printed copies of this correspondence, or Swift forgot to which sister he wrote from Dunstable, for he says, in the passage above quoted, "You have heard of me from Dunstable by the way of Hessy;" and yet, here, Vanessa writes, "why did not you remember me at Dunstable as well as Moll?" It would be strange, if his affections were much engaged, that his memory should be so treacherous.

The letter of Swift, above quoted, is alluded to in Vanessa's of the 23d, and the following passage proves that their correspondence was a licensed intercourse; this will, in some measure, excuse Swift, because it appears from thence, that whatever effect their familiarities had produced upon her affections, it was not perceived by her mother, and might, therefore, at the commencement, have been a secret to Swift himself. "Confess; have you once thought of me since you wrote to my mother at Chester, which letter, I assure you, I take very ill? my mother and I have counted the Molls and the Hessys; 'tis true the

of Vanessa, and the vicinity of her residence to that of Swift, made a more reserved conduct necessary upon the part of the latter; hence, her letters became filled with reproaches for his harshness and neglect, accompanied with such pathetic representations of the wretched state of her mind,[u] as it would have been cruelty not to compassionate; "Swift accordingly," as Mr. Scott observes, "continued to bestow

number is equal; but you talk to Moll, and only say, now Hessy grumbles."

Between the time of writing this letter and Swift's second journey to Ireland, in August 1714, Vanessa had made an open avowal of her affections, which was answered by his poem, Cadenus and Vanessa; after this, "Swift's letters assume a graver cast, and consist rather of advice, caution, and rebuke, than expressions of tenderness," and the restraint he laid her under, both when writing or conversing with him, appears from many expressions in her letters. "The reason I write to you is, because I cannot tell it you, should I see you; for when I begin to complain, then you are angry, and there is something in your look so awful, that it strikes me dumb." Swift's Works, Vol. XIX. page 421.

The letters of Swift and Miss Vanhomrigh furnish ample proofs that they never did, at any time, transgress the bounds of innocence: Mr. Walter Scott very justly remarks "that Vanessa's is the language of the most romantic attachment, but without the least tincture of criminal desire.—She pleads in extenuation of her uncontrollable affection, the high moral character of its object. The reproaches, too, which they occasionally contain, are uniformly of coldness, not of desertion; nor do her expostulations, like those of a forsaken paramour, upbraid her lover with the wreck of her fame and virtue." On the other hand, "Swift, under Vanessa's pen, remains a matchless model of virtue, just and perfect in every thing but want of tenderness: the picture, in short, usually drawn by a male lover of his relentless mistress. It is the language of the most romantic attachment, but without the least tincture of criminal desire. Nay, in allusion, doubtless, to her rash declaration, she seems to take to herself, as the cause of their distress, those reproaches, which she was sensible she had no cause to impute to the perfidy of her lover. 'Oh,' she exclaims, 'how have you forgot me. You endeavour by severities to force me from you, nor can I blame you; for, with the utmost distress and confusion, I behold myself the cause of uneasy reflections to you. Yet I cannot comfort you, but here declare, that 'tis not in the power of time or accident to lessen the inexpressible passion which I have for ——.' This remarkable and decisive passage proves, that it was the unrequited passion of Vanessa, not the perfidy of Cadenus, which was the origin of their mutual misery; for she states Swift's unhappiness as arising from her love, and declares herself, at the same time, incapable of abating her affection." Scott's Life of Swift, page 258, &c."

There are several allusions in those letters which have been sometimes construed uncharitably; but, when we consider that the whole tenor of the correspondence is quite contrarious to such a mode of explanation, we shall be inclined to reject it; "If any thing less than innocence were implied," says Mr. Scott, "it appears impossible that Vanessa should have received with rapture (as she does in the next letter,) the proposal of Cadenus to immortalize these incidents of their intercourse." Swift's Works, Vol. XIX. page 436, *note*.

The correspondence of Swift and Vanessa appears in an improved state in the last edition of his works; but I apprehend it is less perfect than it might be made, for there exists, in this kingdom, more than one copy of the original letters; that which has been used by Mr. Scott was communicated to him by the Rev. Mr. Berwick, of Esker; however, I agree with him, that, so far as they go, "the internal evidence, and high character of Mr. Berwick, are sufficient warrant for their authenticity."

[t] Lord Orrery is very pleasant upon the subject of the ladies apprehension least they should be arrested after their mother's death; but he might have spared his ill-natured remarks, as their fear arose from ignorance of the world, rather than from extravagance; they had administered to their mother's will, and were informed that they would be obliged to pay her debts within the year. Swift quieted those unfounded apprehensions, by informing them, that they would be required to pay no more than they received.

[u] Two of those letters I shall here lay before the reader; the first is dated Cellbridge, 1720, and is as follows.

"Believe me it is with the utmost regret that I now complain to you, because I know your good-nature is such, that you cannot see any human creature miserable, without being sensibly touched, yet what can I do? I must either unload my heart, and tell you all its griefs, or sink under the inexpressible distress I now suffer by your prodigious neglect of me. 'Tis now ten long weeks since I saw you, and in all that time I have never received but one letter from you, and a little note with an excuse. Oh, how have you forgot me. You endeavour by severities to force me from you, nor can I blame you: for, with the utmost distress and confusion, I behold myself the cause of uneasy reflections to you, yet I cannot comfort you, but here declare, that 'tis not in the power of time or accident to lessen the inexpressible passion which I have for ******."

"Put my passion under the utmost restraint, send me as distant from you as the earth will allow, yet you cannot banish those charming ideas, which will ever stick by me whilst I have the use of memory, nor is the love I bear you only seated in my soul, for there is not a single atom of my frame that is not blended with it. Therefore, don't flatter yourself that separation will ever change my sentiments; for I find myself unquiet in the midst of silence, and my heart is at once pierced with sorrow and love. For Heaven's sake, tell me what has caused this prodigious change on you, which I have found of late. If you have the least remains of pity for me left, tell me tenderly; no: don't tell it, so that it may cause my present death, and don't suffer me to live a life like a languishing death, which is the only life I can lead, if you have lost any of your tenderness for me."

The other letter is as follows.

"Tell me sincerely, if you have once wished with eagerness to see me, since I wrote last to you. No, so far from that, you have not once pitied me, though I told you how I was distressed. Solitude is insupportable to a mind which is not at ease. I have worn on my days in sighing, and my nights with watching and thinking of **** who thinks not of me. How many letters must I send you before I shall receive an answer? Can you deny me in my misery the only comfort which I can expect at present? Oh! that I could hope to see you here, or that I could go to you. I was born with violent passions, which terminate all in one, that inexpressible passion I have for you. Consider the killing emotions which I feel from your neglect, and shew some tenderness for me, or I shall lose my senses. Sure you cannot possibly be so much taken up, but you might command a moment to write to me, and force your inclinations to do so great a charity. I firmly believe, could I know your thoughts, which no human creature is capable of guessing at, (because never any one living thought like you,) I should find you have often in a rage wished me religious, hoping then I should have paid my devotions to Heaven; but that would not spare you,—for was I an enthusiast, still you'd be the deity I should worship. What marks are there of a deity, but what you are to be known by;—you are at present every where; your dear image is always before mine eyes. Sometimes you strike me with that prodigious awe, I tremble with fear; at other times a charming compassion shines through your countenance, which revives my soul. Is it not more reasonable to adore a radiant form one has seen, than one only described?"

on her those marks of regard which it was impossible to refuse to her feelings towards him, even though they had not been reciprocal."

Scarce any incident of romantic fiction is more affecting than the distressing situation of those two amiable and accomplished persons; but the evil was one, to be deplored, rather than to be remedied; a connexion with Vanessa, by marriage, was impossible; and had Swift been able to persuade himself to enter into the hymeneal bonds, it is difficult to conceive how he could have preferred this latter, to his former acquaintance.[v]

The death of the younger sister, in 1720, encreased the difficulties of their situation; Vanessa's hopes of success were probably revived, by the knowledge of her having become a considerable object, in point of fortune; she appears, however, to have been at last convinced of the entire hopelessness of her passion; nevertheless, her conduct was not more prudent; she[w] had retired to her house at Celbridge in 1717, there she continued to reside, and feed, in seclusion, her hopeless passion[x]; this was contrary to the advice of Swift, who had often warned her of the ill consequences of such a measure; although the time of her retirement is said

[v] Mr. Walter Scott imagines that he perceives Swift's affection for Stella declining, from the time of his acquaintance with Vanessa. "The effect of his increasing intimacy with the fascinating Vanessa, may be plainly traced in the journal to Stella, which, in the course of its progress, becomes more and more cold and indifferent—breathes fewer of those aspirations after the quiet felicity of a life devoted to MD. and the willows of Laracor,—uses less frequently the affectionate jargon, called the "little language," in which his fondness at first displays itself,—and, in short, exhibits all the symptoms of waning affection." Life of Swift, page 231. Mr. Sheridan thinks that the date of Swift's connexion with Vanessa can be "traced, almost to a certainty, by examining the *latter part* of his journal."—Although there is some appearance of agreement between those opinions, there is sufficient difference to prove, that there are no grounds whatever for their conjectures. Mr. Scott (Vol. II. page 322, *note*.) remarks, that Swift, on the 4th of August 1711, "for the first time, in his journal, mentions Vanessa, who was actually engrossing so much of his time and thoughts:" but Mr. Sheridan decides, that March, 1712, is the period "from which time to the end, there is a remarkable change in his manner of writing to the two ladies." But, what was written between those two periods of time amounts to one half of the correspondence, which shews, that this manner of ascertaining the growth of Swift's affection, from his journal, is quite fanciful; it is true, the "little language" falls gradually into disuse, but this is not surprizing, for it would have been quite preposterous to continue it, without ceasing, during a correspondence of three years.

Mr. Scott infers very bad things from Swift's not particularly mentioning Miss Vanhomrigh in those letters. "From several passages in this journal, Swift's constant and intimate familiarity in the Vanhomrigh family is manifest:—While Vanessa was occupying much of his time, and doubtless much of his thoughts, she is never once mentioned in the journal directly by name, and is only twice casually indicated by the title of Vanhomrigh's eldest daughter." Mr. Scott imagines here, that Swift had already contracted an affection for the elder sister; but we are to consider that this has not yet been proved: Vanessa's avowal was the first indication that Swift had of the state of her affections, and it does not appear that this confession was made until he passed over to Ireland to be installed; an event which was subsequent in date to the last letter of this correspondence. It is just *possible* that Mr. Walter Scott may be right in what he surmises, but after all it is no more than a *conjecture*.

Mr. Sheridan argues, from the despondency of mind which Swift felt upon his return to Ireland, that he had therefore transferred his affection from Stella to Vanessa. "On his arrival there, instead of the joy and transport to which he had once looked forward, on being re-united to the object of all his wishes, after so long a separation, the whole scene was changed into cold indifference, or gloomy melancholy. 'At my first coming I thought I should have died with discontent, and was horribly melancholy while they were installing me, but it begins to wear off and change to dullness." If the melancholy sensations which Swift experienced upon this occasion, indicated, that his affection for Stella had abated, how is the gloom, which possessed his mind, in 1714, to be accounted for, when both those females were resident in the same kingdom with himself.

Mr. Walter Scott's 5th section is occupied, chiefly, with the subject of Swift's intercourse with those females; he therein adopts, as an axiom, that a matrimonial engagement between Swift and Stella had actually taken place: the consequence of such a mode of proceeding may be easily imagined, every passage of Swift's works is wrested from its obvious meaning, and every act of his life mistated, that it may conform to this hypothesis.

If we believe what has been related, by former biographers, of Swift's marriage with Stella, an incontrovertible argument will grow therefrom, against his having had any criminal commerce with Vanessa; for it is not credible, that he should have refrained from a similar gratification with the former, which, if married to her, he might have indulged in; the worst man that ever lived was never supposed guilty of such extravagance, as that of denying the lawful rights of marriage to one female, and carrying on a criminal intrigue with another, less interesting, less beautiful, and less an object of desire. If, on the other hand, we suppose that he did not marry Mrs. Johnson, a proof of his power to restrain a lawful passion grows equally from thence; how then can we reasonably suppose that he should be guilty of indulging the same sort of passion, in so irregular and scandalous a way.

[w] During this period she had several proposals of marriage; one from Dean Winter, a gentleman of character, respectability, and fortune; and another from Dr. Price, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.

The house wherein she resided, at Celbridge, was built by her father, upon a lease for 99 years. This became afterwards the estate of the Conolly family, by purchase. Lyon, MS.

[x] In one of his letters to Vanessa, Swift writes, "We differ prodigiously in one point—I fly from the spleen to the world's end, you run out of your way to meet it." (Vol. XIX. page 449.) In another, he gives advice in the following words, "Read pleasant things, that will makeyou laugh, and not sit moping with your elbows on your knees on a little stool by the fire." (Vol. XIX. page 439.)

to have been the year 1717, Swift did not visit her there till 1720: very few of their letters, written between the latter period and the time of her death, which happened in 1723, [y] are extant; they were probably less impassioned, for Swift's are less reserved, and the tenor of them casts an air of improbability over the tragical catastrophe, which some of Swift's biographers relate to have taken place. [z] If love does produce such dreadful effects, it must be, when that passion is at its height; after ten years duration, and when upon the wane, it is not credible that it should work a dissolution of that frame, which had before withstood its more violent force. But, be this as it may, it is certain that the intimacy, between Swift and Vanessa, was terminated somewhat abruptly; it is related that Vanessa, desirous of knowing the exact nature of his connexion with Stella, addressed a letter to her upon the subject, which she transmitted to Swift, who, in a paroxism of rage, rode out to Celbridge, and flinging the letter upon the table, left the room, and was never afterwards reconciled to her. [a] Vanessa exhibited, before her decease, very evident marks

[y] It is said, that Swift's unkind conduct was the cause of her death; there appear to be no other grounds for this assertion, but that she died at an early period of life; her premature death might, however, have arisen from natural causes, she outlived her brothers and sister, although she was the eldest of them all; it is to be observed too, that his latest letters are written with more tenderness than those which preceded them.

[z] Mr. Walter Scott has given to the public, upon the faith of an obliging correspondent, some *minute particulars* of Swift's intercourse with Vanessa, at Marlay Abbey, near Celbridge. (See his Life of Swift, page 248.) As the name of the person who communicated this story has been withheld, it is only by internal evidence that we can judge of its truth, but this will, I think, be found quite adequate to prove the whole a fabrication, and that for the following reasons.

1st. The original narrator was not of that quality which could enable him to attain to such a degree of intimacy, with the parties, as would give his report any degree of weight; neither was he of an age sufficient to form such a judgement of their conduct as would be worth while to communicate to the public. It is not probable that all the minute particulars which are there detailed would be noticed by a child, or, if noticed, distinctly remembered, after the lapse of more than half a century of time: he was, we are told, "a son of Mrs. Vanhomrigh's gardener; who used to work with his father in the garden when a boy." When he related the story, published by Mr. Scott, he was "an aged man, upwards of ninety by his own account."

2d. The account itself is replete with blunders and absurdities; this old gardener "remembered the unfortunate Vanessa well, and his account of her corresponded with the usual description of her person, especially as to her *embonpoint*." But, I ask, where is this *usual description* of Vanessa's person to be met with? this is evidently a blunder of Mr. Scott's correspondent, for it is Stella that this description suits, of whom, we are told by Swift himself, "that she was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only *a little too fat*."—Forgetting too, the age of the parties, for, in 1720, Swift was fifty-three years old and Vanessa thirty-three, he gives such a description of their manners as suits rather a college youth and a boarding-school miss, than persons of such advanced periods of life.—"The garden was, to an uncommon degree, crowded with laurels. The old man said, when Mrs. Vanhomrigh expected the Dean *she always planted, with her own hand, a laurel or two against his arrival.* He shewed her favourite seat, still called Vanessa's bower. Three or four trees, and some laurels, indicate the spot. They had formerly, according to the old man's information, been trained *into a close arbour.* There were *two seats* and a *rude table* within the bower, the opening of which commanded a view of the Liffey, which had *a romantic effect*, and there was *a small cascade that murmured at a distance.* In this sequestered spot, according to the old gardener's account, the Dean and Vanessa used often to sit, with books and writing-materials on the table before them."—It is a pity to disturb the reader out of the delightful reverie into which this romantic description must have lulled him; but it is time to think of the Dean's deafness, which his thus sitting out in the air, at the season, too, for planting laurels, must have endangered a renewal of; the consideration of this circumstance, will not, I fear, help much the *romantic effect*.

This incident, so conformable to romantic fiction, and so unsuitable to real life, we are to receive upon the credit of a gardener, at least ninety years old; whose mental qualities were of course suitable to his time of life; he appears, however, to have had a sufficient degree of shrewdness left, as he took care not to be found deficient in that sort of knowledge from whence he derived no small share of importance, and doubtless some profit. R. Brennan, who was a servant of Swift's, maintained himself for many years by the trade of story-telling: Mr. Monck Berkeley has thought fit to communicate some of them to the world, in his Literary Reliques, and has thereby perpetuated his own folly and credulity. I was told by Mr. Maguire, the present sexton of St. Patrick's, that an English gentleman, his name he did not know, but I have reason to believe the person was Mr. Berkeley, gave him an annuity of four pounds per annum. Pecuniary rewards are wonderful helps to the memory of menial servants in general, and he must be a very silly fellow, who would not have a story ready for a good customer.

[a] Dr. Lyon, in his corrected copy of Hawksworth's Memoir, has drawn his pen across this account of the letter, which was originally derived from Mr. Deane Swift's narrative, and has added the following note in MS. "This is all tattle and suspicion, for no letter, either of her or him, appears in the whole correspondence which she did preserve; had such a letter been written, Vanessa would have put it in that collection of the dean's letters *which she desired her executors to publish;* the last letter is the 7th August 1722, where he says the best companion for her is a philosopher, &c."—It is worthy of observation, that the Doctor says, Miss Vanhomrigh desired her executors to publish their letters, not that she required them, by her will, to do so.

Mr. Walter Scott's *obliging correspondent* informs us, confidently enough, of a letter written by Stella to Vanessa, in answer to that above-mentioned, informing her of her marriage; such a supposition is pregnant with absurdities, and supplies unconquerable objections to the other parts of Mr. Scott's narrative. If such a letter was written, I ask, what became of it? was it not, as Dr. Lyon says of the other, as well worth preserving as the other parts of this correspondence? but we must allow, that, if such a letter was written by Stella, she dare avow their marriage, what then will become of the fine stories related by Mr. Sheridan and Mrs. Whiteway?

of her resentment against the Dean; it has been asserted that she revoked a will made in his favour; it is certain that his name does not occur in that which she afterwards made, whereby she bequeathed her fortune to Mr. Marshall, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and to Dr. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne; she left likewise to seventeen other persons, legacies, of various sums, from 10*l.* to 25*l.* each, yet Swift's name does not appear in the list; it is not unlikely that those very memorials were meant, chiefly, to testify the resentment she bore against the person who had once possessed so considerable a share of her affections. [b]

Mr. Scott says, that Mr. Berwick has a picture of one of the Miss Vanhomrigh's; he says, in another place, that the same person has likewise one of Stella: I believe Mr. Berwick will not vouch, very confidently, for the authenticity of either of those portraits.

[b] The Earl of Orrery, who possessed about as much critical judgement as he did christian charity, has afforded us a sample, whereby we may judge of both, in his remarks upon the poem of Cadenus and Vanessa; I shall recite the passage to which he refers, and accompany it with an extract from the learned Peer's ingenious comment.

"She own'd the wandering of her thoughts,
But he must answer for her faults.
She well remember'd, to her cost,
That all his lessons were not lost.
Two maxims she could still produce,
And sad experience taught their use;
That virtue, pleas'd by being shown,
Knows nothing which it dare not own;
Can make us without fear disclose
Our inmost secrets to our foes:
That common forms were not design'd
Directors to a noble mind.
Now, said the nymph, to let you see
My actions with your rules agree;
That I can vulgar forms despise,
And have no secrets to disguise;
I knew, by what you said and writ,
How dangerous things were men of wit;
You caution'd me against their charms,
But never gave me equal arms:
Your lessons found the weakest part,
Aim'd at the head, and reach'd the heart."

Upon these lines the learned Peer expatiates, without exhibiting the least desire to understand their meaning, in the following words.

"His rules were certainly of a most extraordinary kind. He taught her, that vice, as soon as it defied shame, was immediately changed into virtue. That vulgar forms were not binding upon certain *choice spirits*, to whom either the writings, or the persons of men of wit were acceptable. She heard the lesson with attention, and imbibed the philosophy with eagerness. The maxims suited her exalted turn of mind. She imagined that if the theory appeared so charming, the practice must be much more delightful. The close connection of soul and body seemed to require, in the eye of a female philosopher, that each should succeed the other in all pleasurable enjoyments. The former had been sufficiently regaled, why must the latter remain unsatisfied? 'Nature,' said Vanessa, 'abhors a *vacuum*, and nature ought always to be obeyed.' She communicated these sentiments to her tutor, but he seemed not to comprehend her meaning, nor to conceive the *distinctio rationis* that had taken rise in his own school. He answered her in the *non-essential modes*. He talked of friendship, of the delights of reason, of gratitude, respect and esteem. He almost preached upon virtue, and he muttered some indistinct phrases concerning chastity. So unaccountable a conduct in Cadenus may be thought rather to proceed from defects in nature, than from the scrupulous difficulties of a tender conscience. Such a supposition will still appear more strong, if we recollect the distant manner in which Swift cohabited with Stella, colder, if possible, after, than before, she was his wife." Lord Orrery's Remarks, 9th letter.

It is difficult to say, whether we should attribute to stupidity or malice, this total perversion of the writers very obvious meaning; Dr. Delany says, "if this be not calling good, evil, and evil, good, I profess I know not what it is."—It is unnecessary to expatiate further upon the inconsistency, and absurdity of this comment; but it is not, perhaps, quite so unnecessary to point out the falshood of some other uncharitable insinuations of this unworthy peer, who has thought fit to overwhelm, with the most cruel and groundless aspersions, the good fame and memory of this accomplished, and unfortunate female.

After reading a part of this nobleman's ninth letter, one would be led to suppose, that Swift's object was, to corrupt the mind of this young lady, that he might gratify his own passion; but this is not the case; the Earl represents him, afterwards, as rejecting her proferred love; his corrupting her, was not, therefore, with a view to gratification, such an act, though detestable, would be too natural for Swift; it would not blacken his character sufficiently, to gratify the intense malice of this revengeful peer, who seems, all throughout his work, to imagine that he was adding to his own stock of virtues, in proportion to what he pillaged from the reputation of others; it is indeed impossible to attribute his conduct to any other motive, for he never saw this unhappy female, who had died near ten years before his first visit to Ireland, and yet, without quoting any authority, he has drawn her character in terms as opposite to that given by Swift as light is to darkness.

"Vanessa was excessively vain. The character given of her by Cadenus is fine painting, but, in general, fictitious. She was fond of dress: impatient to be admired: very romantic in her turn of mind: superior, in her own opinion, to all her sex: full of pertness, gaiety, and pride: not without some agreeable accomplishments, but far from being either beautiful or genteel: ambitious, at any rate, to be esteemed a wit; and with that view, always affecting to keep company with wits: a great reader, and a violent admirer of poetry: happy in the thoughts of being reputed Swift's concubine: but still aiming and intending to be his wife. By nature haughty, and disdainful, looking with the pity of contempt upon her inferiors, and with the smiles of self-approbation upon her equals: but upon Dr. Swift with the eyes of love." Orrery's Remarks, 9th letter.

It is difficult to conceive how vanity, or love of dress, or some of the other attributes above-described, should be ruling principles in the mind of a female, against whom Swift's chief matter of complaint was, her indulging an unhappy passion for solitude; he writes thus to her, "concealing yourself as you do, the world knows you not, and you lose the eulogy of millions." In his poem of Cadenus and Vanessa, he describes her as,

——— "like Atalanta's star,
But rarely seen, and seen from far"—

And again he says, that she

"Would seldom at the Park appear,
Nor saw the play-house twice a-year."

1720—In the year 1720, Swift again appeared on the stage, as a political writer[c]; not indeed, as "the advocate and apologist of a ministry, but the undaunted and energetic defender of the rights of an oppressed people." No nation ever needed more a patriotic defender than Ireland at that period[8]: the short-sighted views of incipient commerce had represented her as a dangerous rival to England, and the English senate, urged on by the factious clamours of interested mechanicks, had stooped, more than once, to acts, impolitic and unjust; they forgot that all modes of aggrandizement are not equally lawful, and least of all those which forcibly extinguish the natural rights of mankind. This system of oppression commenced soon after the restoration, when England, availing herself of the humble state to which the sister kingdom had been brought by civil wars, sought to reduce that independent nation to the state of a subdued province. The power of legislating for herself was, contrary to all principle, intruded upon, by a forced construction of a

[8] Scott's Life of Swift, page 276.

The following lines of the same poem prove, that all the other discreditable qualities, above-mentioned, are attributed to this female without the least regard to truth.

"With pleasing arts she could reduce
Men's talents to their proper use;
And with address each genius held
To that wherein it most excell'd;
Thus making others' wisdom known,
Could please them, and improve her own.
A modest youth said something new;
She placed it in the strongest view.
All humble worth she strove to raise,
Would not be prais'd, yet lov'd to praise."

It is also difficult to resolve, how her boasting herself Swift's concubine could ever effect the object of bringing about a marriage with him; nothing but preposterous folly could think of reconciling such contradictions as these. But, can we suppose it possible, that such men as Dean Winter, or Dr. Price, two clergymen of eminence and fortune, would make proposals of marriage to a professed concubine?

The most abandoned wretch could not merit severer censure than that with which this peer has closed his unfeeling narrative; "Thus perished at Celbridge, under the agonies of despair, Mrs. Esther Vanhomrigh; a miserable example of an ill-spent life, fantastic wit, visionary schemes, and female weakness."

With a generosity of sentiment which, compared to that of the peer, was inversely as their respective ranks, Sheridan remarks upon this passage, in the following words.

"I appeal to the reader, whether he thinks it possible that any venal writer, hired by an enemy for the purpose of defamation, could have drawn any character in terms of more rancorous malignity. Nor do I believe there exists, even in that prostitute tribe, an individual, who, in cold blood, without provocation, or prospect of reward, would set about so odious a task. What motive could then induce this writer to lay aside the nobleman, the gentleman, and the man, to commit an act, which the most hardened assassin of reputations would be ashamed of? Let us suppose, for an instant, that all he has said of this lady is true, *was he called upon to the hangman's office, of mangling and emboweling the remains of a deceased criminal?*" Life of Swift, page 338.

Dr. Hawksworth's observations also bear hard upon the noble lord: "Surely, those whom pity could not restrain from being diligent to load her memory with reproach, to construe appearances in the worst sense, to aggravate folly into vice, and distress into infamy, have not much exalted their own character, or strengthened their claim to the candour of others."

Doctor Delany's animadversions upon this part of Lord Orrery's work, appear to be intended humorously. He begins by saying, that "this part had given the greatest offence to all that honoured the memory of Swift, or to those that honoured his lordship;" the next passage is really sarcastic, although it seems to flatter—"Your character of Vanessa," he writes, "and your account of her miserable situation, in all the *supposed* circumstances of her vice and vanity; are such as might do *honour to the best pen*, and *most upright christian heart*. I say, my lord, in her *supposed* circumstances; but at the same time, give me leave to declare, from the obligations I owe, both to *strict truth and christian charity;* that I by no means think those *suppositions sufficiently founded*." His lordship's observations, upon the poem of Cadenus and Vanessa, the doctor treats with the same courtly satire, he says they are "in the main most judicious, masterly, and just; but his censure of part very severe to his eyes, and to those of all his acquaintance, *utterly unfounded*, and of consequence cruel to the memory of Swift and a heavy charge upon his virtue."

[c] In his letter to Pope, dated 10th Jan. 1720, Swift enters upon a satisfactory explanation of his political tenets; from whence it appears, that, notwithstanding the difference of character which he assumed, upon this second occasion, he preserved a great conformity to the same principles which had, previously, regulated his conduct. His words are as follows.

"I will tell you what my political principles were in the time of her late glorious majesty, which I never contradicted by any action, writing, or discourse."

"First, I always declared myself against a popish successor to the crown, whatever title he might have by the proximity of blood: neither did I ever regard the right line, except upon two accounts; first, as it was established by law; and secondly, as it has much weight in the opinions of the people. For, necessity may abolish any law, but cannot alter the sentiments of the vulgar; right of inheritance being perhaps the most popular of all topics; and therefore in great changes, when that is broke, there will remain much heart-burning and discontent among the meaner people; which (under a weak prince and corrupt administration) may have the worst consequences upon the peace of any state."

"As to what is called a revolution principle, my opinion was this; that whenever those evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, were not, in probability, so pernicious as the grievances we suffer under present power, then the public good will justify such a revolution; and this I took to have been the case in the Prince of Orange's expedition; although in the consequences it produced some very bad effects, which are likely to stick long enough by us."

"I had, likewise, in those days, a mortal antipathy against standing armies in times of peace; because I always took standing armies to be only servants hired by the master of the family, for keeping his own children in slavery. And because I conceived that a prince who could not think himself secure without mercenary troops, must needs have a separate interest

statute, intended for a much more beneficial purpose [9]; and, without principle or precedent, the upper house of the English parliament usurped the right of judicature in the last result. This power, unjustly acquired, was oppressively exercised [d]; it soon appeared that their chief object was, to fetter, as much as possible, the commerce of Ireland, and to extinguish every manufacure that might come in competition with any that the natives of England might think fit to exercise; "the interest of the whole kingdom was made," as Swift remarks, "to strike to that of her poorest fishing-towns. [1]

Immediately after the restoration, the English parliament, which met at Oxford in the year 1665, passed a bill for the extinction of the only trade whereof Ireland was then possessed, that of sending live cattle into England [e]; this measure had,

[9] See page , *note*.

[1] Letter on the Sacramental test.

from that of his subjects. Although I am not ignorant of those artificial necessities which a corrupted ministry can create, for keeping up forces to support a faction against the public interest."

"As to parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that gothic institution, which made them annual, and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, until that ancient law were restored among us. For, who sees not, that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty; which traffic would never answer the design nor expence, if parliaments met once a year."

"I ever abominated that scheme of politics, (now about thirty years old) of setting up a monied interest in opposition to the landed. For I conceived, there could not be a truer maxim in our government than this, that the possessors of the soil are the best judges of what is for the advantage of the kingdom. If others had thought the same way, funds of credit and south sea projects would never have been felt or heard of."

"I could never discover the necessity of suspending any law upon which the liberty of the most innocent persons depended: neither do I think this practice has made the taste of arbitrary power so agreeable, as that we should desire to see it repeated. Every rebellion subdued, and plot discovered, contribute to the firmer establishment of the prince: in the latter case, the knot of conspirators is entirely broken, and they are to begin their work anew under a thousand disadvantages; so that those diligent inquiries into remote and problematical guilt, with a new power of enforcing them by chains and dungeons to every person whose face a minister thinks fit to dislike, are not only opposite to that maxim, which declares it better that ten guilty men should escape, than one innocent suffer; but likewise leave a gate wide open to the whole tribe of informers, the most accursed, and prostitute, and abandoned race, that God ever permitted to plague mankind."

"It is true the Romans had a custom of choosing a dictator, during whose administration, the power of other magistrates was suspended; but this was done only upon the greatest emergencies; a war near their doors, or some civil dissension; for armies must be governed by arbitrary power. But when the virtue of that commonwealth gave place to luxury and ambition, this very office of dictator became perpetual in the persons of the Cæsars and their successors, the most infamous tyrants that have any where appeared in story."

"These are some of the sentiments I had relating to public affairs, while I was in the world; what they are at present, is of little importance either to that or myself; neither can I truly say I have any at all, or if I had, I dare not venture to publish them: for, however orthodox they may be while I am now writing, they may become criminal enough to bring me into trouble before midsummer. And indeed I have often wished, for some time past, that a political catechism might be published by authority four times a year, in order to instruct us how we are to speak, and write, and act, during the current quarter. I have by experience felt the want of such an instructor: for, intending to make my court to some people on the prevailing side, by advancing certain old whiggish principles, which it seems had been exploded about a month before, I have passed for a disaffected person. I am not ignorant how idle a thing it is, for a man in obscurity to attempt defending his reputation as a writer, while the spirit of faction has so universally possessed the minds of men, that they are not at leisure to attend any thing else. They will just give themselves time to libel and accuse me, but cannot spare a minute to hear my defence. So, in a plot-discovering age, I have known an innocent man seized and imprisoned, and forced to lie several months in chains, while the ministers were not at leisure to hearhis petition, until they had prosecuted and hanged the number they proposed."

"All I can reasonably hope for by this letter, is to convince my friends, and others who are pleased to wish me well, that I have neither been so ill a subject, nor so stupid an author, as I have been represented by the virulence of libellers: whose malice has taken the same train in both, by fathering dangerous principles in government upon me, which I never maintained, and insipid productions which I am not capable of writing. For, however I may have been soured by personal ill-treatment, or by melancholy prospects for the public, I am too much a politician to expose my own safety by offensive words. And if my genius and spirit be sunk by increasing years, I have at least discretion enough left, not to mistake the measure of my own abilities, by attempting subjects where those talents are necessary, which perhaps I may have lost with my youth."

[d] Mr. Carte, in his life of James, Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. page 317, has the following remark.

"The English seem never to have understood the art of governing their provinces, and have always treated them in such a manner, as either to put them under a necessity, or subject them to the temptation of casting off their government, whenever an opportunity offered. It was a series of this impolitic conduct, which lost them Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Guyenne, and all the dominions which they formerly had in France. I have seen in the registers of the parliament of Paris, and the King of France's *Tresor des chartres*, an infinite number of appeals to that parliament, and memorials of grievances, which the gentlemen and inhabitants of those provinces suffered from the English government, representing their oppressions so grievous, as is scarce to be conceived, and makes it no wonder, that they embraced a favourable occasion of shaking off a yoke too heavy to be borne.—It is not a little snrprizing that a thinking people, as the English are, should not grow wiser by any experience, and after losing such considerable territories abroad by their oppressive treatment of them, should go on to hazard the loss of Ireland, and endeavour the ruin of a colony of their countrymen, planted in that kingdom."

[e] The House of Commons of England having discovered that, for three years preceding, one with another, 61,000 head of great cattle had been brought over from Ireland in each year, ordered, in June 1663, a bill to be brought in, for restraining the importation of fat cattle: by this act, which passed without opposition, every head of great cattle imported from that country into England, after the 1st of July, and before the 20th of December in every year, was to pay, to his Majesty, the sum of

however, a very different effect from what these short-sighted politicians apprehended, [f] it forced that people to apply themselves to manufactures, and drove them into the measure of working up their own commodities; encouraged by the noble spirit of their chief governor, the Duke of Ormond, the Irish soon established, among others, considerable woollen manufactures; but, the English parliament, by the statute of 10-11. William III. prohibited the exportation of those goods, to any place except Great Britain, [g] and thus at once ruined the woollen manufactures of Ireland, which had, nevertheless, scarce interfered with their own:

twenty shillings. (Act, 15. Car. II.) This statute was contrived so as to prevent fat cattle from being imported, but still there was a liberty of importing them lean, from Christmas to July. This act became injurious to the English nation, in the following way: it turned to the benefit of the English feeding grazier only, and that at the expense of the English breeder, because it occasioned the spring markets to be remarkably glutted, at which season the breeder is obliged to sell his stock to the grazier, to pay his rent, and make room for his growing stock. (Smith's Memoirs of Wool, Vol. I. pages 212 and 216.)

This proceeding of the English parliament threw the Irish nation into a state of confusion; they made a representation of their grievances to the King, who was convinced that the restraint upon Irish cattle was not only grievous to Ireland, but would, in the end, prove of fatal consequence to the trade and interest of England; but the houses of parliament were determined not to mend the matter, and the King, who wanted from them a large sum of money, durst not venture to disoblige them; the commons were so far from thinking they had proceeded too far, that, when they met at Oxford, in Oct. 1665, they resolved not only to restrain fat cattle, but to prohibit all, fat and lean, dead or alive; the bill was strongly opposed in every part of its progress, in the committee the votes were equal, and it was carried against the Irish by the voice of the chairman, only. In the House of Lords it was debated with great heat, and the Duke of Buckingham with great indecency declared, that "none could oppose it, but such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings," an observation which produced a challenge from the Earl of Ossory, but the duke exhibited thereupon the same plebeian meaness which had dictated the remark itself, and choosing rather to complain to the house, obtained that the gallant Ossory should be sent to the tower.—In the preamble to the bill, the importation of Irish cattle was declared to be a *nuisance;* the chancellor remarking, that it might as properly be declared *adultery*, the upper house sent it down amended in this respect, having inserted the words "detriment and mischief," in place of, "nuisance;" but the commons remained inflexibly obstinate, and the lords were obliged to consent that their favourite word should remain.

The Irish, although driven to a state of the utmost despair, and nearly ruined by this sudden extinction of the only trade they were permitted to carry on, harboured nevertheless so little ill will against their persecutors, that they voted, in the next following year, a contribution, for the relief of the sufferers by the fire of London; thirty thousand beeves, the only riches the country at that time possessed, were subscribed for that purpose; but, however pure and disinterested were the motives to this bounty, in England it received a malicious interpretation, and was industriously represented, as a political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Irish cattle. Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. II. pages 329-336. And, Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. III. 446.

This act, grievous at first to Ireland, has been since of great advantage to that kingdom, but very destructive to the trade of England. Sir William Temple, in his letter to the Earl of Essex, dated Dublin 1673, informs us, that the trade from Ireland was, before this time, chiefly young bullocks; few cows being bred up for the dairy, little butter was exported; the cattle being slaughtered young, the hides were mean, and the quantity of tallow small; they now learned to keep their cattle six or seven years, and, wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef trade, of which they have since obtained exclusive possession. Mr. Smith remarks too, (in his Memoirs of Wool, Vol. I. page 218), that the Irish, being driven from their wonted course, turned their thoughts to the breeding of sheep; "which produced, what has since been accounted, a *double nuisance*, a foreign trade in wool and woollen manufacture."—"Nor is it possible," he adds, "but that the plenty of Ireland must, in appearance at least, rival the English produce, in some shape or other. And therefore, was it really the interest of England that Ireland should have remained without improvement, nothing could have answered that end so effectually, as to have continued them in a state of breeding black cattle for the English feeders."

[f] A letter from a gentleman in Ireland to his brother in England, relating to the trade of Ireland, printed 1677, has the following remarks, upon the great increase of the produce of wool, and of woollen manufacture, which was the consequence of the statute prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle. "We had left muttering any more at your act against Irish cattle, and only smiled, as in a triumph, not of malice but of reason, to see that you were the persons aggrieved.—For, whereas some counties only could complain of our cattle, the chcapness of wools was become a general incommodity to your whole nation. As the trade of our cattle injured you before, so now our wools grow toward a nuisance: what was lawful for us, and profitable to you, you prohibited; what you constrain us to, you accuse: you are neither well full or fasting.—Miserable to ourselves, and yet subject to your envy, what can be propounded for our relief, or toward your satisfaction? Shall we steal our wool beyond sea? which yet were but to steal our own goods, that you will say would be a greater prejudice to you. Shall we manufacture it at home? that, although a double benefit to us, would seem to you a double inconvenience. And yet there is no third way left, unless, like your spiders, to weave out our own bowels."

[g] In the year 1698 a bill was introduced into the English parliament, grounded upon complaints, that the woollen manufacture in Ireland prejudiced the staple trade of England; the matter terminated at last in an address to the King, wherein the commons "implored his majesty's protection and favour in this matter, and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those whom he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland (except it be imported into England), and for the discouraging the woollen manufacture, and the encreasing the linen manufacture in Ireland." To this address his majesty made answer, "that he should do all that in him lay, to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland." Accordingly, on the 16th July, the King wrote a letter of instructions to the Earl of Galway, in which the following passage appears. "The chief thing that must be tried to be prevented, is, that the Irish parliament takes no notice of what has passed in this here, and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and discourage as far as possible the woollen."—The Earl of Galway and the other justices convened the parliament on the 27th of September; in their speech, they recommended a bill for encouragement of the manufactures of linen and hemp, "which," say they, "will be found more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which, being the settled trade of England from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never

but neither did this shallow policy produce the desired effect, it drove the staplers into a smuggling trade with France, by which the Irish wool was exported to that country, to the great prejudice of the oppressors themselves, and the great benefit of their rivals, the French manufacturers, who had recently established themselves in Picardy.[h]

Ireland, it is true, was not without her patriots to state her grievances; William Molineux, "the friend of Locke and of liberty," published, in 1698, "The Case, of Ireland's being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated," wherein he proved, as well by arguments drawn from reason, as by precedents, that England had no right, either by compact or conquest, to that legislative power over Ireland,

be encouraged here." The house of commons so far co curred with the lords justices' sentiments as to say, in their address of thanks, that they would heartily endeavour to establish the linen manufacture, and to render the same useful to England, and "we hope," they add, "to find such a temperament, with respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England."—Contin. of Rapin's Hist. of England, page 376.—"And they did," says Mr. Smith, "so far come into a temperament in this case, as, hoping it would be accepted by way of compromise, to lay a high duty of * * * * upon all their woollen manufacture exported; under which had England acquiesced, I am persuaded it would have been better for the kingdom in general. But the false notion of a possible monopoly, made the English deaf to all other terms of accommodation; by which means they lost the horse rather than quit the stable."—Memoirs of Wool, Vol. II. page 30.—The duties imposed by the Irish parliament, at this time, upon the export of manufactured wool, was four shillings on the value of twenty shillings of the old drapery, and two shillings on the like value of the new, except frizes. But, this concurrence of the people of Ireland seemed rather to heighten the jealousy between the two nations, by making the people of England imagine the manufactures of Ireland were arrived at a dangerous pitch of improvement, since they could be supposed capable of bearing so extravagant a duty: accordingly, in the next following year, the English parliament passed an act, (10-11. William III. chap. 10,) that no person should export from Ireland wool or woollen goods, except to England or Wales, under high penalties, such goods to be shipped only from certain ports in Ireland, and to certain ports in England: but this was not the whole grievance; the old duties upon the import of those commodities, whether raw or manufactured, into Great Britain, were left in the same state as before, which amounted nearly to a prohibition; thus did the English, although they had not themselves any occasion for those commodities, prohibit, nevertheless, their being sent to any other nation.

The discouragement of the woollen manufacture of Ireland, affected particularly the English setlers there, for the linen was entirely in the hands of the Scotch, who were established in Ulster, and the Irish natives had no share in either. It is stated in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Discourse concerning Ireland, &c. in answer to the Exon and Barnstaple petitions," printed 1697-8, that there were then, in the city and suburbs of Dublin, 12,000 English families, and throughout the nation 50,000 who were bred to trades connected with the manufacture of wool, "who could no more get their bread in the linen manufacture, than a London taylor by shoe-making."

Mr. Walter Scott says, (Life of Swift, page 278) that the Irish woollen manufacture produced an annual million, but this is not the fact; Mr. Dobbs, in his Essay on the Trade of Ireland, informs us, from the custom-house books, that in the year 1697, (which immediately preceded the year in which the address above-mentioned was transmitted to the king) the total value of Irish woollen exports, of all sorts, was only 23,614*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* and in 1687, when they were at the highest, they did not exceed 70,521*l.* 14*s.* It moreover appears, that the greater part of these exports were of a sort which did not interfere with the trade of England, 56,485*l.* 16*s.* was in frizes, and 2,520*l.* 18*s.* coarse stockings, the rest consisted in serges, and other stuffs of the new drapery, which affected not the trade of England, generally, but only the particular interests of Exeter and its neighbourhood, and a very few other inconsiderable towns.

But, whatever injury was intended, little prejudice was done to Ireland, except what followed immediately after the passing of this act. It appears, from Mr. Dobbs's pamphlet, that, a few years after, four times the quantity of woollen goods were shipped, in each year, clandestinely, than had ever been exported, legally, before: moreover the Irish vastly encreased their manufactures for home consumption, and learned to make fine cloth from Spanish wool: it was only to England itself that any disadvantage redounded; many manufacturers who were unsettled by this measure, passed over to Germany, Spain, and to Roan and other parts of France; "from these beginnings they have, in many branches, so much improved the woollen manufactures of France, as to vie with the English in foreign markets.—Upon the whole, those nations may be justly said to have deprived Britain of millions since that time, instead of the thousands Ireland might possibly have made."—What Mr. Dobbs has here asserted, relative to the removal of the manufacturers, has been confirmed by another tract, "Letter from a Clothier to a Member of Parliament," printed in 1731, which informs us that, for some years after, the English seemed to engross all the woollen trade, "but this appearance of benefit abated, as the foreign factories, raised on the ruin of the Irish, acquired strength:" he shews too, that the importation of unmanufactured wool from Ireland to England had been gradually decreasing since that time, which was probably on account of the increase of the illicit trade to foreign parts, towards the encouragement of which the duties, on legal transportation, served to act as a bounty of 36 per cent. "So true it is, that England can never fall into measures for unreasonably cramping the industry of the people of Ireland, without doing herself the greatest prejudice."

[h] The conduct of the English appears to have been, in this case, very opposite to their own principles; almost all the works, written at the termination of the last and beginning of the present century, represent, that neither the French, nor any other nation, could carry on their manufactures without English or Irish wool: a tract published in 1735, entitled, "An Argument upon the Woollen Manufacture, &c. dedicated to Robert Willimot, &c." has the following words: "In whatever branches of manufacture the Irish or English wool is employed in France, it works up twice as much of the French wool. Thus, one thousand stone of Irish or English wool produces three thousand stones of French manufacture." And "The Golden Fleece," a pamphlet published about the same time, sets forth, that "one pack of British or Irish wool will work up two, besides itself, of the course harsh wool of foreign growth." I do not maintain the truth of this thesis, but believe it was the generally received opinion at that time, and what chiefly urged them to pass those prohibitory acts; and yet, supposing it true, it is manifest, that, by destroying the manufacture of Ireland, and thereby forcing them to export their wool, they caused the production of a threefold quantity of the very commodity which they were seeking to discourage.

which she so oppressively exercised. The English house of commons could not brook this remonstrance; they voted, "that the book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England," they addressed the King, "that he would give effectual orders to prevent any thing of the like nature for the future," and, "that he would take all necessary care, that the laws, which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings, be not evaded, but strictly observed." This address was followed up by that other, to which I have alluded in a former note, that his majesty would make it his royal care to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland to any place but England, and that he would discourage the woollen, and increase the linen manufacture of that kingdom. "Not a voice," says Mr. Scott, "was raised, in the British house of commons, to contradict maxims equally impolitic and tyrannical, and which were much more worthy of the monopolizing corporation of some peddling borough, than of the enlightened senate of a free people."

Thus did the English nation, actuated by that wretched policy which hopes to elevate itself by the depression of others, proceed to "heap wrong upon wrong, and add insult to injury,"[i] until Swift, the natural ardour of whose disposition was easily kindled by the breath of tyranny, gave vent to his indignation, in the celebrated tract, entitled, "A Proposal for the universal use of Irish Manufacture, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing wearable that comes from England."[k] To seek a home-market for those goods which the Irish were, so iniquitously, prohibited from exporting, was the object of this pamphlet, and the

[i] The English senate was, in those times, too generally influenced by the partial representations of narrow-minded traders, or ignorant mechanics, who were neither capable of comprehending what might be for the general good of the nation, nor very desirous of promoting it; their suggestions were moreover, not unfrequently, founded in falsehood, what Cicero says of the low dealers of his time is peculiarly applicable to them; *Nihil proficiunt nisi admodum mentiuntur.*

[k] The non-importation agreement proposed by Swift in this pamphlet, was of course concerted only for the purpose of compelling that nation, against whom it was to be adopted, to withdraw the restrictions which she had unreasonably imposed: he knew human nature too well to suppose, that such a system could be arranged on a permanent basis, or that he could long prevail to obtain a preference, for dearer and less handsome commodities, above those which are cheaper and more beautiful, merely because they were the manufacture of his own countrymen; nevertheless, the publication of this pamphlet marks an important era in Irish history; it was the first attempt to rouse the Irish people to resist, actively, the encroachments which had been made upon their natural rights and privileges; it was the first step taken towards that state of independence, to which Ireland afterwards so happily attained; which raised her, from the miserable situation of a suppliant, sueing for licence to glean a scanty support by whatever branch of trade England would spare or could not use, to the dignified situation of an independent state treating, upon the terms of equality, a commercial and legislative union, a measure to which her concurrence was anxiously solicited, by that very people, who, but a century before, would have indignantly spurned at the mention of an equality of natural rights, and at a period still less remote, would scarce brook the least intimation of a claim to national independence.

This short pamphlet exhibits some fine traits of Swift's peculiar humour; the following burlesque representation of grievances derives its chief effect from its resemblance to the style used at that time by several self-interested mechanics, and insignificant corporations, wherewith they, in their petitions, abused the ears of the British senate, and too often, by their impetuous clamours more than by the use of sound argument, prevailed against their brethren in Ireland, to the total extinction of those rights, to which the latter were equally entitled by nature, and whereof they stood more in need, by reason of their state of comparative poverty.

"I was much delighted with a person who has a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland; that we convey our own wool to France, in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house: that Mr. Shuttleworth, and others on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather; with other enormities of the like weight and kind. To which I will venture to add more: that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loses at least one thousand pounds a-year upon the balance: that the governing this kingdom costs the lord lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a-year*; so much net loss to poor England: that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals on their own grounds; and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal trade of Mostyn and Whitehaven: that the revenues of the post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burden of exchange, &c."

"These are a few among the many hardships we put upon that poor kingdom of England; for which, I am confident, every honest man wishes a remedy: and I hear, there is a project on foot, for transporting our best wheaten straw by sea and land carriage to Dunstable, and obliging us by law to take off yearly so many ton of straw hats, for the use of our women, which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town."

Lord Orrery remarks upon this pamphlet, "that it is written in the style of a man, who had the good of his country nearest his heart, who saw her errors, and wished to correct them; who felt her oppressions, and wished to relieve them, and who had a desire to rouze and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic disposition, that might prove fatal to her constitution."

* It may perhaps be necessary to apprize the reader, that the lords lieutenant, although they received a large annual income from Ireland, seldom deigned, at that time, to reside in the

system of non-importation which it suggests, appears to be no other than a fair retort, entirely conformable to the principles of natural liberty[1]: however, a cry was raised, that it was written for the purpose of disuniting the two kingdoms; of the consequences, Swift himself, in a letter to Pope, dated 10th Jan. 1720-21, gives the following account.

"I have written, in this kingdom, a discourse to persuade the wretched people to wear their own manufactures, instead of those from England[m]: this treatise soon spread very fast, being agreeable to the sentiments of the whole nation, except of those gentlemen who had employments, or were expectants. Upon which a person, in great office here, immediately took the alarm; he sent in haste for the chief-justice, and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet, lately published with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; directing, at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law. The chief-justice[n] had so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to outdo his orders. The grand-juries of the county and city were practised effectually with to represent the said pamphlet with all aggravating epithets, for which they had thanks sent them from England, and their presentments published for several weeks in all the news-papers. The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail. After his trial the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been called with the utmost industry: the chief justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being perfectly tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge, by what they call a special verdict. During the trial, the chief-justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly that that author's design was to bring in the Pretender: although there was not a single syllable of party in the whole treatise, and although it was known that the most eminent of those who professed his own principles, publickly disallowed his proceedings. But the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon the Duke of Grafton, the lord lieutenant's arrival, his grace, after mature advice, and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *noli prosequi*."

The years 1719 and 1720 were remarkable, beyond all others, for extraordinary and romantic projects,[o] as well respecting commercial concerns, as the great

kingdom, they only visited it occasionally, for some such purpose as that of convening a parliament; the sum here mentioned was that which was allowed usually to the lords justices, the representatives of those representatives of majesty.

[1] It was remarked by Sir William Petty, in 1672, that one third of the manufactures, then imported into Ireland, might be produced in the country, that one third of the remainder might be more conveniently had from foreign parts than out of England, and "consequently, that it was scarce necessary at all for Ireland to receive any goods of England, and not convenient to receive above one fourth part, from thence, of the whole which it needeth to import." Polit. Anat. of Ireland.

[m] In 1726, Swift presented some pieces of Irish manufactured silk to the princess of Wales and to Mrs. Howard; in his letter to Mrs. Howard, he humorously alludes to the restrictions imposed upon the Irish manufactures. "I beg you will not tell any parliament man from whence you had that plaid; otherwise, out of malice, they will make a law to cut off all our weavers fingers."

[n] This person was W. Whitshed, chief justice of the king's bench; Godfrey Boate likewise, a puisnè judge of the same court, distinguished himself in this trial of Waters, the printer: Swift accordingly persecuted these two men by a series of lampoons and epigrams; a procedure which is to be attributed rather to policy than revenge, because, by thus discomfiting his enemies he encreased his own influence, and, by this exhibition of his satirical powers, he shewed how much their force was to be dreaded. This over anxious zeal was perhaps the worst ingredient in the character of chief justice Whitshed; Swift himself bears testimony, in this very letter, that he was an upright judge; alluding to the chief justice's conduct in this affair, he says, "this is the more remarkable, because it is said that the man is no ill decider in common cases of property, where party is out of the question." Whitshed died on the 26th Aug. 1727, at the age of 50, unmarried, and was buried in St. Michael's church, Dublin. His property is now vested in Admiral Sir James Hawkins Whitshed, K. C. B. second son of James Hawkins, late bishop of Raphoe, (to whom it was devised by James Whitshed, the last possessor, of that name,) who, "from a sense of gratitude and respect to the memory of his departed friend," being desirous to assume the name, and quarter the arms of that family with his own, obtained, in the year 1791, a private act of the Irish parliament authorising the same.

[o] The commercial traffic, which engaged the attention of England and France during the years 1719 and 1720, bears strong resemblance to a frantic sort of trade, which obtained in the Netherlands during the years 1634-35, 36, and 37, and which Menage has designated by the name of "Tulipomania." The ostensible subject of these negociations was the tulip, a

national interests of the two most powerful kingdoms in Europe. In November 1719, the French India, or Missisippi scheme had attained to its meridian glory [p]; Paris became suddenly the seat of such prodigious splendour, that it was calculated 1200 new coaches were set up; nothing was seen but magnificent equipages and fine apparel, and so crowded was it with foreigners, that the number of its inhabitants were supposed to have increased, half a million; a scene of imaginary prosperity which was, in a few months, converted into one of real misery. But, the system of extravagance which obtained in England, about the same time, was greater and more varied; "chimerical schemes of every possible kind were circulated in such abundance, as if it had been the intention of the projectors to gage the utmost extent of human credibility." [q] The extraordinary rise of the South-sea stock gave birth to these projects, which obtained afterwards the cant-name of Bubbles: schemes were daily advertised, for the formation of trading companies for almost every possible sort of commercial adventure, and some, for the most ridiculous and extravagant purposes: amongst these bubbles, some were so bare-faced and palpably gross, as not to have so much of the least shadow of feasibility [r]; among the list of near 200, enumerated in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce (page 90 & seq.) there appears one, "for transmuting quick-silver into a malleable and fine metal," not less ludicrous than the following advertisement in a weekly paper, which bur-

flower of conspicuous beauty, which had, a short time before, been introduced into Europe; the price of this plant rose, during the time of this traffic, above that of the precious metals; those persons, however, who imagine that the tulips were purchased, so excessively dear, in order to ornament gardens, are much mistaken; to get possession of the flower was not the real object; during the time of the tulipomania, a speculator often paid large sums for a root which he never received, and never wished to receive; another sold roots he never possessed or intended to deliver; the whole of this trade was a game at hazard, a system of stock-jobbing, to explain which it may be necessary to make the following supposition. A bespoke of B a tulip-root, to be delivered in 6 months, at the price of 1000 florins; during these six months the price of that species of tulip must have risen, or fallen, or remained as it was; if, at the expiration of that time the price was 1500 florins, B paid A 500 florins; if the price had fallen when the six months were expired so that the root could be purchased for 800 florins, A then paid B 200 florins; but if the price continued the same, neither party gained or lost: in all these circumstances, however, no one ever thought of delivering or receiving the roots: more tulips were in fact sold, purchased, and bespoke, than were to be found in all the gardens in Holland; and no species was oftener sold or purchased than those of the rarest kind: although at one time the *Semper Augustus* was often bought and sold, there were but two roots of that species to be had, one at Amsterdam, and the other at Haerlem.—The same thing happened, at the beginning of this traffic, that occurred during the progress of the South Sea and Missisippi projects, every one gained and no one lost; some of the poorest people gained, in a few months, houses, coaches and horses, and figured away like the first characters of the land. In every town some tavern was selected which served as a change, where high and low traded in tulips; they formed laws for themselves, and had their notaries and clerks. High- and low-priced kinds of tulips were procured, in order that both rich and poor might gamble; there were whole, half, and quarter lots; and, for the purpose of division, the roots were weighed by *perits*, a weight somewhat less than a grain. Professor Beckmann has given a curious account of the prices at which these roots sold; the *Semper Augustus*, he relates, sold once for 4,600 florins, together with a new carriage, two grey horses, and a complete harness; yet the speculators never thought of cultivating the root. Indeed the difference between the price above-mentioned, and the sums expressed in the florist's catalogues, explain sufficiently the object of this traffic; in 1769, the dearest kinds of tulip in England were the following, Don Quevedo, and Valentinier; the former cost 2*l.* 2*s.* the latter 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; in the German catalogues none of the prices were so high. See Beckmann's Discovery of Inventions, by Johnston; Vol. I. page 41, &c.

[p] A dirty street, called Rue Quinquempoix, was the crouded scene of this very unexampled commerce, in which, although the celebrated Law was the chief agent, the French monarch himself was the chief gainer, who filled his own coffers with upwards of 2000 millions of livres, drawn from the pockets of his poor deluded subjects: this appears from an account published, on the 1st Sept. 1720, by the duke regent, comprising a general statement of the public debts of France, which, we learn from thence, did amount, at the death of Louis XIV. to 1,977 millions of livres, and their interest to very near 90 millions per annum; instead of which sum (near 100 millions sterling) the king, says this statement, now owes scarcely 340 millions. Such influence had the name of Law at that time upon the public funds of France, that, in August 1719, when the stock had risen to about 500 per cent. it fell suddenly to 445, on the bare rumour of the Sieur Law's indisposition, and rose again, on his recovery, to 610. His levee was crowded with persons from most parts of Europe, pressing for subscriptions with the utmost eagerness. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol. III. page 68, and 108.

[q] "From morning till evening," says Mr. Macpherson, "the dealers appeared in continual crouds all over Exchange-alley, so as to choke up the passage through it. Not a week passed without fresh projects recommended by pompous advertisements in all the newspapers, thereby swelled enormously, directing where to subscribe to them. On some 6*d.* per cent. was paid down; on others 1*s.* per cent; and some came so low as 1*s.* per thousand at the time of subscribing. Some of the obscure keepers of these books of subscription, contenting themselves with what they had got in the forenoon by the subscriptions of one or two millions, were not to be found in the afternoon of the same day, the room they had hired for a day being shut up, and they and their subscription books never heard of. Annals of Commerce, Vol. III. page 88.

[r] Although almost all the schemes were extravagant, all the persons engaged in them were not real dupes; "many of the subscribers were far from believing these projects feasible: it was enough for their purpose, that there would very soon be a premium on the receipts for those subscriptions, when they generally got rid of them, in the crowded alley, to others more

lesqued the prevailing madness in the following strain—"At (*sham-place*), on Tuesday next, books will be opened for a subscription of two millions, for the invention of melting down saw-dust and chips, and casting them into deal-boards without cracks or knots." [2]—It was at such a crisis that a proposal was made to erect a national bank in Dublin [s]; the scheme was supported by a very few persons of respectability, but a long train of obscure tradesmen; Swift, who had always a distaste for projects, apprehending that it would end in national disappointment and distress, wrote three or four satirical essays, burlesquing the proposal itself, and ridiculing its abettors, [t] which pieces doubtless contributed to produce the effect which

[2] Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol. III. page 90.

credulous than themselves.—The first purchasers soon found second purchasers, and so on, at still higher prices; and so great was the wild confusion in the crowd in Exchange-alley, that the same project, or bubble, has been known to be sold, at the same instant of time, 10 per cent. higher at one end of the alley than at the other end." Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol. III. page 89.

[s] The following is an account of the proceedings of both the houses of the Irish parliament, upon the subject of this proposed bank.—In the year 1720, James, Earl of Abercorn, Gustavus, Viscount Boyn, Sir Ralph Gore, Bart., Oliver St. George, and Michael Ward, Esqrs. in behalf of themselves and others, presented a petition to his majesty for a charter of incorporation, whereby they might be established as a bank, under the name and title of the Bank of Ireland. They proposed to raise a fund of 500,000*l.* to supply merchants, &c. with money at 5 per cent.; and agreed to contribute 50,000*l.* to the service of government, in consideration of their obtaining a charter; in their petition they state, that "the raising of a million for that purpose is creating a greater fund than the nation can employ." Soon after the above-mentioned petition was lodged, a second application was made by lord Forbes and others, who proposed raising a million for that purpose, and offered to discharge "the 50,000*l.* national debt of that kingdom, in 5 years from the time they should obtain a charter." The latter application being subsequent in point of date, it was withdrawn, lord Forbes and his friends having acquainted the lord lieutenant that, "rather than, by a competition, obstruct a proposal of so general advantage, they were willing to desist from their application:" the former was accordingly approved of, and the king, on the 29th of July 1721, issued letters of privy seal, directing that a charter of incorporation should pass the great seal of Ireland.—Com. Journ. of Ireland, Vol. III. Appendix, page cc, &c.

When the parliament of Ireland met, on the 12th of Sept. following, the duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant, in his speech from the throne, communicated the intention of his majesty to both houses, and concluded by saying, "as this is a matter of general and national concern, his majesty leaves it to the wisdom of parliament to consider, what advantages the public may receive by erecting a bank, and in what manner it may be settled upon a safe foundation, so as to be beneficial to the kingdom." The commons, in their address, which was voted unanimously on the 14th, expressed their gratitude for his majesty's goodness and royal favour, in directing a commission to establish a bank and on the 21st, moved for the papers to be laid before them; they even, on the 29th, agreed to the following resolution of the committee they had appointed, "that the establishment of a bank upon a solid and good foundation, under proper regulations and restrictions, will contribute to restoring of credit, and support of the trade and manufacture of the kingdom;" but, when the heads of a bill for establishing the bank came to be discussed, a strenuous opposition was raised to it; on the 9th of December, Sir Thomas Taylor, chairman to the committee to whom the matter had been referred, reported, "that they had gone through the first enacting paragraph, and disagreed to the same;" accordingly, the question being proposed and put, the house, (after a division, wherein there appeared 150 for the question, and 80 against it) voted, that "they could not find any safe foundation for establishing a public bank," and resolved, that an address, conformable to this resolution, should be presented to the lord lieutenant. Com. Journ. Vol. III. pp. 247-289.—The proceedings of the house of lords resembled that of the commons; on the 8th November they concurred with the resolution of their committee, which was unfavourable to the establishment of a bank, a protest was however entered, signed by 4 temporal and 2 spiritual peers, and when an address to his majesty, grounded on that resolution, was proposed, a long debate ensued, which occupied two days; on the 9th Decemb. a list of the subscriptions was called for, and on the 16th they resolved, that if any lord, spiritual or temporal, should attempt to obtain a charter to erect a bank, "he should be deemed a contemner of the authority of that house, and a betrayer of the liberty of his country." They ordered, likewise, that this resolution should be presented, by the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant. Lord's Journals, Vol. II. pp. 687-720.

[t] The tracts published by Swift, upon this occasion, were 1st. "An Essay on English bubbles, by Thomas Hope, Esq." dated 10 Aug. 1720. 2d. "The swearer's bank, or parliamentary security for establishing a new bank in Ireland, wherein the medical use of oaths is considered, 1720." 3d. A letter to the king at arms, from a reputed esquire, one of the subscribers to the bank," dated 18 Nov. 1721. The preceding pieces have appeared in every edition of Swift's works; Mr. Walter Scott has published, from the original broadsides, two others, "in the belief that the internal evidence arising both from the stile, and the points of correspondence between them and the pieces of which the authenticity has never been doubted, authorize us to consider them as the productions of the dean." The first of these pieces is entitled; "Subscribers to the Bank; placed according to their order and quality; with notes and queries." The second is, "A letter from a lady in town to her friend in the country, concerning the Bank; or, The list of the subscribers farther explained;" dated 1st Dec. 1721.

The following tracts, which were published upon this occasion, are all in my possession; I insert a catalogue of them in this place, because I apprehend the collection is tolerably compleat; the first two are noticed in the above-mentioned piece, entitled, A letter from a lady in town, &c.

1st. Reasons offer'd for erecting a Bank in Ireland; in a Letter to Hercules Rowley, Esq. by Henry Maxwell, Esq. Dublin, 1721—8vo. 2d edit.

2d. An Answer to a Book, intitled, Reasons offered for erecting a Bank in Ireland. In a Letter to Henry Maxwell, Esq. by Hercules Rowley, Esq. Dublin, 1721—8vo.

3d. Mr. Maxwell's second letter to Mr. Rowley; wherein the objections against the Bank are answered; Dublin, 1721—8vo.

4th. An Answer to Mr. Maxwell's second letter to Mr. Rowley, concerning the Bank. By Hercules Rowley, Esq. Dublin, 1721—8vo.

5th. Remarks on Mr. Maxwell's and Mr. Rowley's letters: setting forth the advantages of a Bank and Lumbards in Ireland; in a letter to a friend; Dublin, 1721—8vo.

followed, its total rejection by the Irish legislature in the next following session of parliament. Some other publications [u] followed, comparatively trifling, but tending still to swell the tide of popularity now flowing rapidly in his favour.

1722-1725.—It having been represented, that there was a great deficiency of small money in Ireland, that evil was proposed to be remedied, by a new coin ageof copper; accordingly, in July 1722, letters patent [v] passed the great seal of England,

6th. A Letter to the gentlemen of the landed interest in Ireland, relating to a Bank; Dublin, 1721—8vo.

7th. A Letter to a member of parliament, touching the late intended Bank; Dublin, 1721—8vo.

Mr. Maxwell, the great advocate for the bank, was nephew to Mr. Rowley, who was adverse to the scheme; the debate is carried on, by both parties, with great temper. Mr. Maxwell's arguments are founded upon the general principles of advantage from a bank, and are therefore unanswerable; they are drawn, chiefly, from the works of Sir Josiah Child; upon the subject of utility from that proposed to be erected, he is however very defective, and the security proposed to the public appears to have been very exceptionable. The sum to be actually paid by the subscribers was only one-fifth of their subscriptions, the rest to be secured by bonds and judgments. The bank was to issue bills for the whole amount, or 500,000*l*. He is so weak as to calculate the security for the payment of the notes to amount to 800,000*l*., in the following manner: 100,000*l*. actually paid, bonds for 400,000*l*. more, which he calculates to contain good security for 200,000*l*. and 500,000*l*. of pledges, mortgages, &c. deposited by those, to whom the bank are supposed to issue out their bills; thus he confounds the securities from the bank, to the holders of their notes, with those of the borrowers, to the bank. He attributes likewise too powerful effects to the operation of so small a sum; and, amongst other matters supposes, that, by lending the sum above mentioned at 5 per cent. the interest of money would be reduced to that low rate, from 10 per cent. the rate which prevailed at that period of time.

It would lead me too far into detail, were I to recite all the arguments used on both sides; I shall therefore terminate this note with a quotation from Mr. Rowley's answer, which explains in a few words the chief objections to this scheme, and which, when added to the other, that the subscribers were for the most part obscure persons, occasioned the ultimate rejection of this project; the house of commons seemed to be influenced most by this consideration, "they could not," they say, "find any safe foundation for establishing a bank;" the house of lords by the arguments adduced by Mr. Rowley, they resolved, "that whoever should attempt to obtain a charter should be deemed a betrayer of the liberty of this country." The passage of Mr. Rowley's tract, to which I allude, is the following.

"As Ireland is a dependant kingdom, and can neither make laws, nor repeal them, when it pleases, without the consent of other people, not so much interested in the welfare of this country, as I could wish; we ought, in my humble opinion, to be very cautious how we pin any thing down upon ourselves, the consequences whereof are at least very doubtful; for if in process of time we should find it ever so disadvantageous and ruinous; yet if it either increases the power, or tends to the profit of those who have the negative on us, we must bear the burthen, and perhaps with an additional weight which we never consented to; and as an act for erecting a bank cannot be temporary, but must continue as long as the charter; I think I ought to be very careful, how I agree to the passing that, which in my opinion may, and probably will end in our destruction, and the razure of our little remains of liberty; for it is certain, that if the intended bank prove advantageous to us, by increasing our trade, and encouraging our manufactures, (which I do not see, although it be the thing proposed), and should in the least interfere with, or injure the trade of England, then we may expect they will procure a repeal of the charter; or, if that cannot be done, so cramp our trade, and discourage our manufactures, as to render them impracticable; as 'tis well known the best and justest of men, King William of glorious memory, was obliged to do to a neighbouring people, in the case of Darien; or perhaps the charter may be continued, on terms very disagreeable to the parliament and nation, although not to the bank; on the contrary, if it happens to impoverish us, and drain our little substance into Great Britain, then indeed, we may be sure of a continuation, which makes that saying most true; "That England must be sharers in the profit, but Ireland alone bear the loss."

[u] It has been remarked of Swift, by the celebrated Mr. Edmund Burke, that "the tracts relating to Ireland, of a public nature, are those in which the dean appears in the best light, because they do honour to his heart as well as his head; furnishing some additional proofs, that, though he was very free in his abuse of the inhabitants of that country, as well natives as foreigners, he had their interest sincerely at heart, and perfectly understood it. His Sermon upon doing Good, though peculiarly adapted to Ireland, and Wood's designs upon it, contains perhaps the best motives to patriotism that ever were delivered in so small a compass.

The sincerity of Swift's intentions, and the efficacy of his measures, for the public good, are both equally manifested, and in a remarkable manner, by a publication of this period, entitled, "The last speech and dying words of Eben. Elliston, who was executed the 2d of May 1722;" a pretended harangue, composed by him to intimidate the numerous bands of robbers, which at that time infested the metropolis: "It had," says Mr. Scott, "a most excellent effect, being received as genuine by the banditti who had been companions of his depredations; who were the more easily persuaded of its authenticity, as it contained none of the cant usual in the dying speeches composed for malefactors by the Ordinary or the ballad makers. The threat which it held out of a list deposited with a secure hand, containing their names, crimes, and places of rendezvous, operated for a long time in preventing a repetition of their villanies, which had previously been so common."

[v] The following is an abstract of the particulars of this memorable grant, drawn from a copy of his majesty's letter of privy seal, and from an exemplification of the patent.

The king, by a letter addressed to his attorney and solicitor-general, dated Kensington, 16 June 1722, commanded, "that a bill should be prepared for his royal signature, containing and importing an indenture, whereof one part was to pass the great seal of Great Britain." This indenture, between his Majesty of the one part, "and William Wood, of Woollverhampton, in the county of Stafford, Esq." of the other, signifies, that his majesty "had received information that, in his kingdom of Ireland, there was a great want of small money for making small payments, and that retailers and others did suffer by reason of such want;" by virtue, therefore, of his prerogative royal, and in consideration of the rents, covenants, and agreements, therein expressed, his majesty granted to William Wood, his executors, assigns, &c. "full, free, sole, and absolute power, privilege, license, and authority," during fourteen years, from the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, 1722, to coin halfpence and farthings of copper, to be uttered and disposed of in Ireland, and not elsewhere: it was provided, that the whole quantity coined should not exceed, in the whole term, 360 tons of copper, whereof 100 tons only were to be coined in the first year, and twenty tons in each of the last thirteen; said farthings and halfpence to be of good, pure, and merchantable copper, and of such size and bigness, that one avoirdupois pound weight of copper should not be converted into more farthings and halfpence than would make thirty

granting to William Wood[w] the exclusive right of coining halfpence and farthings, to the extent of 100,800*l.* to be current in Ireland. This patent, whereby the brightest jewel of the crown was alienated, and the highest privilege of royalty delegated to an obscure individual, as it was obtained in a surreptitious manner, so likewise, in contempt for the very form of independence, it was passed without even the ceremonial of a reference to the lord lieutenant, or the privy council of

pence by tale; all the said farthings and halfpence to be of equal weight in themselves, or as near thereunto as might be, allowing a remedy not exceeding two farthings over or under in each pound. The same "to pass and to be received as current money, by such as shall or will, voluntarily and willingly, and not otherwise, receive the same, within the said kingdom of Ireland and not elsewhere." Wood covenanted, moreover, to pay to the king's clerk, or comptroller of the coinage, 200*l.* yearly; and 100*l.* per annum, into his majesty's exchequer.

There are other clauses in this grant, which regulate, in a very particular manner, the place of coinage, manner of assaying, and so forth, but they are not sufficiently interesting to excuse the insertion of such tedious articles; the comptroller, it seems, thought them very unimportant, for the specimens which exist of this coinage prove, either that he performed, his duty very imperfectly, or, perhaps from motives of corruption, neglected it altogether. I have been particular in my account of this grant, because, in consequence of the patent being enrolled in England, it is not published by Mr. Simon in his appendix, and because he, and every other writer on the subject, states the crown rent to be 800*l.* per annum; whereas in truth it was but 100*l.* a circumstance which adds additional force to all the arguments adduced by Mr. Simon against this coinage. The letters patent bear date, 12 July 1722.

[w] Mr. Coxe, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his "Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole," has given a detailed account of all the transactions which relate to this patent; yet, although his biographer has placed every incident in the most favourable light possible, nevertheless, when deprived of the "decent colouring" with which he has invested it, the story reflects no great credit upon that minister.

In treating of this subject Mr. Coxe makes a very courtier-like division; he recounts first, *the public* (or ostensible), and then *the secret* (or true) *history* of this patent; which latter is tantamount to a refutation of the former, especially so far as relates to the motives which suggested the measure, or those which influenced the parties: I shall lay before the reader, abstracts from both, and shall accompany each with some strictures.

Mr. Coxe prefaces his *public history* of this patent in a way which proves that he did not himself think the measure quite defensible, and by doing so, has given up the point before he attempts to advocate it; "No minister," he says, "ever suffered more abuse for the *indiscretion and violence* of others than Sir Rob. Walpole.—The disturbances in Ireland, relating to Wood's patent, because they happened under his administration, were solely attributed to his misconduct—whereas, the grant was an unfortunate legacy, left by the earl of Sunderland, in which he had no other share than in *passing it*, when he was at the head of the treasury."—Although this biographer thus removes his hero out of sight, he does not place him out of danger. In the passage above quoted, he, inadvertantly indeed, admits the charge of *indiscretion and violence*, but throws the blame upon the deceased treasuser; it is not, however, to the original conception of the patent that the greatest share of censure attaches; 1st. the irregular and unprecedented *manner* in which *it was passed*, and 2d. the *obstinate perseverance* of the minister in forcing it upon the nation, notwithstanding all the representations which had been made of its ill tendency, were matters much more reprehensible. Upon the first of these, the author of a short tract, entitled, "A Defence of the conduct of the people of Ireland, in their unanimous refusal of Mr. Wood's copper money," makes the following remark; "The people of Ireland were universally amazed, that, on the bare suggestion of a private, obscure, and interested person, a patent for coining so great a quantity of halfpence, as must necessarily affect the welfare of a loyal kingdom, should pass without the usual references, which would rightly have informed his majesty of the expediency of such a grant, and whether there was a want of any, and what quantity, in this kingdom." The words of Mr. Walter Scott will furnish a sufficient comment on the second error; "the biographer of this great statesman has indeed argued, that the project was in itself not only innocent but salutary, and that nothing but misrepresentation could have excited against it the popular clamour. Were this even true in the fullest extent, the very existence of that popular irritation would have been of itself a sufficient reason for substituting, in place of the obnoxious measures, some scheme which should be attended with equal benefit and less odium."

Let us proceed to Mr. Coxe's *public history* of this patent.

"There being *great deficiency of copper currency* in Ireland, the king, in virtue of his prerogative, granted to William Wood, a patent for coining farthings and halfpence, to the value of 100,000*l.* sterling, on certain terms which the patentee *was bound to follow*. William Wood, who, in the *party language* of Swift, is ridiculed under the denomination of *a hardware man*, and *a low mechanic*, was a great proprietor and renter of iron works in England. He had a lease of all the mines on the crown lands in thirty-nine counties, was proprietor of several iron and copper works, and carried on, to a very considerable amount, manufactures for the different preparations of those metals. Among *many proposals* submitted *to government*, that which he delivered was accepted, and was considered by all persons of judgment or capacity, not biassed *by party or national prejudice*, as beneficial to Ireland.—But *the natives did not see it in so favourable a light*, and *before the money was circulated, a general ferment was excited.* The ostensible causes of complaint were derived from the consideration, that the king had treated Ireland as a dependant kingdom, that the patent was granted to a person *who was not a native*, that the coin was *stamped in England*, and that as a great profit was likely to be derived, the benefit should have principally accrued to the public. All the attempts of the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant, to subdue the public aversion, were ineffectual. The spirit of opposition seized *all orders of men, and even the king's servants, who held the chief places under his administration.*—Inflamed by national zeal, the two houses passed addresses to the crown, accusing the patentee of fraud and deceit, asserting that the terms of the patent were infringed, both in the quantity and quality of the coin, that the circulation of the halfpence would be highly prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of the commerce, and of most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the subjects: the commons, with *an absurdity and effrontery* hardly credible, declared, that even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss at least of *one hundred and fifty per cent.!* and indeed the whole clamour rested on *partial or ignorant misrepresentations.* It was not at that time expected or dwelt on, as a matter of speculative propriety, that the weight of the copper coin should be adequate to its circulating value; the *assertion that Wood had carried on notorious frauds and deceits in the coinage*, as advanced by Swift, and that the intrinsic was not equal to one eighth of nominal value *was proved to be false by an assay*, made at the mint, under Sir Isaac Newton, and his two associates, men of no less honour than capacity, the result of which was, that in weight, goodness and fineness, it rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent.—But the clamour, however unjust, was raised, and became general;

Ireland, the persons in whom the executive authority of that ancient kingdom is solely vested. This unceremonious and disrespectful treatment was felt, by the whole people, and by both houses of parliament, to be an insult to the national dignity; neither was the measure itself calculated to assuage this fever of discontent, as the grant was made without the usual references, so was it conferred without any

and it was a *necessary act of prudence*, not to increase the ferment, by forcing upon a nation what was considered as unjust and fraudulent. Lord Carteret, who succeeded the duke of Grafton in the office of lord lieutenant, failed, no less than his predecessor, in all his endeavours to obtain the introduction of the copper money. The patent was surrendered, and tranquillity restored. Wood, *as an indemnification for the loss he had sustained*, received pensions to the *amount of 3000l. a year, for eight years.*—Such is the *public history* of Wood's patent; and it is difficult to conceive by what means and by what intrigues this simple transaction, *calculated for the benefit of* Ireland, and in which *not a single right was infringed, or a single grievance inflicted*, could be so *misunderstood and perverted*, as to create a general ferment, and nearly overthrow the administration of Townshend and Walpole."

The *secret history* of this event is related by Mr. Coxe as follows.

"The emoluments arising from the disposal of the patent for supplying Ireland with copper coin, *were given by Sunderland to the duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood.* Sunderland had warmly recommended it to his friend the duke of Bolton, who was at that time lord lieutenant; but *he met with so much difficulty in his attempts to countenance and support the project under hand*, that he had neither courage or inclination to propose a scheme which he foresaw would greatly embarrass his administration. On his death, the duke of Grafton was promoted to that high office, at the recommendation of Walpole; *he consented to bring it forward*, and was promised the support of the king's friends in Ireland."

"Walpole, on succeeding Sunderland at the head of the treasury, instantly saw and appreciated the difficulties in which this transaction would involve him; and with as much frankness as his situation at that time would permit, remonstrated against the grant as likely to become unpopular; but being unwilling to offend the duchess of Kendal, the extent of whose influence over the king he had unfortunately experienced, reluctantly submitted to what he could not prevent, and employed every means in his power *to remedy the abuses*, and obviate the difficulties. He took the advice of the attorney and solicitor general, obtained the ratification of the lord chancellor of England, and, *by proper assays at the mint, secured the execution of the terms stipulated by the patent, which at length passed the usual forms, and was sent to the lord lieutenant for the purpose of being put in execution.*"

"When the duke of Grafton returned to Ireland in Aug. 1723, things were in a state very different from that in which they had been erroniously represented to him by the English cabinet. He found a ferment rising in the nation; a general aversion to the patent; and a most decided opposition from those who, as he had reason to believe, had promised their warmest support. The character and conduct of the duke of Grafton, were not calculated to conciliate parties, or to restore union and harmony in a country like Ireland, *distracted with troubles*, and abounding with persons *disaffected to the English government.* He was a nobleman of *high honour and disinterested probity;* but proud and imperious, fretful and choleric, and highly conscious of his dignified situation. Though by no means deficient in abilities, yet he did not possess sufficient skill and address to guide the helm of state in a difficult period: he was well characterised by his friend, Walpole, as a fair-weather pilot, that did not know how to act, when the first storm arose."

The success of the measure, Mr. Coxe proceeds to inform us, was principally impeded by the unexpected and inflexible opposition of lord chancellor Midleton, who, on that account, incurred the bitter reproaches of Walpole, Townshend, and the duke of Grafton, in their correspondence with each other; Mr. Coxe however admits, that he was "actuated by no improper motives, but, in common with many other persons in Ireland, considered the plan imprudently introduced, *and inimical to the true interests of the country.*" The chancellor's elder brother Thomas, and his son, Saint John Brodrick did likewise oppose it, they had indeed "conceived a violent antipathy against Walpole, which was heightened by his opposition to the bill for permitting the importation of Irish calicoes;" they accordingly caballed with lord Carteret who was, at that time, intriguing for Walpole's removal, and for succeeding him as prime minister; the duke of Grafton's cold treatment of the chancellor encreased those divisions, he courted the opposite party in the Cabinet, and was almost implicitly directed by William Conolly, speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor's competitor for authority; the duke even insisted peremptorily on his exclusion from the number of lords justices, during his absence. "These jealousies," says Mr. Coxe, "fomented by Carteret, laid the foundation of a successful opposition of Wood's coinage, which opposition was aided by the concurrence of *indiscreet and unpopular* proceedings."

"Great discredit was thrown upon the measure by *a report*, industriously circulated, that the profits of the patent were to be shared between Wood and the duchess of Kendal. *This fact* was insidiously communicated by Carteret, to Alan Brodrick, second son to lord Midleton, during his visit at Hanover, transmitted by him to his friends in Dublin, and soon made public by various allusions of Swift, in his writings and political ballads, in one of which he says:

"When late a feminine magician,
Join'd with a brazen politician,
Expos'd, to blind a nation's eyes,
A parchment of prodigious size."

"The *indiscretion* of Wood, and of his friends in Ireland, was also detrimental to his cause. They exaggerated the quantity of coin to be issued, and the gains which would accrue to the patentee, and made repeated boasts of his power and influence in the English cabinet. Wood himself offended the privy council, by observing, that if a proclamation was necessary, he could have it, or any thing that was wanting to inforce the currency of his coin; and that the complaints and remonstrances were not intended against him, but against the king and ministry for making the grant."

"The *misconduct* of government was still greater. The patent was passed without formally consulting the lord lieutenant or privy council, and *its contents were concealed* in Ireland: *by these means exaggerated rumours of its evil tendency were diffused*, which were universally credited, and not found to be false until their wide circulation had made a deep impression on the public mind, which it was impossible to efface. The lord lieutenant landed on the 13th of August. Assuming the reins of government, he publickly declared, *that he was perfectly unconcerned in the event, that the patent was passed before he was made acquainted that it was in agitation*, and that he had no instructions about it from the king or the ministry. On the 13th of September, an address was presented from both houses, requesting information concerning the patent. In his answer, returned the 14th, *he declared that he had neither the patent, nor any copy, nor even any paper which would give them any satisfaction;* but, on the 16th, when the house was actually assembled with a view to make a strong remonstrance on the subject, Hopkins, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, informed the speaker, that a person attended without with the

consideration of public utility; serious evils were apprehended from this proceeding of a minister, who had often manifested, and almost avowed a disregard for the interest of Ireland; amidst the tumult the voice of Swift was heard, and the Drapiers Letters, "strong in argument, and brilliant in humour, but unequalled in the address with which those arguments were selected, and that humour applied," arrested public attention. [3]

[3] Scott's Life of Swift, page 284.

exemplification of the patent, *which, by mistake, had been delivered to the lord lieutenant's servant, instead of his private secretary, and mislaid.*"

"Even after the irresistible opposition which shewed itself in parliament, no attempts were made to soften or conciliate those members who were against the patent; on the contrary, some were received at the castle with coldness; others were treated with marks of indignity; and Saint John Brodrick was slighted and offended. By these means, the lord lieutenant precluded all confidential intercourse with the chancellor and his friends, who were prevented from explaining the motives of their conduct, and undeceiving him in those points in which he had been misinformed."

"The conduct of Walpole himself was not at first marked with his usual caution. He suffered the lord lieutenant to depart without specific instructions in what manner he was to act, should the parliament oppose the introduction of the coinage. He trusted too much to the representations of those who were friends to government, and who were either ignorant of the real situation of affairs, or unwilling to offend, by transmitting disagreeable truths which they well knew would be communicated by others. He did not sufficiently appreciate the great influence of the chancellor and his family in both houses of parliament, and when that influence appeared predominant, he attributed the strength of opposition solely to the combination of the Brodricks with lord Carteret. He bitterly accused lord Midleton of treachery and low cunning, of having made, in his speeches, distinctions between the king and his ministers, of caballing with Carteret, Cadogan, and Roxburgh, and of pursuing that line of conduct, because he was of opinion the opposite party would gain the ascendancy in the cabinet. He did not believe the disturbances to be so serious as they were represented, nor was he satisfied with the duke of Grafton's conduct, as being solely directed by Conolly, but declared that the part acted by Conolly, almost excused what the Brodrick's had done."

"Notwithstanding this confession, he resolved to support the duke of Grafton in his resentment against the chancellor, and obtained from the king a promise, that he should be removed whenever it was thought expedient, and the formal notification was made by lord Carteret to the lord lieutenant. But his removal was considered at the present moment impracticable, by the temper and situation of Ireland, and by the influence of lord Midleton's friends in the British cabinet."

Carteret, as Mr. Coxe informs us, complained to the king, that his majesty's name and authority had been used to gratify the private pique and resentment of the lord lieutenant against the chancellor; and Thomas Brodrick, in an audience of the king, expostulated against the proposed indignity of excluding his brother from the list of lords justices; he proved likewise the weakness of the duke of Grafton's government, and the preponderance of the chancellor's party. This remonstrance effectually convinced the king of the impropriety of the measures which had been hitherto pursued, and irritated him to such a degree, that Walpole became ashamed and uneasy at the conduct of the lord lieutenant, which brought him into the greatest difficulties he had ever experienced. He discovered that he had been deceived by the misrepresentations from Ireland; he found that lord Midleton had great power and influence; and resolved to effect the removal of the duke of Grafton. He held frequent conferences with Saint John Brodrick, who had taken his seat in the English parliament, attentively listened to his accounts of the proceedings, confessed that he had been grossly misled, and having disclaimed all intention of excluding lord Midleton from being one of the lords justices, he succeeded so far as to soften, in some measure, the violent asperity which had long distinguished that family.

"At this period the struggle in the cabinet, which terminated in the triumph of Townshend and Walpole, was finally decided. It was their intention to remove Carteret entirely, but the great difficulty of managing Ireland, rendered it necessary to find a person who would promote the patent, and be likely to persuade lord Midleton, and those who acted with him, to soften their opposition. In this dilemma, lord Carteret was removed from the office of secretary of state to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. Lord Midleton continued in the office of chancellor, was constituted one of the lords justices, and Saint John Brodrick was nominated a member of the privy council."

"At the same time every effort was made to conciliate the people of Ireland, and to induce them to receive the currency. A report was drawn up by Walpole, and submitted to the king in council. After *fully justifying Wood from the charge of not having fulfilled the terms of his contract, and shewing that his halfpence exceeded in value and weight the conditions required in the patent*, it recommended to the king, that instead of 100,000*l*. Wood should be permitted to import into Ireland only 40,000*l*. to be current to such as voluntarily pleased to accept them: the king sent his order in conformity to this advice."

"The report, though drawn up with great precision and clearness, made no impression. It was answered by Swift in the Drapiers Letters; his hardy assertions and false representations were implicitly believed, and the popular outcry was so violent, that *the lords justices refused to issue the orders for the circulation of the coin.* A general panic seized even the king's best friends, who were apprehensive of popular commotions. People of all descriptions and parties flocked in crouds to the bankers to demand their money, and drew their notes with an express condition to be paid in gold and silver. The publishers of the most treasonable pamphlets escaped with impunity, provided Woods and his patent were introduced into the work. The grand juries could scarcely be induced to find any bill against such delinquents; no witnesses in the prosecution were safe in their persons; and no juries were inclined, or if inclined could venture, to find them guilty. Not content with refusing to bring in a bill of indictment against the printer of the Drapiers Letters, the grand jury of Dublin, in a presentment drawn up by Swift, presented all persons as enemies to the government, who should endeavour, by fraud or otherwise, to impose Wood's halfpence on the people."

"In this alarming state of affairs, Walpole acted with becoming *moderation:* he saw that it would be madness to attempt introducing the copper currency by force; that to repeat the orders to the lords justices, who had declared their resolution not to obey them, would only again expose the king's honour, without the smallest hopes of success: that although to permit them to continue after that refusal, would be to renounce for ever all authority of the crown, yet to remove them on this account, would increase their popularity so much, that they might be able to counteract the measures of government. He resolved, therefore, to act a temporising part; to send over

Progressive steps had been making, for the space of near eighty years, to reduce this ancient kingdom into the condition of a conquered province, bound by the acts of the British parliament, wherein it is doubtful whether she had a friend, but certain that she had no representative: during this period of time, she "was subjected to a commercial slavery, which left neither her credit, her commodities, nor her havens at her own disposal; and how long the civil and domestic freedom

lord Carteret without a moment's delay to bring the people gradually to a proper temper; to suspend or surrender the patent as circumstances required; and, after the restoration of tranquillity, to remove the chancellor, and appoint new lords justices, of whom, at least the majority should be natives of England."

"On his arrival in Ireland, Carteret found himself in a very delicate and embarrassed situation, and at first view his whole conduct in this transaction is mysterious and inexplicable. He had secretly opposed the patent, fomented the discontents and jealousies of lord Midleton and the Brodricks, and excited, under hand, the disturbances in Ireland. In the frequent conferences which he held with Thomas and Saint John Brodrick, accounts of which were transmitted to lord Midleton, he appeared so hostile to the patent, that Saint John Brodrick says of him, 'Lord Carteret is perfectly free from all suspicion of being concerned in, or wishing well to this base project;' (letter to lord Midleton, 10 May 1724); and lord Midleton suspected that Wood's patent would be insisted on by Walpole, merely to embarrass lord Carteret, and create difficulties in his administration. But he had no sooner taken upon him the office of lord lieutenant, than he promoted the introduction of the copper coin with so much zeal, as induced lord Midleton, who was astonished at the change of his sentiments, to observe, that he could not have employed more industry to attain his end, even if the success of his labours would be attended with an entire restitution of the favour and authority which he formerly enjoyed."

Mr. Coxe gives, from lord Midleton's letter to his brother, an explanation of lord Carteret's motives. His secret sentiments were in favour of the patent, because it was proposed by his friend Sunderland, and he maintained its validity as derived from the prerogative of the king; "but with a view to embarrass Townshend and Walpole, he secretly favoured the opposition in Ireland, caballed with the Brodricks, spoke slightingly of the duke of Grafton, and insinuated that the duchess of Kendal had a share in the profits of the patent." However, when he perceived his credit with the king was declining, and that he should be removed from the office of secretary of state, "he prevented his total disgrace by agreeing to accept the lord lieutenancy under promise of promoting the patent, and of prevailing with his friend lord Midleton to desist from his opposition. He confided in his own efforts and address to effect the introduction of the money, when lowered to 40,000*l.* and to stop the discussion on the question concerning the independency of Ireland." All his efforts, however, to prevail on lord Midleton failed. "Neither flattery, promises, or threats, had any effect; Midleton uniformly and decidedly persisted in his opposition; while he expressed the highest obligation to the lord lieutenant, he declared that his duty to his country was paramount to every other consideration, and refused to give any assistance to government, until the patent was absolutely surrendered. This conduct drew upon him the resentment of his former friend: he was received at the castle with coldness and reserve, and considered as an enemy to the king's government; he accordingly resigned the seals with disgust, and Richard West, one of the king's counsel, was appointed lord chancellor in his place."

Mr. Coxe then proceeds to relate several other circumstances relative to this grant, of which, as they concern the surrender of the patent, I shall postpone the consideration, until I arrive at that part of my history. (See page 346.) I beg leave, likewise, to refer the reader to another part of this work (page 338, note c.) for a more ample account of the transactions of both houses of parliament, relative to this coinage.

I shall now proceed to offer a few remarks upon Mr. Coxe's two-fold narrative, who, although he admits some things as fully as I could desire, asserts others which are not strictly true; the chief objection to Mr. Coxe's manner of stating facts is, confusion with respect to dates, which has the appearance of being premeditated, because the author, not unfrequently, takes advantage of it, and makes a shew of proving acts to have been performed by certain persons, and to have originated from certain motives, which, it appears, from defect of coincidence in respect of dates, could not have been done by those individuals, nor for the purposes there alledged; these and other inconsistencies in his narrative will be pointed out, some in the following remarks, and others in the subsequent pages of this memoir.

Another great objection to this part of Mr. Coxe's history is the mode of argument which he uses; he avoids, indeed, the real subjects of dispute, of which the chief was, the independence of Ireland: thus he takes it for granted, that the objections of the Irish parliament were proved to be unfounded, because they did not defend their resolutions before the committee of the English privy council; not considering, that those representatives of the nation disclaimed altogether the right of being summoned before such a tribunal, to whom they did not chuse to refer the consideration of a matter, whereon they had, themselves, decided; apprehending, as they did, not only that they were the most competent judges, but moreover the highest constituted authorities, whether judicial or legislative. In many other places Mr. Coxe begs the question after the same manner; thus, alluding to Swift, he calls his account "an exaggerated dress, in which the malignant wit of the author has invested this simple transaction—calculated for the benefit of Ireland—in which not a single right was infringed—a single grievance inflicted—which was so misunderstood and perverted, as to create a general ferment;" not one word of these matters has he attempted to prove, and yet he expects that they should all be conceded, although they are the very points in dispute, and upon which the question turns, whether Walpole's measures, or Swift's opposition, are most defensible.—In like manner, although it appears, from the facts related by himself, that Sir Rob. Walpole pressed this measure to the last extremity, yet, according to this author, he acted "with becoming moderation," because forsooth he did not attempt to introduce the copper currency by force; in another place he, with little regard to propriety of language, calls this forbearance, "a necessary act of prudence." In truth Mr. Coxe forgets, when he represents his hero as performing the dignified part of an incorrupt minister, that he has introduced us behind the curtain, and himself displayed the secret springs of action; although he has proved the minister to have acted from corrupt motives, and has not proved the work which he so strenuously laboured at, to be one of general utility, still he would have us consider Sir Robert Walpole in the light of a political martyr, suffering for his endeavours for the public service. Throughout his narrative this writer pursues a method which has a very strange and singular effect; when the minister appears in public, the biographer writes as his hero would speak or act upon such occasions, it is only when he accompanies him to his closet that you are to expect the truth; thus, in the same chapter, although he destroys the delusion, he expects the representation shall retain its effect, and that all shall believe him to be, what he has, himself, proved he was not, an upright, disinterested, and patriotic minister.

of her people might be spared, was a question which seemed to depend on the moderation of those who usurped the right of being her legislators." Ireland had still, however, been permitted to retain the outward insignia of national legislation, and sovereign power; but, on this occasion it was attempted to wrest from her, even these small remnants of sovereignty; the right of coinage, that peculiar attribute of regal power, was granted in farm to an ordinary contractor, without con-

I have distinguished, by printing them in the Italic character, the passages of Mr. Coxe's narrative to which I mean to advert; as well those which make for the point I propose to establish, as those, the truth or propriety of which I mean to question.

Mr. Coxe begins by stating, that there was a great deficiency of copper currency in Ireland; in point of fact this is not true, there was a great want of silver money, and the cause of that scarcity will be hereafter explained; neither does the patent itself justify his assertion; it states, "that his majesty had received information, that there was a great want of small money for making small payments;" Mr. Coxe has thought fit to alter the words so as best to suit his own purpose.

Mr. Coxe seems to take great offence at Swift's calling Wood a hardware-man and a low mechanic. The strength of the case does not depend altogether upon the rank and character of Mr. Wood, yet those matters are not foreign to the subject: he had, indeed, great and beneficial leases from the crown; but, if they were obtained in the same way with this patent, that will not go far towards proving him to be a very respectable character. But Mr. Coxe himself admits that he was a hardware-man and a mechanic; being such, he was a low person to be invested with so considerable a branch of the royal prerogative; it appears moreover that his connexions were mean, there were two persons of the name of Molineux, Ironmongers in Dublin, one of whom was his brother-in-law. (See Swift's Works, Vol. VII. pp. 161 & 295.) "It may be some satisfaction," says Swift in the Drapier's third letter," to know who is this Wood, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find he is in the patent entitled *esquire*, although he were understood to be only a hard-wareman; and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however a '*squire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropshire; where, pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and for the infamy of the fact lost his employment." The author of a tract, entitled, "A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland, in their refusal of Mr. Wood's copper money," relates another fact which excuses, if not altogether at least in a great measure, the opposition which the nation gave to the admission of his coin. "Mr. Wood obtained a patent for coining *small money* for the English plantations, in pursuance of which, he had the conscience to make thirteen shillings out of a pound of brass. This money they rejected in a manner not so decent as that of Ireland." Swift indeed felt particular satisfaction in mortifying the patentee, who pride was, as Mr. Coxe himself allows, intolerably inflated by the singular honour conferred upon him: in the following passage of his Drapier's second letter, he humorously alludes to this disgraceful transfer of royal prerogative; "It is no loss of honour to submit it to the lion, but who, with the figure of a man, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a rat?"

Mr. Coxe, in his *public* account, says; that among many proposals submitted to government, that delivered by Mr. Wood was accepted; but, in his *private* account, he tells us, that the patent was given by Sunderland to the duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood; the contradiction in this respect is so palpable, that it is quite unnecessary to say more upon the subject.

Mr. Coxe labours to work an unfavourable impression against the Irish, by stating, that part of the opposition arose, from the patentee not being a native of Ireland, and from the coin being stamped in England; but the first part of this statement is untrue, for it never was insinuated, as an objection against the patentee, that he was not a native, and the second part is a mis-statement; the objection was made, not against the coin being stamped in England, but against the patent being passed there, for reasons which have been explained elsewhere, the chief of which was, that the persons most interested could not easily obtain redress against the patentee, at least not within their own country; this is explained in the pamphlet abovementioned, in the following words. "Every one that remembered the ill effects which our former coinages of copper had on the revenue, trade, and manufactures, of this kingdom, although performed in Dublin, was terrified by this patent, which was to be executed in another kingdom, where redress against the patentee would be very difficult and expensive."

Mr. Coxe says, that the house of commons behaved, on this occasion, "with an absurdity and effrontery hardly credible." The conduct of any man, or body of men, however respectable, may, by possibility, be absurd; but, how the great council of the nation could, by any means, deserve the censure conveyed by the latter epithet, is a matter which I confess to be beyond my comprehension. Indeed, if we give back these two epithets to Mr. Coxe himself, the generality of my readers will, perhaps, think they become him much better, than that highly respectable body. But, let us see how Mr. Coxe makes good the charge of absurdity: he has printed in the Italic character, those words of their address, which state, that the nation suffered a loss, by the patent, of "one hundred and fifty per cent;" it was this expression, doubtless, which drew from the self-sufficient biographer this insolent remark, so worthy of an advocate of the brazier, William Wood; but, when we consider, that, even in conformity to the terms of the patent, one pound of copper, value twelve pence, became, by coining, worth two shillings and six pence, we shall not think the calculation so very erroneous: it is to be observed, that the report of Sir Isaac Newton, which was made at a later period of time, confirms, in a remarkable way, this part of the resolution of the commons.—The following passage from a letter, written by Archbishop King to General Gorge, dated 28 Jan. 1723-4, will serve as a suitable comment here.—"We have been treated in this whole affair, and in every step of it, with the utmost contempt; endeavoured to be imposed on as fools and children, as if we had not common understandings, or knew when we were abused."—To Mr. Coxe's arrogant assertion, which immediately follows, that the whole clamour rested on partial and ignorant representations, I shall oppose an assertion of the same prelate, comprised in the following emphatic words; "In truth, if they should pass on us they would sink the kingdom." Letters of Archbishop King, unpublished.

Mr. Coxe says, that, by an assay at the mint by Sir Isaac Newton, Swift's assertion, relative to the frauds and deceits in the coinage, was proved untrue: this is likewise a mis-statement; Sir I. Newton's report refers only to the coinage of 1723, which was never uttered in Ireland, but Swift alludes to that of 1722, and of this latter there are specimens, in a sufficient number, to prove his objections to have been well founded, and that the coin was made of impure materials, and likewise deficient in weight.

The following inconsistencies, in respect of dates, occur in Mr. Coxe's narrative.

He says that this patent was given by Sunderland to the duchess of Kendal, but, according to his own account, that nobleman retired from the treasury in February 1720-21, and Wood's patent was not granted until July 1722: he says too, that Sunderland had warmly recommended it to his friend the duke of Bolton, who was at that time lord lieutenant, and who

sent, nay even in despite of the Irish parliament and privy-council; such disregard of common forms, added to the disrespectful and unceremonious manner in which it was exercised by the patentee, argued such a contempt of decency, as fully justified the people of Ireland in apprehending consequences still more fatal and more arbitrary.[2] To the speculative apprehension of future dangers, there was superadded, upon this occasion, the actual experience of past calamities; during the several intestine wars with which that unhappy kingdom had been, for upwards of a century, distracted, there were no evils of which she felt so sensibly the smart,

[2] See Scott's Life of Swift, page 285, &c.

found much difficulty in his attempts to support the project under hand; but we find that the duke of Bolton left Ireland in Nov. 1719, and died before either the letter of privy seal, or the patent, received his majesty's signature; his successor, the duke of Grafton, was nominated lord lieutenant 31 July 1721, a year before the patent was granted: it appears, from hence, that Mr. Coxe wished to throw the odium of having concerted this measure upon Sunderland, the predecessor of his hero; if, however, we suppose the matter to have been attempted under-hand, so long before it was carried publicly into effect, the character of Sir Robert Walpole will not be much mended thereby; for it will then appear that he persisted, wantonly, and from corrupt motives, in a measure notoriously prejudicial; when we view his perseverance in this light. it will assume quite a different form from that in which it appears, when we contemplate him enforcing obedience to an article which had actually obtained the signature of his sovereign, whose honour might have been considered as pledged to enforce the execution of whatsoever, by his signature, he had warranted. In the latter case he would maintain the credit and authority of his master, in the former he should risk both. Another fallacy of this sort occurs in Mr. Coxe's narrative. Walpole, according to his account, when he succeeded Sunderland at the head of the treasury, remonstrated at first against the grant, but, when he could not prevail, he endeavoured to remedy the abuses, and by proper assays at the mint, secured the execution of the terms stipulated by the patent, which at length passed the usual forms, and was transmitted to the lord lieutenant. Here Mr. Cox represents his hero, Sir Robert Walpole, *remedying the abuses* of a patent *before* it was passed or *acted on*; and moreover he states, that an assay made some years after, and notoriously for a quite different purpose, was made before the patent was signed, and from a conscientious motive of securing, that the terms stipulated should be duly executed. I shall cite one more instance of this sort of contradiction. Mr. Coxe represents, that the popular discontents preceded the issuing of the coin; he says, that the contents of the patent were concealed in Ireland, by which means, exaggerated rumours of its evil tendency were diffused, which were universally credited, and not found to be false, until their wide circulation had made a deep impression, which it was not possible afterwards to efface. Neither the fact here stated, nor the insinuation brought in by a side wind, have either of them any foundation in truth; every popular resolution was made, and all the popular tracts against the coin were published, subsequent to its utterance; the Drapier's first letter, which appeared late in 1723, or in 1724, was the earliest in point of date; whereas Wood began to coin in July 1722, and it was the base coin, issued in that year, that occasioned the discontent; but the clamour against it was neither very violent, nor very general, until it was known that the representations of parliament had been disregarded.—It is, moreover, quite absurd to represent a whole nation as combined to reject a coin which they had not seen, and of which, therefore, they could form no judgment: objections of a like sort with this last apply to that other part of Mr. Coxe's narrative, where he tells us of the duke of Bolton's attempts "to support the project under hand;" which attempts, as his grace left Ireland in 1719, must have been made three years before the patent was granted; what could, then, have been the nature of these underhand attempts, and of what nature were the difficulties, which Mr. Coxe tells us, the duke foresaw would embarrass his administration, should he attempt to bring it forward, publicly? considering the matter abstractedly, there could be no objection to a coinage of copper money, provided the pieces were of proper weight and quality; and, according to the tenor of the relation itself, the other objection, that it had not been referred to the constituted authorities in this kingdom, could not apply: either we must believe that this part of the Mr. Coxe's narrative is untrue, and that the patent was not imagined until Walpole came to the treasury, (which will account for the duchess of Kendal having had a share in it, to whose gracious assistance that minister was indebted in no small degree,) or the whole scheme was a piece of premeditated corruption, for nothing else could have made it difficult to carry: indeed, if this account be true, the project was worse than we are wont to imagine it; for it must, in that case, have been passed, not without being referred to the lord lieutenant and the privy council, but in despite of them, and in direct opposition to the counsels, and the inclinations, of several succeeding chief governors.

Several passages, in Mr. Coxe's narrative, have a tendency to represent the Irish as a nation inclined to turbulence and rebellion; he calls Ireland, a country "abounding with persons disaffected to the English government," and says, that, upon this occasion, "the popular outcry was so great that the lords justices refused to issue orders for circulation of the coin." In disproof of these insinuations, I shall quote the following passage from a letter of Archbishop King to General Gorge, dated 17th Oct. 1724.

"As to the story of tumults or riots, it's all fiction, for I will maintain, there have been more such in England in one year, than in Ireland since the revolution. There was, indeed, in Dublin, about a dozen of boys that had got Wood's pretended picture, which they carried about, designing to hang it up somewhere, but the lord mayor, upon his hearing of it, took it from them, and dispersed them, and on their further attempt, took it from them again, and committed them."

"And at Cork, upon some of these halfpence being in the port, a parcel of the rabble got up, and declared they would hinder the landing of them; but the collector, who is a discreet gentleman, went down and quieted the people, and landed all the goods out of the ship, except the halfpence which the ship carried out again; but there was nothing like 1200 men, nor any arms that I can hear of, nor was any violence used, or offered. Judge you if these two accidents could be any foundation for such a clamour, or, whether the government here should not have been required to transmit the account of them, before the ministry there had taken the thing for granted, that the people of Ireland were ready to rebel, which you may be assured is the farthest from their thoughts of any thing in this world."

There are many other questionable matters in this narrative of Mr. Coxe; but the story itself and the strictures upon it have already occupied so much space, that I cannot enlarge more upon the subject; I shall therefore conclude this note by observing, that the vast pension granted to the patentee

as those which arose from corruption in the current coin[x]; for those measures, which mistaken policy, or imperious necessity had suggested, excuses were to be found in the ignorance of the projectors, or the calamities of the times; but now that war was ended, and that she began to cultivate the blessings of peace, she felt it hard that the stream of commerce should be defiled, by this corruption in the medium of exchange; she thought it high time too, that the office of dictator, assumed, during the late period of anarchy, by the British nation, should be laid aside, and was preparing to assert her claim to her place among nations, and to determine, according

proves it to have been esteemed a grant of no inconsiderable value; Wood obtained, upon the surrender of the patent, although he was then limited to the amount of 40,000*l.* a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum, for eight years, says Mr. Coxe, but, according to Mr. Walter Scott's account, for twelve years: what compensation he received to induce him to consent to its reduction, from the original sum of 100,800*l.* is not known; if he did not receive any, it will strengthen the opinion which did generally, at that time, prevail, that the proposal of issuing only 40,000*l.* was a feint, and adopted solely for the purpose of silencing the popular clamour; after that should be assuaged, it was believed the patentee would be allowed to coin to the amount of the greater sum. The duchess of Kendal, who was likewise duchess of Munster, enjoyed a pension, upon the Irish establishment, about this period of time, which amounted to 3000*l.* annually,

[x] Sir William Petty (Polit. Anat. of Ireland) reckons the gains made by the difference, confusion, and badness of coins, and the exorbitancy of exchange, among the greatest calamities of this poor island. The following extracts shew some of the ill effects which arose from those measures, of which, the first was dictated by mistaken policy, the second by state necessity, they were both of them excusable on these accounts, and because they were only practised in times of anarchy and confusion.

Fynes Moryson informs us, that "civill warre having set all Ireland in a combustion, the queene (Elizabeth) more easily to subdue the rebels, did take silver coyne from the Irish, some few years before her death, and paid her army with a mixed base coyne, which, by proclamation, was commanded to bee spent and received, for sterling silver money.—This base mixed money had three parts of copper, and the fourth part of silver, which proportion of silver was in some part consumed by the mixture, so as the English goldsmiths valued a shilling thereof at no more than two silver pence, though they acknowledged the same to be worth two pence halfpenny."—"This base money was sent over only to impoverish the rebels (as was pretended) who made warre against the queene with her owne treasure; but in conclusion it was the undoing of all the queenes servants there, for no man cared to lay it up, and all things were bought at excessive rates, after the exchange in England failed."—When the exchange failed, says Moryson emphatically, "their hearts failed therewith, for they served in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that only the treasurers and pay-masters (who were thereby infinitely inriched) had cause to blesse the authors of this invention."—Several of the letters from the lord deputy and council state the ill effects which arose from this coin; in their letter of 15 Feb. 1601, they express their fear that a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new money much repined at, notwithstanding they did their uttermost endeavours to advance it; and they humbly desired leave to deliver their opinions freely, having so assured ground for it, that if the king of Spain should continue his war in that country, it would be hard to preserve her majesty's army and kingdom, without altering of the current money, so general was the dislike thereof, and so insolently did the people refuse it.—Indeed the queen herself, in her proclamation of 24th Dec. 1602, relates many of the ill effects produced by this impolitic measure, both upon her subjects and herself, "and yet," she adds, "the two mischiefes (which were the chiefe cause of alteration of our standard) not remedied; that is, the preserving of the sterling monies from the rebels, and from transportation into foreign countries." Moryson's Itinerary, Part I. page 283. Part II. pages 90, 196, and 262.

The whole blame of this monstrous scheme should be laid on the inventors, lord treasurer Buckhurst, and his partner, Sir George Carey, treasurer at war, vice-treasurer of Ireland, and general receiver of her majesty's revenues there. The latter had a patent for erecting an office of exchange between England and Ireland, of which he was constituted master; the queen herself was much averse to this measure, saying often, "it would much reflect on her credit, and be displeasing to the army." The merchants and manufacturers too, although quite innocent, came in for their share of censure; it was attributed to their "frauds and deceits," that commodities rose 70 or 80 per cent., although this increase was only proportioned to the difference between the value of the old and new coin, and could nowise be helped by them. See Camden's and Ware's Annals.

The following extract, from Archbishop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c. Chapt. III. sect. 2, gives a lamentable description of the effect produced by the base coin, issued by Jas. II. The arguments used by him, against the legality of such proceedings, are unanswerable, and the facts related were of sufficiently recent occurrence to be remembered by many persons then living; the author himself, was, at that time, a member of the privy council, and a zealous opposer of Wood's project.—"The other contrivances to get money from protestants, did indeed impoverish them; but, that of making brass money pass instead of silver, and at an equal value with it, was an utter and unavoidable ruin to them: it is true, the coining of money is a prerogative of the crown, and the reason of its being so, is, to prevent its being adulterated, the king's honour and interest being the engagement and security for the coin that bears his impression: but, sure the meaning was not, that he should give a value to what has no value in itself; otherwise the cautiousness of our fore-fathers was ridiculous, who would not allow the king, by his prerogative, to raise money either by loan or subsidy from the subject; since, if it be allowed, that he may set what value he pleases upon brass, he may have what he thinks fit from the kingdom without troubling a parliament; but King James's council used not to stick at the formalities of law or reason, and therefore vast quantities of brass money were coined, and made current by a proclamation, dated 18 June 1689, under severe penalties. The metal of which this money was made, was the worst kind of brass; old guns, and the refuse of metals were melted down to make it: workmen rated it at three-pence or a groat a pound, which being coined into sixpences, shillings, or half-crowns, one pound weight made about 5*l.* And by another proclamation, dated * * 1690, the half crowns were called in, and being stamped anew, were made to pass for crowns; so that then, three pence or four pence worth of metal made 10*l.* There was coined in all, from the first setting up of the mint, to the rout at the Boyne, being about twelve months, 965,375*l.* In this coin King James paid all his appointments, and all that received the king's pay being generally papists, they forced the protestants to part with the goods out of their shops for this money, and to receive their debts in it; so that the loss by the brass money did, in a manner, entirely fall on the protestants, being defrauded (for I can call it no better) of about 60,000*l.* per month by this stratagem, which must, in a few months, have utterly exhausted them. When the papists had gotten most of their saleable goods from

to her natural rights, such matters as exclusively concerned her own interests, of which she held herself to be the most competent judge, and was therefore justly offended when she discovered, that the right of deciding upon so important a case had been superceded, and one which she had frequently, during the years immediately preceding, exercised, to prevent the attempts of private self-interested individuals.[y] Indeed, when we consider that Ireland, from a feeling of jealousy, or rather from a want of confidence, did, in the preceding year, reject what was intended as a boon, because, being revocable, it might be withdrawn if found beneficial, or perhaps, continued if injurious, we shall not be surprised at finding her, upon this occasion, exhibiting violent symptoms of resentment at this encroachment upon her exclusive rights, which, if it had been once established beyond dispute, would have deprived her of power to defend herself against any aggressors armed with civil power, or to decide upon matters which might deeply

their protestant neighbours, and yet great quantities of brass money remained in their hands, they began to consider how many of them, who had estates, had engaged them to protestants by judgments, statutes staple, and mortgages; this was all the reserve of their fortunes left the protestants; and to take this likewise from them they procured a proclamation, dated 4 Feb. 1689, to make brass money current in all payments whatsoever, whereas, at first, judgments, &c. were excepted."

It appears, however, by the proclamation of the lords justices, dated 23 Feb. 1690, that a vast deal of this money was in the hands of the Irish papists; in truth, the gold and silver was, of necessity, sent out of the country, to pay for such articles as could not be obtained for such money; this base coin of James was cried down by a proclamation of King William, dated 10th July 1690, which ordered, that the crown-pieces should pass, thenceforward, for one penny each, and the other lesser coins for smaller sums, in proportion.

[y] The following short account of the several coinages of copper which took place in Ireland, between the restoration and the period of Wood's patent, as it comprises the particulars of the several intermediate grants, will serve to throw some light upon the subject of this contest. From the perusal of this previous history it appears, that grants to private individuals had been found detrimental to the public, and that the constituted authorities in Ireland had resolved not to sanction any such in future; and moreover we find, that, to supersede the authority of the Irish executive, was a proceeding altogether novel, for the only instance that occurs of a patent under the great seal of England, was rendered ineffectual by the patentee not being able to obtain "the allowance of the chief governor, that the money should be issued."

In the year 1660, King Charles II. granted a patent to Sir Thomas Armstrong, to coin farthing tokens during the term of 20 years; to pass and be generally used, between those who would voluntarily pay and receive the same, and he was "to be at any time ready to deliver 21 shillings in the said tokens, for every 20 shillings in silver, and to repay 20 shillings in sterling money, for every 21 shillings of the said tokens that should be brought to him." Simon on Irish coins, Append. No. LIII. These farthings were to weigh, at least 20 grains each; some of them weigh however 28 grains; nevertheless, "Sir Thomas was never admitted to make use of this grant, nor could he obtain allowance, of the chief governor of Ireland, to issue them as royal coin among the subjects of that kingdom," although he had laid out large sums of money for copper, and machines, and incurred other incidental expenses. Simon, Append. No. LXV. It appears, from a proclamation of the lords justices of Ireland, issued 13 Sept. 1661, that this patent passed the great seal of England, (Simon, Append. No. LVI.) a matter which was not known to either party, at the time of the controversy about Wood's coin, and which would, had they been apprized of it, have supplied the lords justices with a precedent for refusing to allow the coin to pass, although countenanced by the authority of a royal patent.

In consequence of the scarcity of copper coin, several private persons, between the years 1660 and 1680, took the liberty of issuing copper tokens, but the practice was stopt by proclamation, and limited to those, to whom particular license should be granted; from all such security was required, to exchange them for gold and silver, on demand; nevertheless, the public suffered much, partly by the securities failing, and partly by the persons, who issued the tokens, alleging, when tendered for payment, that they were counterfeits. Defence of the people of Ireland, in their refusal of Wood's copper money.

Although a patent had been granted, there was, in fact, no coinage of copper in Ireland, from the period of the restoration until the year 1680, when Sir William Armstrong, son to Sir Thomas, and Col. George Legg, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, obtained a patent, licensing them, during 21 years, to coin copper halfpence, to weigh, each, 110 grains at the least; a proclamation was issued by the lord lieutenant, declaring these halfpence to be the current coin of the kingdom, but it provided, that none should be enforced to take more than five shillings in the payment of one hundred pounds, and so proportionably in all greater and lesser sums; and in case any persons should be surcharged with more than they could utter, the patentees were required to pay 20 shillings, in gold or silver, for every 21 shillings of this coin that should be brought to them. Simon, Append. No. LXV. and LXVI. This patent was granted, by and with the advice of James, Duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant; and, notwithstanding the limitation to 110 grains, the pieces struck off, during the first three years, did weigh, as Simon informs us, from 118 to 119 grains, and those in the last two, from 109 to 110 grains each; I have a specimen of the coin of 1681, which weighs 127 grains, and another of 1683 weighing 131 grains. This patent was, in the same year that it was issued, sold to John Knox, of the city of Dublin; a new patent was granted to him, for the remainder of the term, by King James, in the first year of his reign; the two last mentioned patents passed the great seal of Ireland.—Knox was interrupted in his coinage by King James, who, in 1689, coined his famous brass money.

After the revolution, Col. Roger Moore, who had purchased Knox's patent, coined a great deal of money, which he continued to do until 1698; by this means, and by reason of a vast importation of counterfeit coins from Scotland, the country became overstocked to a great degree, so that persons were obliged to receive large sums in copper money; when they were tendered to the patentee, he refused to take them, alleging they were counterfeits, which many of them were; but it was impossible to prove that he had actually coined any of them, so that the nation became losers: the miserable condition, to which the country was reduced by these means, is described in a memorial, presented in 1722, by W. Trench, Esq. to the lords of the treasury; (to which document the commissioners of the revenue refer, in their letters upon Wood's coinage); accordingly the parliament declared the quantities of halfpence a burthen, and, notwithstanding there was a patent in being, by act 9-10,

concern her political interests, all which must have terminated in the extinction of her civil liberty, and would, perhaps, ultimately endanger that of England herself. [z]

When the copper money first appeared in Ireland, the commissioners of the revenue, [a] remembering the ill effects of former coinages, represented the matter, first, to the lord lieutenant's secretary, and afterwards, to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury; but no attention was paid to their statements, and Mr. Wood prosecuted his coinage with great vigour at Bristol, importing vast quantities into the most considerable ports in Ireland; then every one, not interested in its success by having contracted for great quantities at a large discount, became apprehensive of its pernicious effect, they began, at first doubtingly, to consider, whether they might not legally refuse them, but Swift stept forth, and by his first letter, published under the feigned name of M. B. Drapier, [b] at once instructed them in their rights, and confirmed them in their resolutions. "At the sound of the Drapier's trumpet,"

William III. chapt. 33. stopped the coinage for a certain time. Defence of the people of Ireland, in their refusal of Wood's copper money.

Colonel Moore afterwards sought to obtain a renewal of his patent, but, the matter being referred to the government in Ireland and not approved of by them, his petition was rejected. Another application was made in 1705, to Queen Anne, but, being referred by the lord lieutenant to the commissioners of the revenue, they set forth its pernicious consequences in so strong a light, that it was set aside; many other applications were rejected upon the same score; and, it being presumed that any application from a private individual would meet with the same fate, it was the knowlege of this circumstance that probably induced Wood to proceed with so much secrecy. Defence of the people, &c. in refusing Wood's coin.

[z] This statement will not appear exaggerated when we consider, that, if grants might be made in England, and pass the great seal there, without being referred to the constituted authorities in Ireland, there would be an end of the power of impeachment, because the authority of the Irish parliament does not extend to England; the executive power would, therefore, be rendered quite independent of the legislature, which is the very definition of arbitrary government. To imagine that both nations would have joined in a matter of this sort, would be to presume what was not then likely to happen. But if we suppose Ireland once enslaved, and rendered as powerful as, from its natural advantages, and immense population, it might be, under the auspices of an ambitious prince; what security would England then have, for the possession of that liberty, which she deservedly holds in such high estimation? If, however, this be considered an extreme case as to England, it was not so to Ireland, to whose civil liberties the establishment of this point would have been a death-blow.

[a] On the 7th Aug. 1722, the commissioners of the revenue addressed a letter to the Rt. Hon. Edw. Hopkins, secretary to the lord lieutenant; wherein, after mentioning their surprize at Mr. Wood's patent, they desire him, "to lay before the lord lieutenant a memorial, presented by their agent to the lords of the treasury, concerning this patent; and also a report of some former commissioners of the revenue on the like occasion; and to acquaint his grace, that they concurred in all the objections in those papers, and were of opinion, that such a patent would be highly prejudicial to the trade, and welfare of this kingdom, and more particularly to his majesty's revenue, which they had formerly found to have suffered very much, by too great a quantity of such a base coin."—Afterwards, when the apprehensions of the people had encreased, the same commissioners laid this affair before the right honorable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, in a letter, dated 19th Sept. 1722; in which they assure their lordships, "that they had been applied to, by many persons of rank and fortune, and by the merchants and traders in Ireland, to represent the ill effects of Mr. Wood's patent, and that they could, from former experience, assure their lordships, it would be particularly detrimental to his majesty's revenue." They represented that "this matter had made a great noise, and that there did not appear *the least want of such small species of coin for change*; and hoped, that the importance of the occasion would excuse their making this representation of a matter that had not been referred to them." Defence of the people of Ireland, in their refusal of Mr. Wood's copper money.

[b] Mr. Walter Scott's account of Wood's project is drawn, chiefly, from Mr. Coxe's partial memoir: he has, indeed, compromised the matter in a way very injurious to the posthumous fame of our inimitable patriot. "It cannot be supposed," he says, "that Swift really considered Wood's project, simply and abstractedly, as of a ruinous, or even dangerous tendency. There was, doubtless, a risk of abuse; but, setting that apart, the supply of copper money which it provided was advantageous, and even necessary to Ireland."—I confess it is to me a matter of surprise, that the editor of Swift's works should not have been roused to make some investigation into the merits of a case, which so deeply involved the credit of his author; it might, I think, have occurred to the most superficial observer, that the sense of a whole nation, unequivocally pronounced, and confirmed by the declarations of its legislative and executive authorities, was a sort of evidence not to be disregarded, particularly as it was not a capricious vote, passed suddenly, or carried by acclamation, but a principle adopted from full conviction of its truth, and steadily persevered in, though several succeeding years. It was not a party measure, entered into by a few factious demagogues, for the purpose of vexatiously harrassing the government, but a unanimous resolution of the kingdom, supported by many members of the administration, maintained by the warmest friends to the reigning family, and countenanced by zealous favourers of the ministers themselves. If the circumstantial statements contained in the Drapiers Letters be untrue, if Swift could coolly assert deliberate falsehoods, or be influenced by such motives as are attributed to him by his biographer, instead of the character of a zealous and true patriot, he would better merit that of a factious and corrupt partizan—

> "Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy
> To the old dam, treason."—

In his life, and in the introduction which has been prefixed to this edition of those admirable letters, are passages which have a tendency to mislead, rather than instruct the reader. Mr. Scott maintains, that Swift concealed his object until the fourth letter, which he would insinuate was, from the first, to assert the independence of Ireland. "This was the real cause of Swift's opposition, although the nature of the controversy rendered it necessary that he should veil it under specific objections to Mr. Wood's scheme, rather than engage in a perilous discussion upon the abstract question." But it is quite unfair to represent the case after this manner. The

says Lord Orrery, "a spirit arose among the people, that, in the eastern phrase, was *like unto a tempest in the day of the whirlwind.* Every person of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced, that the admission of Wood's copper must prove fatal to the common-wealth. The papist, the fanatic, the tory, the

occasion did not call for a declaration of national independence, at an early stage of the contest; until the English privy council had taken the matter out of the hands of the Irish legislature, and until that body had been treated in a way which the English parliament would not have submitted to, the question of Irish independence had no sort of connexion with a patent for coining halfpence and farthings.

The Drapier's first letter is addressed to the lower rank of tradesmen, shopkeepers, and country farmers; it speaks to their feelings and interests, and is suited admirably to their understandings. Its object being to strengthen the wavering resolutions of this part of the community, and to induce them to reject the proffered coin, Swift therein boldly tells them, that the crown could not, by its prerogative, impose upon the people any money but pure gold and silver; "your great comfort is," he says, "that as his majesty's patent does not oblige you to take this money, so the laws have not given the crown a power of forcing the subject to take what money the king pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take pebble-stones, or cockle-shells, for current coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill prince."

The Drapier's second letter, dated 4th August 1724, is addressed to Mr. Harding; it was occasioned by a paragraph in that printer's newspaper of Aug. 1, which gave some notice of the compromise recommended by the committee of the privy council, whereby Wood was restricted, in the amount he was to issue, to the sum of 40,000*l.* Swift exhibits, by way of answer, a calculation, whereby he proves that 25,000*l.* would be more than sufficient for every purpose: to the representation, that there was a great want of copper money, he replies: "What then? if a physician prescribe to a patient a dram of physic, shall a rascal apothecary cram him with a pound, and mix it up with poison?"—Mr. Harding's paper appears to have given some parts of the report of the committee of the English privy-council, but the contents of that document, although it had been presented to the council on the 24th July, had not been communicated officially to the public. Swift, in this letter, ridicules the assay made of the coin, in the following strain; "How impudent and insupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved; and these must answer for all that he has already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the pattern with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy a hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether, fat and well fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore the money for those that were lean, or shorn, or scabby, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he showed as a pattern to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's assay."

The Drapier's third letter is addressed to the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland; it was published, 25th August 1724, and professes to be written in reply to the report of the committee of the English privy-council: in proportion as the subject becomes more important, and his audience more respectable, Swift's style attains to a higher degree of elevation.

The report of the committee of council had appeared, about the 18th of August, in the London Journal; it was not published in the Gazette, nor in any paper avowedly ministerial; Swift takes advantage of this circumstance to attack it with greater boldness; indeed it is not improbable that the minister adopted this method of communication, because it served his own purposes; he dared not to stake his credit upon such a document, which, in its published form, contains some gross mis-tatements; for instance, the report made by Sir Isaac Newton is misquoted, and the crown rent, reserved by the patent, is falsely stated to be 800*l.* instead of 100*l.* per annum. It is highly probable that he feared publicly to acknowlege, that the rent reserved was so small in amount, and therefore hit upon this expedient to deceive the public, at least he favoured the deceit, which had its full effect, for, not only Swift, but every writer from his time to the present day, have imagined that the reserved rent was 800*l.* annually. I speak here of the published report, for I have not been able to obtain a sight of the original, or of a certified copy, and apprehend, that neither one or the other was ever transmitted to this kingdom; the passage which is as follows, seems however to favour the opinion that the larger sum was actually inserted in the original document. "A rent of 800*l.* per annum is reserved to your majesty, and 200*l.* per annum to your majesty's clerk comptroller, to be paid annually by the patentee, for the full term of fourteen years; which, for thirteen years, when twenty tons of copper only are coined, is not insonsiderable."—Twenty tons of copper would, according to the terms of the patent, produce 5,600*l.* of coin; it could not be said that 300*l.* was a considerable part of this sum; but, if we set it by that allowed to be coined in the first year, 28,000*l.*, the comparison will have a very ludicrous effect indeed.

As this report, and the arguments which I have to prefer against it, has been made the subject of a separate note (Note C); I shall postpone, for the present, the consideration of Swift's arguments likewise; however, as I esteem it no extravagant praise to call this and the next following letter, the most admirable political tracts that were ever published, I shall cite, here, a few of those passages, which are most particularly illustrative of Swift's peculiar manner.

In one part of this letter he indirectly glances at the other sufferings of the Irish nation. "Surely," says he, "his majesty, when he consented to the passing of this patent, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of Ireland.—A kingdom distinguished for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the jurisdiction of the house of lords abolished at a stroke, by the hardships of the act of navigation newly enforced, by all possible obstructions in trade, and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the least attempt toward an insurrection in favour of the pretender. Therefore, whatever justice a free people can claim, we have at least an equal title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most loyal subjects, we have reason to expect it. Neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious projector."

In another place he writes thus; "I have heard very wise men say, 'that the king's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people.' I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this patent? But Ireland is not consulted at all in the matter; and, as soon as Ireland is informed of it; they declare against it: the two houses of parliament and the privy-council address his majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a patent; the privy-council in England take the matter out of the parliament's cognizance; the good of the kingdom is dropped; and it is now determined, that Mr. Wood shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.—St. Paul says, 'all things are lawful, but

whig, all listed themselves volunteers under the banners of M. B. drapier, and were all equally zealous to serve the common cause." The irritated feelings of the nation were likewise conveyed to the throne of majesty, by addresses from both

all things are not expedient.' We are answered, 'that this patent is lawful:' but, is it expedient? We read that the high-priest said, 'it was expedient that one man should die for the people;' and this was a most wicked proposition: but that a whole nation should die for one man, was never heard before."

Towards the conclusion is the following passage: "I am very sensible, that such a work as I have undertaken, might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens the weakest in the family runs first to the door. All the assistance I had, were some informations from an eminent person; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armour of Saul: and therefore I rather chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (Wood I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say, for Wood's honour as well as my own, that he resembles Goliah in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose; for, Goliah had 'a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.' In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living GOD. Goliah's conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of Wood: 'if he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants.' But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; 'he shall never be a servant of mine;' for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

The Drapier's fourth letter was published immediately after the arrival of lord Carteret in Ireland; "having," says Swift, "written three letters upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, political as well as natnral. A people long used to hardships, lose by degrees the very notions of liberty; they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand, are, in the phrase of the Report, legal and obligatory. Hence proceed that poverty and lowness of spirit, to which a kingdom may be subject, as well as a particular person. And when Esau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage."

Many persons had been alarmed at the appearance of the chief governor, for whose visit, at this time, no cause could be assigned, except that of enforcing this odious measure; rumours had likewise been industriously spread, by Wood himself, in the London news-letters; he had given out "that the papists in Ireland had entered into an association against his coin;" that the Irish nation had, by refusing his copper, "disputed the king's prerogative, were grown ripe for rebellion, and were ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England." To countenance which reports, and to create the greater alarm, he published a paragraph, wherein he asserted, that "the lord-lieutenant was ordered to go over, to settle his halfpence."

"I entreat you, my dear country-men," says Swift, "not to be under the least concern upon these and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he has sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and almost unexampled loyalty, will never be called in question for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure iron-monger."

As this important letter is treated of in another place, and as large extracts there-from have been inserted in the text, I shall content myself with one quotation, which deserves to be inserted, because it shows how unhandsomely, and disrespectly the nation was treated; it exhibits too, an example of the presumptuous insolence of the patentee, and furnishes likewise, a favourable specimen of Swift's peculiar manner. In the last paragraph I am persuaded he means artfully to point out, how great a power it would require to carry this measure by force of arms, and to shew, how ill it would answer the expense it would require to effect it.

"Before I conclude, I must beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr. Wood, that he is guilty of great indiscretion, by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. Walpole to be mentioned so often, and in such a manner, upon this occasion. A short paper printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr. Wood to say, 'that he wonders at the impudence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. Walpole comes to town.'—In another printed paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed 'that Mr. Walpole will cram his brass down our throats.' Sometimes it is given out, 'that we must either take those halfpence, or eat our brogues:' and in another news-letter, but of yesterday, we read, 'that the same great man has sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire balls."

"This brings to my mind the known story of a Scotch-man, who, receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling, and the like, cried out, 'what need all this COOKERY?' And I think we have reason to ask the same question; for, if we believe Wood, here is a dinner ready for us; and you see the bill of fare; and I am sorry the drink was forgot, which might easily be supplied with melted lead and flaming pitch."——

——"As to 'swallowing these halfpence in fire-balls,' it is a story very improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr. Wood's coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow balls with wild-fire, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now the metal he has prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of halfpence, to be swallowed by a million and a half of people: so that, allowing two halfpence to each ball, there will be about seventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom; and to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand operators, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, considering the squeamishness of some stomachs, and the peevishness of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr. Wood himself; which, to make it pass the better in Ireland, he would father upon a minister of state."

Besides the four letters above-mentioned, Swift wrote three others under the feigned character of a Drapier: one, dated 14 Dec. 1714, addressed to viscount Molesworth, was published on that day, and is included in the edition by George Faulkner, in 1725; but, neither that addressed to lord-chancellor Midleton, dated 6th Oct. nor that addressed to both houses of parliament, written manifestly in the same year, were either of them printed until 1735. In the Drapier's fourth letter Swift remarks, that "money, the great divider of the world, had, by a strange revolution, been the great uniter of a divided people;" accordingly we here find the dean himself, not only siding with whigs upon this occasion, but engaged in correspondence with the two most considerable, and most zealous persons of that party. The last three letters are inferior in merit, however, to those which appeared during the height of controversy.

I shall close this note with the following extracts, from Mr. Sheridan's judicious remarks upon those celebrated pieces.

"Whoever examines the Drapier's letters with attention will find, that the talents of Swift never appeared in a more con-

houses of parliament.[c] This last proceeding occasioned a change of measures, and a partial abandonment of the project; the learned and accomplished Carteret was deputed lord lieutenant; through his influence with the chief members of the adverse party the minister hoped to obtain, that the measure should be more favourably

spicuous light than on this occasion.—His writings in the character of a Drapier were in such plain language, as rendered them perfectly intelligible to the meanest capacities. His arguments were so naturally deduced, and in such an easy series, from simple and evident principles, as carried the fullest conviction to every mind. But as it was necessary to his purpose to rouse the feelings, as well as convince the understandings of mankind; without ever appearing to apply at all to the passions, he raises them to the highest pitch, by seemingly casual strokes here and there interspersed.—Yet, plain and simple as these writings seem to be at first view, and such as every common reader would imagine he could produce himself, upon a closer inspection they will be found to be works of the most consummate skill and art; and whoever should attempt to perform the like, would be obliged to say, with Horace,

——— "Sudet multum, frustraque laboret,
Quivis speret idem."———

"I remember to have heard the late Hawkins Browne say, that the Drapier's Letters were the most perfect pieces of oratory ever composed since the days of Demosthenes: and indeed, upon a comparison, there will appear a great similitude between the two writers. They both made use of the plainest words, and such as were in most general use, which they adorned only by a proper and beautiful arrangement of them. They both made choice of the most obvious topics, which, by the force of genius they placed in a new light: they were equally skilful in the arrangement and closeness of their arguments, equally happy in the choice and brevity of their allusions; each so entirely master of his art, as entirely to conceal the appearance of art, so that they seized on the passions by surprize. Nor were the effects produced by the orations of Demosthenes on the Athenians, though set off with all the advantage of a most powerful elocution, greater than what followed from the silent pen of Swift. For, in a nation made up of the most discordant materials, who never before agreed in any one point, he produced such an unanimity, that English and Irish, protestant, presbyterian, and papist, spoke the same language, and had but one voice. There is one advantage indeed which Swift had over Demosthenes, in that admirable vein of wit and humour, peculiar to himself, at which the other often made unsuccessful attempts; and of which, though sparingly, we find some shining instances scattered through those letters."

The same writer remarks upon the good generalship of Swift, in his choice of ground, both for attack and defence, during this contest. "He well knew," says Mr. Sheridan, "of what importance it was to steer clear of party; and that if he attacked the British minister as the real author, promoter, and abettor of this project, he would immediately have been stigmatized with the name of Jacobite, and his writings of course disregarded. He therefore treated the matter all along as if there were no parties concerned but William Wood hardware-man, on the one side; and the whole kingdom of Ireland on the other; or, as he himself expresses it, it was *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. Nay, he went farther, and finding that Wood, in his several publications, had often made use of Mr. Walpole's name, he takes upon him the defence of the latter in several passages of his fourth letter, which he concludes thus. 'But I will now demonstrate that Mr. Walpole is against this project of Mr. Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument; that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the *true interest* of the king his master: and that as his integrity is above all *corruption*, so is his fortune above all *temptation*.' By the use of this irony, a double edged weapon, which he knew how to manage with peculiar dexterity, his argument cut both ways. To the bulk of readers it might pass for a real acquittal of Mr. Walpole, of the charge brought against him, which would answer one end; and to those of more discernment, it obliquely pointed out the true object of their resentment; but this so guardedly, that it was impossible to make any serious charge against the author of his having such a design." His frequent declarations of zealous attachment to the house of Hanover, and abhorrence of the pretender, are all introduced for the same purpose, of removing whatever prejudices might have been conceived against him, upon the score of jacobitism, with which he had been formerly charged.

The other pieces written by the opposers of Wood's project, many of which were likewise contributed by Swift, will supply subject matter for another note. See 348, note v.

[c] On the 13th of September 1723, the house of commons voted an address to the lord lieutenant, requesting that he would order an exemplification or copy of the patent, and all other papers that he had relating to the coinage, to be laid before them. On the day following, Mr. Secretary Hopkins communicated to the house the lord lieutenant's answer to their address, importing, that he had not in his custody an exemplification or copy of the patent, or any other paper that could give them satisfaction upon that subject. As soon as this answer was delivered, the house proceeded to seek elsewhere for information; they passed, with great unanimity, several votes, requiring that divers persons, who, they apprehended, had some knowledge of the patent, should attend them on Monday, the 16th; but, on that day, when they were assembled, and were on the point of proceeding to some animated resolutions, Mr. Hopkins appeared, and informed them that his grace, after he had transmitted his answer to their address of Friday, "had received an exemplification of the patent, which he ordered to be laid before them."—On Friday the 20th, the house resolved itself into a committee, "to take into consideration the state of the nation, particularly in relation to the importing and uttering of copper halfpence and farthings in this kingdom;" and, after three days passed in consideration of the subject, and the examination of witnesses, they agreed to the following resolutions, which were reported to the house on the 23d:

1. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the importing and uttering of copper halfpence or farthings, by virtue of the patent granted to William Wood, Esq. will be highly prejudicial to his majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of this nation, and of the most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the subject."

2. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the said William Wood and his accomplices, have notoriously misrepresented the state of this nation to his majesty, in order to obtain the said patent."

3. "Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that, under colour of the said letters patents, great quantities of halfpence of different impressions, and of much less weight than is required by the patent, have been imported, and attempted to be uttered in this kingdom."

4. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that, though the terms of the said patent had been strictly complied with, there would have been a loss to the nation of at least 150*l.* per cent. by the said coinage, and a much greater in the manner the said halfpence have been coined."

5. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the said William Wood is guilty of a most notorious fraud in coining of the said halfpence."

6. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that it hath been always highly prejudicial to this kingdom to grant

received: the coin itself came likewise recommended by the report of the most enlightened philosopher that any age or country has ever produced; some specimens of it had been referred, by a committee of the English privy council, to the great Sir Isaac Newton, at that time master of the mint,[d] who certified, that such

the power or privilege of coining money, or tokens to pass as money, to private persons; and that it will, at all times, be of dangerous consequence to grant any such power to any body politic, or corporate, or any private person, or persons whatsoever."

To which resolutions the house agreed, "nemine contradicente," and directed that an address to his majesty, conformable to them, should be prepared; which was accordingly done, and voted, with like unanimity, on the 27th. Com. Journ. vol. III. pp. 317-325.

The house of lords nearly followed the example which had been shewn them by the commons. On the 24th they resolved themselves into a committee to take this matter into consideration; and, on the 26th, the earl of Barrymore reported to the house their resolutions, which were as follows:

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the letters patents granted to William Wood, Esq. for the coining of copper farthings and halfpence for this kingdom, have been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by a gross misrepresentation of the state of this kingdom."

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the uttering in this kingdom the copper halfpence and farthings, coined by William Wood, would tend to the diminution of his majesty's revenue, the impoverishing of the people, and the ruin of trade."

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that whatever persons have confederated with the said William Wood, in procuring the said letters patents, are justly chargeable with a design to enrich themselves, by the impoverishment of this kingdom."

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that it would be for his majesty's service, and the great good of this kingdom, to reserve the coining of halfpence and farthings to the crown, and not to entrust the same with any private person, body politic, or corporate."

To which the house agreed, and ordered a committee to prepare an address to his majesty on the said resolutions, and the debates of the house.

The address, which was voted on the 28th, was conformable to these resolutions, in all respects, excepting that those words of the third paragraph, which reflected upon Wood's confederates, were omitted; this occasioned two several amendments, the object of which were, to introduce, into the address, some censure upon Wood's confederates, and were therefore intended to reflect upon the minister; both were, however, negatived; but a protest was entered, signed by the archbishop of Dublin, and viscount Strabane; "We conceive," say these dissenting lords, "that leaving out any mention of confederates, and of advisers, may give a handle to persons disaffected to his majesty's government to insinuate, that his majesty, of himself, did order the said pernicious patent to be passed; a thought we abhor, and believe was never intended by the lords." Lord's Journals, Vol. II. pp. 745-751.

We learn from Mr. Coxe's narrative, given in a former note, that the exemplification above-mentioned, "had, by mistake, been delivered to the lord-lieutenant's servant, instead of his private secretary, and mislaid." This excuse is not entered upon the journals; probably some such reasons were assigned, out of doors, for the answer returned, on the 14th, to the address of the house of commons. But, be this as it may, the secretary's reply did not obtain implicit credit; there was a broadside published, entitled, "A Creed of an Irish Commoner," which placed the matter in a ridiculous point of view. I shall lay before the reader some few passages from this very rare piece.

"*Imprimis*, You are to believe twelve penny worth of Wood's copper as valuable as thirty penny worth of silver."

"*Item*, You must believe the minister, who originally recommended Wood's patent to his m——ty, was a true friend to, and a zealous lover of your country; that he was over-persuaded by Wood; the project was undertaken merely for the benefit of Ireland—all done *gratis*—No sharers—Nor any palm daubed."

"*Item*, That neither Vander-Hop (secretary Hopkins), nor his master (the lord lieutenant), knew one word of the patent before their information from the commissioners of the revenue; and that Sir Owen's first intelligence, on which that remonstrance was grounded—was—Good Lord! A public newsletter."

"*Item*, You must believe, and I will not abate you a tittle of this article of your faith.—That the copy of letters patents which the wise and honest Van Hop's master produced to the lord Midleton, in London, was—any earthly thing but that—."

"*Item*, You are to believe that no person knew how this patent was brought over, save only a postillion who packed it up in a travelling coach; mistaking it, belike, for what lord Midleton was said to have perused in London—and here I must recommend to you to strain your faith a point, for any heresy in this were no less than damnable, &c."

[d] As the report of Sir Isaac Newton, Edward Southwell, and Thomas Scroope, Esqrs. is often referred to, and is not published at length, as I apprehend, in any edition of Swift's works, I have thought fit to print it here, from a copy contained in the tract entitled, "A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland, in their unanimous refusal of Mr. Wood's copper money." Dublin, 1724—8vo.

To the Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

"May it please your Lordships,

"According to your lordship's order, the pix of the copper money, coined at Bristol, by Mr. Wood, for Ireland, has been opened and tryed before us at his majesty's mint in the tower; and by the comptroller's account, to which Mr. Wood agreed, there hath been coined from lady-day 1723, to March 28, 1724, in halfpence, *55 t. 5 c. 3 q. 12 oz.* and in farthings, *3 t. 17 c. 2 q. 10 lbs. 8 oz. avoirdupois;* the whole coinage amounting to *59 t. 3 c. 1 q. 11 lbs. 4 oz.* and by the specimens of this coinage, which have, from time to time, been taken from the several parcels coined and sealed up in papers, and put into the pix, we found that sixty halfpence weighed *14 oz. 8 dwt. troy*, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound *avoirdupois;* and that 30 farthings weighed *3 oz. 3 qr. 46 gr.* which is above the weight required by his patent. We found also that both halfpence and farthings when heated red hot, spread thin under the hammer without cracking, as your lordships may see by the pieces now laid before you. But, although the copper was very good, and the money, one piece with another, was full weight, yet the single pieces were not so equally coined in the weight as they should have been."

"We found also, that 32 old halfpence coined for Ireland in the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. and King William III. and Queen Mary, and *produced by Mr. Wood*, weighed *6 oz. 18 dwt. troy*, that is, 105½ grains a piece, one with another. *They were much worn*, and if about 6 or 7 grains be allowed to each of them, one with another, for loss of their weight by wearing, the copper money coined for England in the reign of King William, being already as much lightened by wearing, they might at first weigh about *½th. avoirdupois;* whereas only thirty of those coined by Mr. Wood are to be of that weight. They were also made of bad copper, two of those coined in the reign of king Charles II. wasted much in the fire, and then spread thin under the hammer, but not so well, without cracking, as those of Mr. Wood. Two of those coined in the

pieces as had been submitted to the inspection of him and his associates, were not deficient, either in weight or quality, to what the patent required: the sum too, in conformity to the recommendation of the same committee, was reduced to 40,000*l.* Swift however, who discovered, in their diminished claims, the decaying courage of his adversaries, answered the report of the committee of the English privy-council[e] in his Drapier's third letter; the discussion now, having been forced from its former channel, by this impolitic measure, and by the obstinate perseverance of the premier, assumed another course; the comparatively insignificant question, of the weight and value of halfpence and farthings, was postponed to other more important considerations; the nature of the king's prerogative to coin money, and the title of the English ministry to impose on the independent people of Ireland a contract, to which her legislative, and even her executive authorities,[f] had declared themselves averse, became now the avowed subjects of controversy; "Put the case," says Swift, "that the two houses of lords and commons of England, and the English privy-council there, should address his majesty to recall a patent, from whence they apprehend the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation, almost to a man, should

reign of king James II. wasted more in the fire, and were not malleable when red hot,. Two of those coined in the reign of king William and queen Mary, wasted still more in the fire, and turned to an unmalleable substance, like a cinder, as your lordships may see by the pieces now laid before you."

"By the assays we reckon the copper of Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings to be of the same goodness and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in the king's mint for England; or worth in the market about twelve or thirteen pence per pound weight, *avoirdupois;* and the copper of which the halfpence were coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles, king James, and king William, to be much inferior in value, the mixture being unknown, and not bearing the fire for converting it to any other use, until it be refined."

"The halfpence and farthings in the pix, coined by Mr. Wood, had on one side the head of the king, with this inscription, Georgius Dei Gratia Rex: and, on the other side, a woman sitting with a harp by her left side, and, above her, the inscription, Hibernia, with the date. The halfpence coined in the reigns of king Charles, king James, and king William, had on one side the head of king Charles, king James, or king William and queen Mary, and on the reverse, a harp crowned."

"All which facts we most humbly represent to your lordships. April, 27th, 1724."

With regard to this report, I have to remark. First, that it furnishes no answer to the objections made to this coinage; because, it refers only to those pieces which were struck off between March, 1723, and March, 1724, "none of which," says the author of the tract above-mentioned, "were ever either imported, or attempted to be uttered in this kingdom." The pieces assayed bore likewise all the same impression; but, as I have shewn in another place, there were several varieties of this coin. "These different impressions," says the writer above quoted," were not put promiscuously into the barrels or bags; for each parcel consisted of halfpence of the same impression." Secondly, this report, although made by persons of undoubted veracity, depends on matters of which there is no proof but the testimony of interested persons, of Mr. Wood, and the comptroller. No one will, I believe, consider Mr. Wood a sufficient witness, and the comptroller's evidence deserves as little regard, not only because his salary depended upon the duration of the patent, but, moreover, because he appears to have acted fraudulently, in concealing the trial pieces of the coinage which preceded lady-day, 1723; if he did not mean to deceive, he was deceived himself; and, whether we attribute it to his neglect or corruption, that specimens of this coinage were not exhibited, is a matter of little importance, for either supposition will invalidate his testimony. Thirdly, the assay-masters do not report that Mr. Wood's coinage was superior to that of former kings, but only to those specimens of such coinages as were exhibited by Mr. Wood, which, it is admitted, were much worn. Whether the money coined in the preceding reigns was good or bad is in fact nothing to the purpose. "What argument," says the author of the tract above-mentioned, "can be drawn from the badness of our former coinages but this, that because we have formerly been cheated by our coiners, we ought to suffer Mr. Wood to cheat us over again? whereas, one reason of our so vigorously opposing Mr. Wood's coinage, is, because we have always been imposed upon in our copper money, and we find he is treading exactly in the steps of his predecessors, and thinks he has a right to cheat us because he can shew a precedent for it." In truth, there were a vast number of counterfeits of those coins, which had been imported, chiefly from Scotland, as appears from a proclamation prohibiting the importation of them, in 1697. It is worth observing, fourthly, that a passage occurs in this report unfavourable to the coin, which is not noticed by the committee of the privy council, I mean that which states the single pieces to have been unequal in weight: there is likewise another which occurs in the report of the committee, but does not appear in that of the assay masters; viz. that copper, when made fit for coinage, costs eighteen pence per pound, before brought into the mint, at the tower of London."

[e] This report of the committee of the English privy council was drawn up by Walpole himself; and as the minister stakes therein his own character against that of the Irish nation in general, and of Swift in particular, I have thought it deserving of more minute consideration; I refer the reader, therefore, to Note C, at the end of this volume, both for the report itself, and for the strictures thereupon.

[f] It was rumoured in Swift's time, but not actually known to him, (see Drapier's 6th letter,) that the Irish privy-council had addressed his majesty against Mr. Wood's coin. Having inspected the papers of the council office, I shall lay before the reader the particulars of this event, which were never promulgated, probably, because they had not the desired effect, the premier having determined, notwithstanding all opposition or advice, to persevere in his ill-judged project.

On the 17th April, 1724, at a meeting of the council, in which the Duke of Grafton himself presided, it was ordered, that it should be referred to a committee of the whole board, or of any seven or more, "to consider what was proper to be done to allay and quiet the great fears of the people, occasioned by their apprehensions of William Wood's copper money

thereupon discover 'the most dismal apprehensions,' as Mr. Wood styles them; would his majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? Would any minister dare to advise him against recalling such a patent? Or would the matter be referred to the privy-council, or to Westminster-hall; the two houses of parliament plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? and is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?—Were not the people of Ireland born as free as those of England? How have they forfeited their freedom? Is not their parliament as fair a representative of the people as that of England? And has not their privy council as great, or a greater share in the administration of public affairs? Are not they subjects of the same king? Does not the same sun shine upon them? And have they not the same God for their protector? Am I a free-man in England, and do I become a slave in six hours by crossing the channel?"

But it was in the Drapier's fourth letter, published 23 Oct. 1724, the day after lord Carteret had been sworn into office, that Swift dared openly to affirm the main question, the Independence of Ireland; "it was now obvious," says Mr. Scott, "from the temper of Ireland, that the true point of difference between the two countries might safely be brought before the public," accordingly Swift hazarded this appeal "to the Whole People of Ireland," "in order," as he tells them, "to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you; and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in England. [g]

becoming current among them." On the 6th of May, the committee reported, that they had considered the matter referred to them, and were of opinion, that an address should be sent to his majesty, of which they then presented a draught; it was again, on the 19th, referred to a committee of the whole board to prepare a letter, which was accordingly done on the next day.—This report was as follows:

"To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the Lords Justices, and Privy-council.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords justices and privy council, most humbly beg leave, at this time, to give an instance of that duty, which, as upon all other occasions, so more especially upon such as are of the greatest moment and importance, we hold ourselves always bound to pay to your majesty."

"Your majesty's great council, the high court of Parliament, being now prorogued, we conceive ourselves bound, by the trust which your majesty has been pleased to repose in us, and the oaths we have taken, with all humility to lay before your majesty the present state of this your kingdom, with reference to a great evil that appears to threaten it, to which, if a speedy remedy be not applied, the unavoidable consequence, as we apprehend, will be, the ruin of multitudes of your majesty's subjects, together with a great diminution of your revenue."

"Though the fears of your majesty's subjects of this kingdom, in relation to the coinage of copper halfpence and farthings, were, in a great measure, allayed by your majesty's most gracious resolution to do every thing in your power for the satisfaction of your people, expressed in your majesty's answer to the addresses of both houses of parliament; yet, the repeated intelligence from Great Britain, that William Wood has the assurance to persist in his endeavours to introduce his copper halfpence and farthings amongst us, has again alarmed your faithful subjects, to such a degree, as already to give a great check to our inland trade. If the letters patent granted to William Wood should, in all points, be exactly complied with, the loss to be sustained by taking his halfpence and farthings would be much greater than this poor kingdom is able to bear. But if he, or any other persons, should, for the value of gain, be tempted to coin and import even more than double the quantity he by his patent is allowed to do, your people here do not see how it is possible for your majesty's chief governors of this your kingdom, to detect, or hinder the cheat."

"It is found, by experience, that we have already a sufficient quantity of halfpence, to serve by way of exchange in the retailing trade, which is the only use of such sort of money, of which, therefore, we find ourselves to be in no want."

"And since, by the letters patents granted to the same William Wood, no man is required or commanded to take the said halfpence or farthings, but the taking them is left at liberty to those who are willing so to do; we most humbly submit it to your royal wisdom and goodness, whether it may not be for your majesty's service, and the great satisfaction and good of your subjects, and very much tend to the allaying and quieting of their fears, that your majesty should cause your royal pleasure to be signified to the commissioners, and other officers of your majesty's revenue in this kingdom, that they neither receive those halfpence and farthings, nor give countenance or encouragement to the uttering or vending of them; or that some other speedy method may be taken to prevent their becoming current amongst us."

It is very remarkable that all those persons who appeared, before the public, zealous advocates for Wood's project, concurred in this repesentation to his majesty. The several resolutions were signed by fifteen members of the privy-council, amongst them occur the names of chief-justice Whitshed, secretary Hopkins, and W. Conolly, speaker of the house of commons. It would be hard to say who they could have been, whom Mr. Coxe calls, "the king's friends," since they were neither, members of the privy council, or of the houses of lords or commons.

[g] In the Drapier's fifth letter, addressed to viscount Molesworth, Swift, at the same time that he maintains the soundness and moderation of his political principles, pays an agreeable compliment, quite in his own manner, to the works of that patriotic nobleman, whom I am proud to call my ancestor. "This I will venture to say; that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would, in England, have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove that the sun shone on a clear summer's day: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your lordship has said and writ fifty times

"As to disputing the king's prerogative," he says, "give me leave to explain what the meaning of that word prerogative [h] is.—The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed; so they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament: and this is a very great prerogative: but, if the parliament does not approve of the war, the king must bear the charge of it out of his own purse; and this is a great check on the crown. So the king has a prerogative to coin money without consent of parliament; but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling, gold and silver; because herein he is limited by law.—Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of Wood and his accomplices, charging us with disputing the king's prerogative, by refusing his brass, can have no place; because, compelling the subject to take any coin which is not sterling, is no part of the king's prerogative; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it.—But, we are so far from disputing the king's prerogative in coining, that we own he has power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases, and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan; only attended with one small limitation,—that nobody alive is obliged to take them." [i]

Upon the other point, the Independence of Ireland, which he says had often swelled in his breast, Swift declares his sentiments in the following remarkable words:—"Those who come over to us from England, and some weak people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of liberty and property, shake their heads, [k] and tell us, that 'Ireland is a depending kingdom,' as if they would seem by this phrase to intend, that the people of Ireland are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of England: whereas a depending kingdom is a modern term of art, unknown as I have heard to all ancient civilians, and writers upon government; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in some statutes, 'An Imperial Crown,' as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore, by this expression, 'a depending kingdom' there is no more to be understood, than that, by a statute made here in the thirty-

worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that, as politics run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself; and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and support me in prison; or else I may chance to inform against you, by way of reprisal."

[h] Swift illustrates his own sentiments upon the subject of prerogative, by the following quotation from lord Bacon, who expresses his opinion, in the following emphatic words; "That, as God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he has made, and never transcends those laws but on high, important occasions; so, among earthly princes, those are the wisest and best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their prerogative."

[i] There is a ludicrous illustration of this proposition, in a broad-side paper, published by Harding; it is signed, "Misoxulos," and was probably written by Swift himself.

"A certain king of Great Britain who spoke broad Scotch, and, being himself a man of wit, loved both to hear and speak things that were humorous, had once a petition preferred to him, in which the petitioner, having set forth his own merits, most humbly prayed his majesty to grant him letters-patent for receiving a shilling from every one of his subjects, who should be willing to give so much to him. 'In gude troth,' said the king, 'a very reasonable petition: let every man give thee twa' shillings, gin he be willing so to do, and thou shalt have full liberty to receive it;' but, says the petitioner, 'I desire that this clause may be inserted in my patent, that every man who refuses to give me a shilling should appear at Westminster-hall to shew cause why he so refuses.' 'This also,' says the king, 'shall be granted thee, but always with this proviso, that the man be willing to come."

[k] Swift not unfrequently expresses great indignation against the English for their opprobrious treatment of the Irish, and sometimes in a humorous artful way, peculiar to himself, that amounts to something more than a mere defence from the calumnies imputed; he likewise ridicules them on account of their apathy, and their ignorance of the state of this country and its inhabitants. Thus, in the fourth letter he writes—"Our neighbours, whose understandings are just upon a level with our own, (which perhaps are none of the brightest), have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us as a sort of savage Irish, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the Britons to you, as they were in Cæsar's time, when they painted their bodies, or cloathed themselves with the skins of beasts, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that hearing only one side of the cause, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the other, they believe a lie merely for their ease." Again, in the letter to lord Midleton, he writes, "I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours, your tenants at Pepper-harrow, 'whether I had come from Ireland by sea?' and, upon the arrival of an Irish-man to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves."

third year of Henry VIII. the king, and his successors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England. I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes, without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England does upon Ireland. We have, indeed, obliged ourselves to have the same king with them; and consequently they are obliged to have the same king with us. For the law was made by our own parliament; and our ancestors then were not such fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign [l]) to bring themselves under I know not what dependence, which is now talked of, without any ground of law, reason, or common sense. Let whoever thinks otherwise, I, M. B. drapier, desire to be excepted [m]: for I declare, next under GOD, I depend only on the king my sovereign, and on the laws of my own country, and I am so far from depending upon the people of England, that if they should ever rebel against my sovereign (which GOD forbid) I would be ready, at the first command from his majesty, to take arms against them, as some of my country-men did against theirs at Preston. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the pretender on the throne of England, I would venture to

[l] Swift alludes here to that celebrated act called, "Poyning's law," which was passed by a parliament convened by Sir Edw. Poyning, at Drogheda, in the 10th year of king Henry VII. This statute enacted as follows: "that no parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and counsaile there first do certifie the king, under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts affirmed by the king and his counsaile to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament, under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a parliament to be had and holden as afore rehearsed." Ir. Stat. Vol. I. p. 44. This statute was further explained by act 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. chapt. 4; and 11 Eliz. ses. 3, chapt. 8; from which latter we learn the cause of its original enactment; that "before this statute, when liberty was given to the governors to call parliaments at their pleasure, acts passed as well to the dishonour of the prince, as to the hindrance of their subjects." Ir. Stat. Vol. I. page 346. It appears from hence, and likewise from the style of the statutes themselves, that the sign manual of the king was not deemed indispensibly requisite; the royal assent is usually signified by the words, "Le Seigneur Deputiê le voit;" to secure the actual confirmation of regal authority appears therefore to have been the primary object of this celebrated statute.

But, whatever was the original intention, it is to this statute that Ireland has to attribute the state of subjugation under which she laboured for more than two centuries. This law, which, in the state of society that prevailed at that time, contemplated nothing more than to curb the power of the viceroy, and to prevent laws from being passed, suddenly, through his influence, which might be subversive of the king's power, or his subject's liberties, was wrested to purposes of a quite contrary nature, and because it was found convenient for those latter, it was continued long after the evil, which occasioned its enactment, had ceased to exist; at which time the statute itself ought, as it was no longer necessary, to have been repealed; it was, in truth, converted into a badge of slavery, and the whole nation was obliged to wear it as such, for a long time after, although only part of four shires were concerned in its original enactment; for, as Sir John Davis informs us, "there were not then any lords, knights, or burgesses summoned to the parliament, out of that little canton of land, called the English pale; neither did the king's writ run into any other part of the kingdom:" the smallness of its limits are described by the same writer, who tells us, "that the marches and borders (which were without the pale) were then grown so large that they took up half Dublin, half Meath, and a third part of Kildare and Lowth; throughout which there was no law in use but the march law, which, in the statutes of Kilkenny, is said to be no law, but a lewd custom." It appears, therefore, after consideration of the whole matter, that nothing more was intended, or done upon this occasion, than to alter the manner of passing laws; it was by no means meant to transfer the power into the hands of others; Swift's sentiment, expressed in his Drapier's third letter, is exactly conformable to this. "I do not understand," he writes, "that Poyning's act deprived us of our liberty, but only changed the manner of passing laws here, (which, however, was a power most indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament."

The immediate cause of Poyning's act was the invasion of Perkin Warbeck, by whose authority several statutes had been passed in Ireland; these were repealed in the same year that the statute above-mentioned was passed, and because the act is itself illustrative of the subject, has some peculiarities, and has never been published, I have thought proper to print it here, verbatim, from the original roll.

"*Item*, prayen the commens, that in consideracion of the great and dampnable abusion and errour that was of late had in the coronynge of the Ladde withyn the land of Irelande, contrary to their naturall duyties and allegeaunce, and over that, dyd kepe courtees parliamentes, and made styles and processe in the Laddes name; that it be ordeigned, enacted and establisshed by auctoritie of this present parliament, that all and every maner recordes, processes, stiles, pardons, lyveries, actes, and ordenaunces of counseill, and all maner actes, kept, made, had, and don, in the said Laddes name bee cancyllyd, revoked, adnulled, and demyd void, and of noon effect in lawe, and who soever person or persons don kepe counseill or receyve any of the said recordes, processes, stiles, pardons, lyveries, or any other actis or ordenauncez as before is specified, after a certeyn proclamacion ther uppon to be made, that then, he or they that so do, be demyd, by the same auctorite, traytour attaynted." Le Sr. Deputie le voit.

[m] This exception of himself, Swift humorously tells us, in his 5th letter, was suggested by the following story. "Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great that the commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drewe, a member of the house, stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for excepting the family of the Drewes. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out."

transgress that statute so far, as to loose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland. It is true, indeed, that, within the memory of man, the parliaments of England have some times assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as truth, reason, and justice are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. Molineux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and best whigs in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For, *in reason*, all government without consent of the governed, is the very definition of slavery: but, *in fact*, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt. But I have done; for those who have used power to cramp liberty, have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining: although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit."

The appearance of this pamphlet, which placed the grand question of servitude or independence at issue, communicated a great degree of alarm to the government; lord Carteret, who had just received into his hands the reins of viceregal power, yielded to the first impulse, the desire of supporting that domination which had so recently devolved upon him, and without any farther knowledge of the situation of the country, or the state of the controversy, than a few days residence, spent in rejoicings and congratulations, might communicate, joined heedlessly with a party in the privy-council, and issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds reward for discovering the author of this tract,[n] which they described to be "a wicked and malicious pamphlet, containing several seditious and scandalous passages, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers, and tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects of England and Ireland from each other."[o] Harding, the

[n] The following extract from a letter of Archbishop King to Samuel Molineux, secretary to the Prince of Wales, dated 24 Nov. 1724, serves to prove that this proclamation wanted the sanction of some persons, who, on account of their talents, rank, and loyalty, ought to have had the lead in that august assembly. The reader will perceive too, in the following letter, some symptoms of that jealousy towards Swift, which influenced, upon other occasions, the mind of this truly respectable prelate.

"A great many pamphlets have been writ about it, (Wood's patent) but I am told none of them are permitted to be printed in England. Two have come out since my lord lieutenant came here, written with sobriety, modesty, and great force, in my opinion, which put the matter in a fair and clear light, though not with all the advantage of which it is capable; four were printed before, by somebody that calleth himself a Drapier, which were in a ludicrous and satyrical style; against the last of these the lord lieutenant procured a proclamation, signed by 17 of the council, offering 300*l.* for discovering the author. I thought the premium excessive, so I and three more refused to sign it, but declared, that if his excellency would secure us from the brass money, I would sign it, or any other, tending only to the disadvantage of private persons; but, till we had that security, I would look on this proclamation no otherwise than as a step towards passing that base and mischievous coin, and designed to intimidate those who opposed the passing it; and I declared, that I would not approve of any thing that might countenance, or encourage such a ruinous project; that issuing such a proclamation would make all believe, that the government was engaged to support Wood's pretensions, and that would neither be for their honour nor ease. I was not able to stop the proclamation, but my refusing to sign it has not been without effect."—

This most reverend prelate remarks, in another letter, that the reward was five times greater than had ever, at any time, been offered, for discovery of the most atrocious felony. Archbishop King's letters, unpublished.

An anecdote is related by his biographers, which places the stern and intrepid character of Swift in a remarkable point of view. On the evening of that day in which the proclamation was issued, his butler, Robert Blakely, who had acted as his amanuensis, went abroad without leave: there was reason to fear that he had betrayed his master for the reward, nevertheless the dean ordered the doors to be locked at the accustomed hour; Blakely returned home the next day, and although he expressed much sorrow for the offence, the dean, who remained inexorable, ordered him to put off his livery and leave the house; but, when the term of the information had expired, he was restored to his place. Some time after Blakely was called up hastily by the dean, who commanded him to strip off his livery, to put on his own clothes, and come up to him again; although astonished at this proceeding, he knew it was in vain to expostulate, and therefore did as he was ordered; as soon as he returned the dean ordered the other servants to be called up likewise; he then began by announcing, that Robert Blakely was no longer his servant; all supposed therefore that he was ignominiously discharged, but to their surprize, Swift announced him to be virger of St. Patrick's cathedral, a place worth, at that time, about 30*l.* or 40*l.* per annum, which he declared was conferred upon him as a reward for his fidelity. Alluding to this transaction, which exhibits a remarkable instance of Swift's fortitude, and exemplifies his peculiar manner of dispensing rewards and punishments, doctor Hawksworth justly remarks, "that many would have equally rewarded such fidelity, but few would have adventured to wait the issue of so severe and dangerous a probation." This story is related by Mr. Deane Swift and Mr. Sheridan, each of whom has, as usual, thought fit to embellish it with some monstrous circumstances, which, inasmuch as they are extravagant, and likewise contradictory one to the other, are, in all probability, the products of their own imaginations.

[o] The piece entitled, "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury, &c." and the Drapier's fifth letter, point out two passages, which were chiefly relied on, by the prosecutors.

printer of the Drapier's letters, was cast into prison, and a prosecution directed against him at the instance of the crown; however, when the bill was presented to the grand jury, Swift addressed to that body, a paper, entitled, "Seasonable Advice, &c." wherein he called to their remembrance, the story of the league between the wolves and the sheep, [p] which so far influenced their minds, that they brought in the verdict of "ignoramus" upon the bill. Chief Justice Whitshed, who had proceeded with great violence against Waters, exerted himself strenuously [q] upon this occasion also; he demanded, with passionate eagerness, the reasons of their verdict; but the hour of intimidation was passed, and the grand-jury, fortified with a consciousness of the importance of that situation in which they were placed, persevered firmly in their resolutions, so that the chief-justice, finding that the could not prevail against this phalanx, although armed with supreme legal authority, gratified his impotent resentment by illegally dissolving the grand-jury: for this arbitrary proceeding he was rewarded with the execrations of his fellow citizens, and was attacked with such violence, by Swift and his partizans, that it is supposed to have occasioned his death, which took place shortly after this event. These violent measures had the usual effect, that of injuring the cause which they were intended to serve; the

The first is, where he mentions, "the penner of his Majesty's answer," to the addresses of the lords and commons; this expression Swift excuses, by remarking to the grand-jury, first, that "as his majesty is not master of the English tongue, it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he has to say or write in that language. Secondly, his majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third: it is not said, WE are concerned, or OUR royal predecessors; but HIS MAJESTY is concerned, and HIS royal predecessors: by which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. Thirdly, it will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this particular with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe."

The second is that paragraph which is quoted at length in the text, where he treats of the independency of Ireland. "Upon this article," he says, in the Drapier's fifth letter, "I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said 'I went too far, when I declared, that, if ever the pretender should come to be fixed upon the throne of England, I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood, before I would submit to him as king of Ireland.' This I hear, on all sides, is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which has given the most offence, that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom England should receive. Now, if in defending myself from this accusation I should freely confess, 'that I went too far; that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present majesty, and his protestant line in the house of Hanover; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgement and sorrow for my error will be some attonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries.' I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning, by a spiteful interpretation; and, therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion." This humorous way of defending what he had said, by shewing that he would not have been held less guilty, for maintaining the contrary, is quite in Swift's own manner; indeed he was so far from recanting, or admitting the justice of his adversaries proceedings, that he, in the same letter, uses the following words: "In the mean time, I beg your lordship to receive my confession, that if there be any such thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the law of GOD, of nature, of reason, of nations, or of the land (which I shall die rather than grant), then was the proclamation against me the most merciful that ever was put out; and instead of accusing me as malicious, wicked, and seditious, it might have been directly, as guilty of high treason."

In his sixth letter, addressed to lord-chancellor Midleton, Swift exhibits the same pertinacious adherence to former principles; he concludes his letter to that nobleman, with the following paragraph, fraught with much of that inimitable humour, which characterizes and enlivens all his writings.

"If the bell-man of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, 'past twelve o'clock; beware of Wood's halfpence;" it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets; provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. Patrick's: and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey, as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my country-men; but only these few words, BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALFPENCE."

[p] The following apt quotation from scripture, insinuated to have been made by a quaker, that it might produce a greater effect, as having more the air of probability, was circulated about the same time, doubtless by Swift himself. "And the people said unto Saul, shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? GOD forbid. as the Lord liveth there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he hath wrought with GOD this day: so the people rescued Jonathan that he died not." I Sam. XIV Chapt. 54 verse.

[q] The following extract from a letter of Archbishop King to General Gorge, dated 25 March 1725, seems to insinuate, that chief-justice Whitshed was actuated, more by his zeal to carry into effect the commands of his majesty, than by any desire to favour this particular project of Wood.

"I find that it has been imputed to the backwardness of the king's ministers, that they (Wood's halfpence) were not received, and therefore the lords justices were turned out, and the lord-lieutenant sent over; but you see how little success his excellency had; and my lord chief-justice, and the king's bench have given a demonstration, that there has been no backwardness in the king's servants; notwithstanding which, the people remain obstinate and inexorable; so, what was imputed to my lord chief-

next grand-juries, of the county and city of Dublin, presented all such persons as should attempt to impose Wood's coin upon the kingdom, as enemies to his majesty's government, and acknowleged, " with all just gratitude, the services of such patriots, as had been eminently zealous, in detecting this fraudulent imposition, and preventing the passing of this base coin."

These, and similar proceedings of other corporate bodies, [r] indicated such a determined resolution, in the whole nation, as served, at length, to convince the minister that he had but little hopes of success; he judged it necessary, therefore, to abandon the scheme, and to procure, that the patent should be vacated [s]; the glad tidings of its actual surrender were communicated by the lord-lieutenant, in his speech delivered from the throne, in Sept. 1725, at the opening of the sessions of parliament. [t] Thus terminated, fortunately for the cause of liberty, this first grand

justice, as a false step, has proved of great use to the kingdom; for, if any thing can open the eyes of the ministers there, and convince them, that they labour in vain whilst they endeavour to put these halfpence upon us, this must; nor was the lord chief-justice so weak as not to see that this would be the effect; whatever people may think, who do not see the inside of things, the lord chief-justice has done his part to ease us of this burthen."—

Another letter, from the same prelate to general Gorge, which is dated 12 Dec. 1724, is likewise illustrative of the same subject: of this the following is an abstract.

" You know that the grand-jury of Dublin has refused to present these pamphlets, though pressed with the utmost earnestness to do it; which makes a great noise, and great reflections on the judges; this sheweth that his majesty's ministers here have done all in their power to comply with the instructions of those on your side, and that there is no hope of carrying any prosecutions here, till we are secured against the patent."

" A second grand-jury was returned, and I send you their presentment. As to our moderation, I think it is very great, compared with what the weavers did in London, and the many riots and insults that have been practised in England; in truth, all that you hear on that head is misrepresentation; and, as to the many movements that have been made, (though the pamphlets and mobs are pretended), the true ground of them is looked on here, to be the refusal of the halfpence, and if we would be prevailed on to take them, all the others would drop."—Archbishop King's letters, unpublished.

[r] In the Dublin Gazette, No. 2562, we meet with resolutions by the merchants of Cork, dated the 25th of Aug. 1724, and like resolutions by those of Waterford, dated 22d Aug. wherein they declare, that, " they will neither receive or utter in any payment, the halfpence or farthings coined by William Wood; as they conceive the importing and uttering the same, to be highly prejudicial to his majesty's revenue, and to the trade of the kingdom:" these resolutions are declared to be conformable to those of the Trinity-guild, of merchants, of the city of Dublin, voted at their guild-hall, on the 18th day of the same month.

[s] For the revocation of this patent the nation was chiefly indebted to Dr. Hugh Boulter, who was translated from the see of Bristol to the primacy of Ireland, by letters patent, dated 31 Aug. 1724: the report of this prelate prevailed with the minister, after the representations of both houses of parliament, of the lords justices and privy council, the commissioners of the revenue, the chancellor, and a host of other persons, little inferior in talents, rank, or loyalty, to the last mentioned, had failed of success.

Primate Boulter arrived in Dublin, late in November 1724; on the 3d of December, he addressed a letter to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state; that part, which relates to the matter of Wood's patent, is as follows.

" We are at present in a very bad state, and the people so poisoned with apprehensions of Wood's halfpence, that I do not see there can be any hopes of justice against any person for seditious writings, if he does but mix somewhat about Wood in them. I must do the better sort of people here, the justice to say, they speak with great concern of the imprudence of the grand juries, and the ill stop to justice: but those who would hinder it now are unable. But all sorts here are determinately set against Wood's halfpence, and look upon their estates as half sunk in their value, whenever they shall pass upon the nation."

On the 19th of January, the primate wrote a fuller account of this matter to the duke of Newcastle; the state to which the nation was brought, by the minister's imprudent perseverance, is fairly represented in the following passages of this letter.

" It is now some weeks since I had the honour of writing to your grace, as I was desirous to learn as much as I could from all hands, before I gave your grace the trouble of another letter: I have, in the mean time, made it my business to talk with the most leading men in parliament; and have employed others to pick up what they could learn from a variety of people; and I find by my own and others enquiries, that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between papists and jacobites and the whigs, who before had no correspondence with them; so that 'tis questioned, whether (if there were occasion) justices of the peace could be found, who would be strict in disarming papists."

" The apprehension of the loss they shall suffer if these halfpence are introduced, has too much cooled the zeal of numbers, that were before very well affected; and it has appeared by some occurrences since my arrival, of which your grace had (no doubt) a particular account at the time they happened: and I fear on any new occasion, it would still more appear, that the uneasiness against the halfpence is a protection for any sedition, uttered or published, that has any thing against the halfpence intermixed with it. So that 'tis impossible for the government, in our present state, to have justice against any such delinquents: nor do I believe, that any witnesses in such a prosecution, could be safe in their persons."

The primate's letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated 3d July 1725, strongly recommends, that a surrender of the patent should be obtained—" As the sessions of parliament is now drawing near, I hope my lord-lieutenant will be empowered, in his speech, to speak clearly as to the business of the halfpence, and thoroughly rid this nation of their fear on that head; I should hope, if this is done, we shall have a pretty easy session; the manner that is most proper I submit to your grace and others in the ministry, who are best judges how his majesty's honour may be best preserved, and this nation at the same time made easy."

The exemplification of the surrender of Wood's patent is dated, 14th of August 1725.

[t] That part of the lord lieutenant's speech, which relates to the patent, was as follows.

" I have his majesty's commands, at the opening of this session, to acquaint you, that an entire end is put to the patent,

struggle for the independence of Ireland, a victory, the importance of which was inhanced, by the imprudent conduct of the self-willed minister, who hazarded, in what his experience should have taught him was a losing game, more than he needed to have ventured, or ought, in prudence, to have staked.

The Irish nation, as soon as they were disengaged from this warm contest, "turned their eyes with one consent on the man, by whose unbending fortitude, and preeminent talents, this triumph was accomplished [3];" to the importance of the victory the tribute of praise was not unsuited, it was neither moderate nor transitory; "acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended his footsteps wheresoever he passed; he became the idol of the people of Ireland to a degree of devotion, that in the most superstitious country scarce any idol ever obtained:" [4] a club was formed in honour of the liberator of Ireland, the drapier's head became a favorite sign, his portrait was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, and struck upon medals, to perpetuate a fame which has long outlived all such transient records [u]: when he visited a town, the corporation or civil magistrates received

[3] Scott's Life of Swift, page 303.

[4] Orrery's Remarks, Letter VI.

formerly granted to Mr. Wood, for the coining of copper halfpence and farthings for this kingdom, by a full and effectual surrender thereof to his majesty, an exemplification of which, under the great seal of Great Britain, shall be laid before you. So remarkable an instance of his majesty's royal favour and condescension must fill the hearts of a loyal and obedient people, with the highest sense of duty and gratitude: and I doubt not but you will make such suitable returns as may convince the world, that you are truly sensible of the happiness you have enjoyed under his majesty's most mild and gracious government." Com. Journ. Vol. III. page 398.

This speech was well received by the house of commons, and an address was voted, without a single dissenting voice, acknowledging the king's great goodness and condescension, in obtaining a full and effectual surrender of the patent; but the address was not carried, in the house of lords, without some difficulty: "the great object with the party in opposition was," says Mr. Coxe, "to shew that the surrender was solely owing to the king, and to cast reproaches on the English administration, as if they had occasioned the disturbances, by promoting the patent, and had been uniformly averse to its revocation: with this view, when the primate (Boulter) moved an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant for his speech at the opening of the session, particularly to express 'their grateful sense of the king's goodness and condescension for putting an end to Wood's patent,' the Archbishop of Dublin proposed inserting the words, 'and great wisdom,' observing, in justification of this amendment, that the ministers had been the authors of the patent, but that the king had been wise enough to see the mischiefs, and accordingly revoked it. He was powerfully seconded by lord Midleton, and the motion for the amendment was carried. For the purpose of counteracting this suggestion, the primate laid before the committee an address, somewhat differing in form from the resolution of the house, and with the omission of the words 'great wisdom;' but the lords in opposition insisting, that the committee was bound to receive those expressions, the primate was compelled to add them. On the 23d, however, the friends of government obtained their point. When the report of the address from the committee was laid before the house, a motion was made to leave out the obnoxious words; and after a strenuous opposition, in which lord Midleton exerted himself with great ability and with much petulance, was carried by 21 against 12." Coxe's Memoirs, of Sir Robert Walpole, chapt. 26. Primate Boulter's letters, Vol. I. Lords Journ. Vol. II. pp. 808-812.

This debate in the house of lords occasioned the publication of a poem entitled, "Wisdom's Defeat," which was printed by Sarah Harding, the widow of the same Harding who printed the Drapier's Letters: on the 1st of October the house of lords passed a resolution, declaring it to be "base, scandalous and malicious, highly reflecting upon the honour of their house, and the peerage of this kingdom:" they ordered too, that it should be burnt by the common hang-man, and that Sarah Harding should be taken into custody: on the 26th of October, the lords presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, praying that a proclamation might be issued, offering a reward for discovering the author. Lord's Journ. Vol. II. pp. 815-821.

Those words of the lord lieutenant's speech, which describe this act of procuring a surrender of the patent as, "a remarkable instance of royal favour and condescension, which must fill the hearts of his people with the highest sense of duty and gratitude," seem to be rather ill judged, and are so far from excusing the minister, who advised that the patent should be granted, that they contain some reflection upon his conduct; for, if to procure the surrender was an instance of great favour in his majesty, and deserved so much gratitude from his subjects, it must of necessity follow, that, to grant the patent was a measure directly opposite, was no instance of favour in the king, nor deserving gratitude from the people: these words contain, in truth, an absolute contradiction of whatever was before advanced, by the ministers, in favour of the patent.

[u] "In all this," says Mr. Walter Scott, "Swift's popularity did not probably exceed that of other patriots, who, at some decisive and critical period, have had the fortune to render a striking service to their country. Nor is it singular that the dean's memory should, after death, be cherished by the nation which he did so much to rescue from subjection. But the period between the deeds on which a patriot rests his fame, and the time when they are recorded on his tomb-stone, is but rarely distinguished by the unclouded and steady glow of uniform popularity.—To the honour of the warm-hearted and generous people for whom he exposed his safety, the sun of Swift's popularity shone unclouded, even after he was incapable of distinguishing its radiance.—His foibles, though of a kind which seem peculiarly obnoxious to the observation and censure of the vulgar, were over-looked with the pious respect paid by filial affection to the imperfections of a parent.—And as he was mourned in his last stage of imbecility, and followed to the grave by the lamentations of his people, so there have been few Irish authors who have not, since that period, paid to the memory of Swift that tribute of gratitude, which is so peculiarly his due." There are indeed but few, as this eloquent writer observes, who have neglected to pay the tribute of gratitude to Swift's memory; yet there is one undutiful son, who has exposed the nakedness of this father of his country; it is scarce necessary to say that I mean, John, Earl of Orrery. I

him with honours, which would have gratified a sovereign prince; even the representative of majesty found it difficult to govern, but through the influence of the dean of St. Patrick's.[v]

The following character of Dean Swift, viewed as an Irish patriot, occurs in a tract, published in 1810, entitled, "A Sketch of the State of Ireland, past and present:" "as it is one of the latest, so it is the most eloquent panegyrick, that ever decorated his monument."[5]

"On this gloom one luminary rose, and Ireland worshipped it with Persian idolatry; her true patriot—her first, almost her last. Sagacious and intrepid—he saw, he dared; above suspicion, he was trusted; above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wisdom was practical and prophetic--remedial

5 Scott's Life of Swift, page 306.

had intended to prefix an epithet to his name, but shall leave that to the reader to supply; he will scarcely find one sufficiently ignominious for the false friend of the benefactor of his country.

——————— "men that make
Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
Dare bite the best."———————

[v] Besides the letters of M. B. drapier, which have been so often referred to, and have been described particularly in page 335, note b, several other short pieces, both in prose and verse, were published on this occasion, of which some were doubtless by the pen of Swift himself; some appeared in the form of pamphlets, but, by far the greater number on single sheets, or half-sheets of paper, called by the printers, Broadsides; the following list, as it is the most compleat that has been heretofore published, will perhaps be deemed acceptable.

Prose.

I. "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury, concerning the bill preparing against the printer of the Drapier's fourth letter." Dated 11 Nov. 1724. A Broadside. See page 344. It is reprinted in Swift's Works. Vol. VII. page 195.

II. When lord chief-justice Whitshed discharged the grand-jury that refused to find the bill against Harding, the printer, a paper, containing certain resolutions of the house of commons of England, which declared similar proceedings of the judges at Westminster to be illegal, was furnished to Swift by one of his legal coadjutors, and published under the following title.

"Extract from a Book, entitled, 'An Exact Collection of the Debate of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, 21 October 1680,' page 150." Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 200.

III.–IV. Two severe letters were likewise addressed to the chief-justice, which, as they exhibit more legal knowlege than it is probable Swift possessed, were perhaps written by Mr. Rob. Lindsay, an eminent lawyer, and Swift's intimate friend, whose legal advice he used, during the whole controversy; the extract last above-mentioned was, in all likelihood, contributed by the same gentleman. Both these letters are signed N. N. They were published under the following titles.

"A Letter from a Friend to the Right Hon. *** ***," dated 1 Dec. 1724. Broadside. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 201.

"A Second Letter from a Friend to the Right Hon. *** ***," dated 4 Jan. 1724-5. Broadside, Vol. VII. page 206.

V. "A Full and True Account of the Solemn Procession to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, Esq. and Hard-ware-man;" 1724. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 295.

"The whole," says lord Orrery, "is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand." From hence we may appreciate the taste of this nobleman, who, amongst all the works of Swift, could only relish this gross piece of low humour; and yet he thought himself qualified to illustrate the works, and decide upon the merits, of the most refined humorist that any age or country ever produced.

VI. "Wood's Confession to the Mob of the City of Dublin." Broadside. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 301.

VII. "Tom Punsibi's Dream;" printed in the year 1724-5. Broadside. This name is assumed by Sheridan, in his preface to the Art of Punning, which favours the opinion of its having been written by him. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 190.

VIII. "A Letter to William Wood, Esq. from his only Friend in Ireland;" signed, Hibernicus. A broadside, printed by Carson, 1724. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. I. Append. page lxxxii.

IX. "A Letter to William Wood, from a Member of that Society of Men, who, in derision, are called Quakers;" signed, Abraham Woodhater. Broadside. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Append. page lxxxvi.

X. "Wood's Revived, or A Short Defence of his Proceedings in London, Bristol, &c. in reference to the Kingdom of Ireland." Printed in the year 1725. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. I. Append. page lxxii.

XI. "The True State of the Case, between the Kingdom of Ireland of the one part, and William Wood of the other part. By a protestant of Ireland. Dublin, printed by John Harding, in Molesworth's-court." Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. I. page lxxvii.

The two last mentioned were recovered by Dr. Barret, V. P. Trin. Col. Dublin, from rare pamphlets. Library, Trin. Col. R. R. 22, 57; "the style and manner," says Mr. Scott, "appear fully to vindicate our ascribing them to Swift."

XII. "Some Considerations on the Attempts made to pass Mr. Wood's brass money in Ireland. By a lover of his country;" four pages folio, 1724.

XIII. "Some Reasons, shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's coinage. By the author of the Considerations;" 1724, 8vo. The dedication of this piece is to lord-chancellor Midleton, it is signed with the initials D. B.; I apprehend that it was written by David Bindon. The last two were re-printed in the first collected edition of the Drapier's Letters, and are ascribed to one and the same person, in the preface; "his style," says the editor "has a stately smoothness, and he has given the subject the colour it was naturally disposed to bear; his reasoning is so strong, his positions so just, and conclusions undeniable, that no pen but the Drapier's could have writ like his."

XIV. "A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland" in their unanimous refusal of Mr. Wood's copper-money; wherein all the arguments, advanced in favour of it, are particularly considered:" 1724, 8vo. I have had frequent occasion to refer to this pamphlet in the preceding pages.

XV. "A Creed for an Irish Commoner." Broadside. See page 339, note c.

XVI. "A Letter from the Right Honorable ———, to the Reverend N. N.;" signed, O. O. Broadside.

for the present, warning for the future; he first taught Ireland that she might cease to be a despot. But he was a church-man. His gown impeded his course, and entangled his efforts,—guiding a senate, or heading an army, he had been more than Cromwell, and Ireland not less than England. As it was, he saved her by his courage—improved her by his authority—adorned her by his talents—and exalted her by his fame. His mission was but of ten years; and for ten years only did his personal power mitigate the government; but though no longer feared by the great, he was not forgotten by the wise; his influence, like his writings, has survived a century; and the foundations of whatever prosperity we have since erected, are laid in the disinterested and magnanimous patriotism of Swift." [Note C.]

XVII. "Seasonable Advice to M. B. Drapier, occasioned by his Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth;" signed, M. M. Broadside.

XVIII. "Another Letter to Mr. Harding, the printer, upon occasion of the Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, in relation to Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings, &c.;" signed, Misoxulos. Broadside. See page 342, note i.

XIX. "Ireland's Case humbly presented to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament, by an Artificer in metals and a Citizen of Dublin; shewing why two hundred thousand pounds of light copper halfpence should not pass in this kingdom for the gold and silver of the nation." Broadside.

XX. "An Apology for Mr. Wood, &c. Addressed to all Lovers of their Country." Broadside, printed 1724. This humorously compares Wood to Lycurgus, who, knowing the danger of richesto a state, determined to make money a burthen rather than an advantage.

With these prose pieces might be classed, the resolutions of public bodies against the coin, of which several, such as those of the lords, and commons, and privy council, have been printed, at length, in the preceding notes; others have been mentioned, such as the resolutions of the merchants of Dublin, Cork, and Waterford; indeed there was scarce one corporation, from the highest to the lowest, that failed to join in the universal outcry against Wood's copper; from the Trinity guild down to the flying stationers or news-boys; the declaration of the last mentioned I have copied, from the original broadside, and present it to the reader as a literary curiosity.

"We, the flying stationers of the city of Dublin, (commonly called news-boys), hearing of the vile practices of Wm. Wood's design of ruining this kingdom, do hereby give notice to all gentlemen, ladies, and others, who shall have occasion to buy news, poems, songs, letters, lampoons, &c. that we will not receive or offer in change any of William Wood's drossy halfpence or farthings, because we can neither get news, ale, brandy, tobacco or snuff for such cursed stuff." This document is signed by 62 leading members of this respectable society.

The three following pieces, which have been omitted to be mentioned, ought not, however, to be left out of this list of the publications against Wood's coin.

1. "The declaration of the grand-jury, and the rest of the inhabitants of the liberty of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin;" dated 20 August 1724. Broadside. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. I. page 292, *note*.

2. "The humble petition of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council assembled. To the king's most excellent majesty, &c." Dated 8th Sept. 1724. Broadside.

3. "The presentment of the grand-jury of the county of the city of Dublin;" dated 28 Nov. 1724. Broadside. Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 214.

Poems.

The following poetical pieces were published about the same period; the first nine were included in the former editions of Swift's works; the next following three were inserted, for the first time, by Mr. Scott, who apprehends they were by the pen of Swift; but there are some of both classes quite unworthy of him; and, as they have not internal evidence, so they want every other proof of being his composition; none of them, except that entitled "Prometheus," were admitted into the first edition of the Drapier's pieces, published in 1725.

I. "Epigram on Wood's brass money." Swift's Works, Vol. X. page 469.

II. "A Simile on our want of silver; and the only way to remedy it;" 1725. This beautiful little poem is a satirical allusion to the duchess of Kendal, on account of the share she had in Wood's scheme. Vol. X. page 469.

III. "Wood, an Insect;" 1725. Vol. X. page 470.

IV. "Prometheus; on Wood, the patentee's Irish halfpence;" 1724. Broadside. Vol. X. page 472. The four following lines allude to the unanimity which this project occasioned.

> "A strange event! whom gold incites
> To blood and quarrels, brass unites;
> So goldsmiths say, the coarsest stuff
> Will serve for solder well enough."

V. "On Wood, the Ironmonger;" 1725. Vol. X. p. 475.

VI. "William Wood's Petition to the People of Ireland, being an excellent new song, supposed to be made and sung in the streets of Dublin, by William Wood, Iron-monger and Halfpenny-monger;" 1725. Vol. X. page 476.

VII. "Ireland's Warning, being an excellent new song, upon Wood's brass halfpence; to the tune of Packington's pound." Broadside. Printed by Harding. Vol. X. page 478.

VIII. "A Serious Poem upon Wm. Wood, brazier, tinker, hardware-man, coiner, counterfeiter, founder, and esquire." Broadside. Vol. X. page 482. Mr. Walter Scott has judiciously supplied, from the original broadside, some passages which had been unaccountably omitted, in the former editions of Swift's works.

IX. "An Excellent New Song, upon the declarations of the several corporations of the city of Dublin against Wood's halfpence; to the tune of London is a fine town, &c." Vol. X. page 486.

X. "Epigram, in Answer to the Dean's Verses on his own Deafness." Vol. X. page 491.

XI. "Verses to the Citizens," signed M. B. Broadside. Printed 1724. Vol. X. page 579. These verses were written to encourage the people not to desert the drapier, at the time a reward was proclaimed for his discovery.

XII. "An Excellent New Song upon the late Grand-jury." Broadside. Printed 1724. Vol. X. page 581.

XIII. "A True Character of the Wooden Monster, Arch-enemy to Ireland; by no Friend to Wm. Wood." Broadside. Printed 1724.

XIV. "Remarks upon the Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, in relation to Mr. Wood's halfpence; by Samuel Owens, Lock-smith." 1724. Broadside.

XV. "A New Poem, ascribed to the honourable the Gentlemen of the late Grand-jury." Broadside.

The calm, which followed this political storm,[w] left the dean at leisure to pursue his literary avocations; in the summer of 1725, just before the abandonment of Wood's project was notified officially to the public, he retired with Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley to Quilca,[x] the country residence of Sheridan, a scarcely habitable dwelling, situated in a wild country, where even the necessaries of life could, with difficulty, be obtained; the want of accommodation became, however, the subject of amusement, rather than of chagrin, to the dean, to whom the incidents supplied materials for some of those pieces of humour, which he has called *family trifles*. In this solitude, he finally compleated the celebrated Travels of Captain Lemuel

XVI. "A Letter from Aminadab Firebrass, Quaker Merchant, to M. B. drapier." Broadside, Printed by John Harding, &c.

XVII. "An Express from Parnassus to the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's." Broadside.

XVIII. "To His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, a Poem." Broadside. Printed by John Harding.

XIX. "Blue-skin's Ballad; to the tune of Packington's pound." Broadside. Printed 1724-5.

XX. "The Drapier Anatomized;" and, "A New Song sung at the Club at Mr. Taplin's, at the sign of the Drapier's head, in Truck-street." Broadside. 1724.

XXI. "A Second Song, sung at the Club at Mr. Taplins, &c." Broadside. 1725.

XXII. "The Drapier's Ballad; to the tune of the London Prentice." Broadside. Printed by Harding, 1724-5.

Some of the latter songs were re-printed at the end of the first edition of the Drapier's Letters, a publication to which I have before alluded; it is entitled, "Fraud detected; or, the Hibernian Patriot, &c." Printed by G. Faulkner, 1725, 12mo.

[w] Before we proceed to relate the events of subsequent periods, it may be necessary to notice the particulars of a controversy, in which Swift was engaged about this time.

On the 12 March 1722, the chapter being summoned to elect a clerk to serve the cure of St. Bride's parish, Swift proposed his friend, Robert Grattan, and, at the same time, claimed this privilege of proposing, as the exclusive right of the dean. He had the majority of the chapter with him, upon this occasion (11 members), but Dougat, the precentor, nephew to Archbishop King, entered the following protest upon the book of chapter minutes: "Recuso et renego votum et consensum meum, eâ de causâ, quia Decanus solus sibi arrogavit et assumpsit nominationem omnium curatorum in omni electione, contra jura et privilegia (ut mihi videtur) Capituli Sancti Patricii." Archdeacon Whittingham and four others dissented likewise, and expressed their dissatisfaction, in words nearly to the same effect.

A record of the proceedings, at an election held 20th May 1731, is entered on the book of chapter minutes, it describes the mode of election in such like cases to be as follows: the dean, having proposed the clerk, demands of the junior member his vote, whether the person proposed be elected or rejected; he then asks the same question of the rest, successively; proceeding upwards from junior to senior, according to their respective ranks; and having collected the suffrages of all present, declares the election affirmative, or negative, according to the vote of the majority; which, in the case referred to, was in favour of the candidate proposed.

Another contest happened in the year 1727; the dean had nominated Mr. William Curtis a petit-canon; nine members of the chapter accordingly joined, on the 18th of March, in a protest against the proceeding, and declared the appointment null and void, being done by the sole power of the dean, contrary to the privileges and customs of the cathedral. Minutes of Chapter.

[x] Although we find Swift, after his nomination to the deanery, busily employed in the improvement of his glebe at Laracor, we do not find that, in after times, he often favoured this once beloved residence with his presence; the most probable cause of this change in his affections, was the conduct of his diocesan, John Evans, a keen whig, who was translated from the see of Bangor to that of Meath, in 1715; it seems, the bishop commenced hostilities against Swift soon after his arrival in Ireland; doubtless, it was a difference in the political, more than the religious creeds of these ecclesiastics, that occasioned this schism. The earliest notification we have of their differences, is that which is communicated by a letter from the dean to the bishop, dated 22 May 1719. This hot-headed prelate, it appears, applied "the little brief authority," with which he had been undeservedly vested, to purposes very different from those, for which it had been entrusted to him; his imperious conduct, and unbecoming treatment of the inferior clergy, his equals in office though not in dignity, roused the independent spirit of Swift, who determined to assert the dignity of his order, and at the same time, to spare his own feelings, by absenting himself in future from the visitation; accordingly, in 1719, he declined to attend personally, but sent a proxy in the legal form; this the enraged prelate refused to accept of, which occasioned Swift's letter, from which the following passage is quoted.

"You may remember, if you please, that I promised last year never to appear again at your visitation; and I will most certainly keep my word, if the law will permit me: not from any contempt of your lordship's jurisdictions, but that I would not put you under the temptation of giving me injurious treatment, which no wise man, if he can avoid it, will receive above once from the same person.—When I have a lawful curate, I shall not be under the necessity of a personal appearance, from which I hold myself excused by another station. If I shall prove to be mistaken, I declare my appearance will be extremely against my inclinations. However, I hope that in such a case your lordship will please to remember in the midst of your resentments, that you are to speak to a clergyman, and not to a footman."

Another letter, dated 5 July 1721, was written upon a nearly similar occasion: Swift's absence at this time was occasioned by ill health, a circumstance, the truth of which was attested by his proxy; this the bishop would not admit, but made some personal reflections on the dean; however galling or severe these might have been, they could have scarcely been more so than this reply.—"I am sorry," he writes, "that you, who are of a country famed for good nature, have found a way to unite the hasty passion of your countrymen with the long, sedate resentment of a Spaniard:" after excusing his absence, which arose from illness; he adds, "at the same time, I must be plain to tell you, that if this accident had not happened, I should have used all endeavours to avoid your visitation, upon the public promise I made you three years ago, and the motives which occasioned it; because I was unwilling to hear any more very injurious treatment and appellations given to my brethren or myself; and by the grace of GOD, I am still determined to absent myself on the like occasion, as far as I can possibly be dispensed with by any law, while your lordship is in that diocess, and I a member of it."

I presume, because he does not plead it specially in either of these letters, that Swift was ignorant of the statute of Hen. VIII. which has been before noticed in this history, which excuses a canon of this cathedral from residing upon any other benefice he may have within the kingdom, during the time he shall reside within the precincts of St. Patrick's. Surely the temporary excuse of ill health, urged upon the latter occasion, would not have been pleaded in preference to this dispensation, which might have been quoted without any loss of credit,

Gulliver. "I have employed my time," he writes to his friend Pope,"[y] (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my travels, in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press, when the world shall deserve them, or rather, when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears." Having compleated this celebrated work, he returned to Dublin, and early in the following spring visited England, for the first time after the death of Queen Anne.

1726[z]—Swift was received, upon his return to London, with all demonstrations of joy, by his old acquaintance, whose attachment seemed rather encreased than diminished, by an absence of twelve years; they all expressed the warmest wishes, that he would settle among them; nor is it surprising that his heart should yearn likewise, to pass the remainder of his days amongst friends, of whose unalterable attachment he had such convincing proofs, and who were, moreover, endued with such pre-eminent talents, as rendered their society enviable, beyond any that the world has produced: various schemes were laid to effect this desired object, but, as both he and his friends were obnoxious to those in power, the translation could be effected no otherwise than by an exchange, which must have been purchased by a renunciation of rank and income, greater than Swift, who had long been habituated to these advantages, could reconcile himself to, at that late period of his life[a]: some

[y] To represent, in strong colours, the actually degraded state of human nature, and yet, to shew the great value of charitable forbearance towards the faults of particular individuals, seems to be the moral which Swift had in view, and that which the Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver were intended chiefly to inculcate. The following passage of this letter to Pope, written 29th Sept. 1725, is remarkably illustrative of those principles. "I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is toward individuals: for instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love counsellor such-a-one, and judge such-a-one: it is so with physicians, (I will not speak of my own trade), soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest. But principally, I hate and detest that animal called man; although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. This is the system upon which I have governed myself many years (but do not tell) and I shall go on till I have done with them. I have got materials toward a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition, *animal rationale*, and to show it should be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy (though not in Timon's manner) the whole building of my travels is erected; and I never will have peace of mind till all honest men are of my opinion: by consequence you are to embrace it immediately, and procure that all who deserve my esteem may do so too. The matter is so clear that it will admit of no dispute; nay, I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree in the point." Compare this passage with a remark, by lord Bathurst, quoted in page 362, note r.

Upon this passage Mr. Walter Scott makes the following very strange remark. "These and similar passages contain a great deal of wild and violent invective against mankind, which has been perhaps too hastily adopted as expressive of Swift's actual sentiments. It ought, however, to be remembered, that, if the dean's principles were misanthropical, his practice was benevolent. Few have written with so little view either to fame or to profit, or to aught but benefit to the public."

This comment appears to me much more wild than the passage itself. Mr. Scott denies that those are Swift's *actual sentiments*, yet, in the next line he calls them *his principles;* but Mr. Scott does not seem to have annexed very determinate ideas, either to those terms, or to some others which he uses in this sentence; "the dean's principles were misanthropical, but his practice was benevolent;" it would torture the intellect of the shrewdest metaphysician to imagine such a case; indeed it is a manifest abuse of terms; the etymology of the word, benevolence, necessarily implies an intention of the mind quite contrarious to misanthropy. I should not have remarked upon this passage of Mr. Scott's, had I not observed that Swift is usually treated in this way, and all his good principles, and motives for his best actions, are explained away, by some such unintelligible jargon; well might he say, in the words of a great poet,

> "I am traduced by tongues, which neither know
> My faculties, nor person, yet will be
> The chroniclers of my doing."———

Although the Travels of Gulliver were not finished until the summer of 1725, they were commenced at a much earlier period; there are frequent allusions to them in lord Bolingbroke's letters, written in 1722; even so early as the year 1720, Vanessa alludes to the story of the ape conveying away Gulliver: an ancient legendary tale, which recounts the manner in which the heir of the noble house of Kildare was preserved by an animal of this species, seems to have supplied the hint, upon which this amusing incident has been grounded.

[z] 1726—On Saturday, the first of January, it having rained incessantly for several days, and a considerable body of snow, which had fallen upon the mountains, being thereby dissolved, there descended from thence a violent flood, which raised the water in the Poddle to an unusual height; the inundation entered St. Patrick's church, where it rose five feet, and did much injury to the choir, the parish church, and St. Mary's chapel; on account of the cold damps which remained in the walls, it was a long time before that divine service could be celebrated in the cathedral. MS. by Isaac Butler, penes me.

[a] Swift writes as follows, in his letter to Sheridan, dated 8th July 1726—"I can tell you one thing, that I have had the fairest offer made me of a settlement here, that one can imagine, which if I were ten years younger I would gladly accept within twelve miles of London, and in the midst of my friends. But I am too old for new schemes, and especially such as would bridle me in my freedoms and liberalities."

It was reported that Swift had been offered the vacant bishoprick of Cloyne; in his letter to Dr. Stopford, dated 20th July, he writes; "Upon the late death of the bishop of Cloyne, it was said I was offered to succeed, and I received many letters upon it, but there was nothing of truth, for I was neither offered, nor would have received, except upon conditions which would

expectations were indeed formed from the favourable reception he received at Leicester-house, where the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. and the princess Caroline, kept a sort of court, and were endeavouring, out of the discontented whigs and dejected tories, to form an interest, separate from the king and his minister. The princess, who had some taste for literature, had collected around her, several men of genius and learning, whose society the prince, although he was far from enjoying it, was obliged to endure. To this court, in which his friends, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay, had obtained an intimate footing, Swift was summoned, soon after he arrived in England; the princess, anxious to see so remarkable a person, laid her commands upon him to attend, which were, however, reiterated nine times before he complied. "When presented to her, he said, (in allusion to the savage lately caught in Hanover,) 'he understood her royal highness loved oddities; and that, having lately seen a wild boy from Germany, she was now desirous to see a wild dean from Ireland." This freedom of address was well received; and the dean was honoured with so much of the princess's notice, as might well have authorised more ambitious prospects, upon the prince's succession to the crown, than Swift ever appears to have entertained.[6] Here Swift first became intimate with Mrs. Howard,[b] first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess; who filled the two-fold situation of confidante of the princess, and mistress to the prince. This lady, whose taste for literature accorded with that of her mistress, soon contracted a high esteem for Swift, which was matured into friendship, during the time he spent with Pope at Twickenham, when the princess resided at Richmond-hill, in the vicinity. The rest of his time, which was not given to his friend Pope, was spent at Dawley, with lord Bolingbroke, who had returned from his exile a short time before.

When Swift first arrived in London, he met with a favourable reception, not only at Leicester-house, but at St. James's also; "Walpole was at that time very civil to me," he says, in his letter to lady Betty Germaine, dated Jan. 8, 1732-3, "and so were all the people in power." After having dined with Sir Robert, upon invitation, he obtained an interview, for the purpose of representing the distressed state of Ireland: but Walpole was prepossessed against any possible statement, that might come from the patriotic dean, by Primate Boulter, to whom the efficient power, in matters concerning that kingdom, was chiefly confided by the premier; for, although lord Carteret had been ostensibly placed at the head of affairs, yet he was vested, by the wily statesman, with little more than the shadow of authority[c]: ere the dean left

[6] Scott's Life of Swift, page 323.

never be granted. For I absolutely broke with the first minister, and have never seen him since, and I lately complained of him to the princess, because I knew she would tell him."

[b] Swift's intimacy with Mrs. Howard continued until she became countess of Suffolk, and until her mistress was elevated to the throne of Great Britain. The dean wrote her character in 1727, (See Swift's Works, Vol. IX. page 485), and, from his knowlege of human nature, anticipated the change which afterwards took place. The following passages, which display the chief features of her character, will likewise account for the final dissolution of their acquaintance; the overt-act, which immediately occasioned it, was the treatment which his friend Gay received from this knot of courtiers.

"In all offices of life, except those of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private person, and I would almost think in charity that she will not do harm as a courtier, unless to please those in chief power.—In religion she is at least a latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the free-thinkers; and herein she is the more blameable, because she has too much morality to stand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private lady, not as a court favourite; for, in the latter capacity, she can show neither faith nor works.—If she had never seen a court, it is not impossible that she might have been a friend.—She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect."—Here, as Mr. Scott remarks, "the dean has mingled food for future satire, even with the honey of his praises."

[c] Lord Carteret's government was a sort of amphibious administration: on account of his political connexion with the ministry he was obliged, officially, to second their views; his attachment, however, to the premier, was by no means sincere. If he was not a tory in his heart, he had one quality, which was the distinguishing characteristic of that party, at that period of time, a love of literature and of learned men; it was this predilection which induced him to attach himself to the dean of St. Patrick's, and his familiars. The administration of lord

Ireland, the primate had addressed the English minister in the following words: "the general report is, that Dean Swift designs for England in a little time; and we do not question his endeavours to misrepresent his majesty's friends here, wherever he finds an opportunity: but he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fomenter of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to disserve any of his majesty's faithful servants, by any thing that is known to come from him: but we could wish some eye were had to what he shall be attempting on your side of the water." [7] Walpole, prepossessed by this communication from his fiduciary, turned a deaf ear to Swift's representations, accordingly the minister and patriot parted, without having made the least impression upon each others opinions.—To attach obloquy to the name of Swift was no novel attempt; it was insinuated, by his numerous enemies, that the motive for this interview was, to tender to the minister the support of his pen, upon condition of his being preferred in England; this calumny, equally irreconcileable with the policy of the minister and the character of the divine, is amply refuted by a letter, addressed by Swift to lord Peterborow, [d] written on the morning after the interview, which contains the substance of their conference, and which Swift requested that his lordship should deliver into the hands of Sir Robert Walpole. "It need scarce be remarked," says Mr. Walter Scott, "that the most brazen effrontery would not

[7] Letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated 10 Feb. 1725. Boulter's Letters, Vol. I. page 62.

Carteret was, moreover, the Augustan age of Ireland; it gave birth to the brightest effusions of Swift's poetical genius, and fostered, likewise, several lively productions by Delany, Sheridan, and other minor wits; "even Smedley and some other whig beaux esprits," says Mr. Scott, "sought the favour of a literary lord lieutenant, by literary offerings and poetical adulation." To place over them a ruler, so preeminently endowed with wit and learning, was a matter gratefully acknowledged by the Irish, who, as they are generally possessed with an ardent desire to acquire knowledge, are inclined, perhaps more than any other nation, to respect those qualifications in others: Swift himself, who seldom stooped to use the language of direct panegyrick, deigned to offer his tribute of poetical adulation at the shrine of Carteret; he has celebrated the talents and virtues of that accomplished viceroy, in a poem, entitled, "The Birth of Manly Virtue." This poem concludes with the following lines:

"Fame now reports, the western isle
Is made his mansion for a while,
Whose anxious natives, night and day,
(Happy beneath his righteous sway)
Weary the Gods with ceaseless prayer,
To bless him, and to keep him there;
And claim it as a debt from Fate,
Too lately found, to lose him late."

Mr. Walter Scott, alluding to the reward offered for discovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter, remarks, that "it was twice Swift's singular fortune to have proclamations sent forth against him, under the authority of ministers, who were not only his personal friends, but who approved in secret the very treatises against which their manifestoes were fulminated." Life of Swift, page 310.

There is an incident which relates to the subject of this proclamation, and which, when stript of the monstrous and improbable embellishments with which it is incumbered by the younger Sheridan,* and other tasteless narrators, is well worth inserting. Swift was expostulating with the viceroy upon the severity of his measures against one, whom he called a poor industrious tradesman; Carteret, who knew the real author, with equal readiness and urbanity, silenced the objections of his adversary, by the following apt quotation from Virgil:

"Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt
Moliri."———————

Upon another similar occasion lord Carteret had gained the advantage of the dean, in a dispute concerning the distresses of Ireland; Swift exclaimed with affected rage—"What, in God's name, do you do here? get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again." This reply, as Dr. Hawksworth remarks, "shewed the peculiarity of his wit, and the virtue of his mind, as it was a fine compliment to the force of reason, by which he had been just foiled."

Lord Carteret, in a letter to Swift, shews that he too could compliment with equal readiness; "when I am asked," says his lordship, "How I governed Ireland? I make answer, That I pleased doctor Swift. *Quæsitam meritis sume superbiam.*"

There are two letters, which occur in the correspondence between lord Carteret and Swift, which deserve to be noticed as finished compositions; that of Swift, dated 9 July 1725, and his lordships answer of Aug. 4, in the same year.

* Mr. Sheridan has, as is usual with some of Swift's biographers, thought fit to embellish this story with some monstrous exaggerations; he describes Swift as "*bursting*, with indignation in his countenance, into a full levee, pushing through the crowd, and with the voice of a *Stentor*, that reached through the room, addressing the lord lieutenant, &c." such additions remind us of the old adage, "a story never loses, &c."

[d] This remarkable letter, from Swift to lord Peterborow, is dated 28th April 1726, the passages, which relate to what passed at this conference, are those following:

"My Lord,

"Your lordship having, at my request, obtained for me an hour from Sir Robert Walpole, I accordingly attended him yesterday at eight o'clock in the morning, and had somewhat more than an hour's conversation with him. Your lordship was this day pleased to inquire what passed between that great minister and me; to which I gave you some general answers, from whence you said you could comprehend little or nothing."

"I had no other design in desiring to see Sir Rob. Walpole, than to represent the affairs of Ireland to him in a true light,

have ventured in such a letter, to be so communicated, to conceal or misrepresent what had passed between them; and that the account so given, and never contradicted, must contain the genuine record of this remarkable conversation." [8]

Swift's visit to England was shortened by the accounts, which he received in July, of Mrs. Johnson's rapid decline. His letters, on this melancholy subject, contain the deepest expressions of anguish; at first, believing her near the period of her dissolution, he determined not to return to Ireland, and betrayed the utmost horror at the idea of being present, when she should breathe her last [e]; but, being persuaded by the advice of Dr. Sheridan, he resolved at length to return home, and accordingly set out from London, on the 17th of August. Upon his arrival in Ireland, "he was received with all the honours which the drapier had earned for the dean. [f] Bells were rung, bonfires kindled, and a body of the most respectable citizens escorted their patriot in a sort of triumphal procession, from the shore to the deanery [9]:" the pleasure, which this cordial reception occasioned, was moreover heightened by the gratifying news, that Mrs. Johnson had so far recovered, that her life was no longer in immediate danger: the blow so much dreaded by Swift, though not averted, was for a time suspended.

In the month of November following, the Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver [g] were given to the world; the publication of this celebrated work was shadowed

[8] Life of Swift, page 319.

not only without any view to myself, but to any party whatsoever: and because I understood the affairs of that kingdom tolerably well, and observed the representations he had received were such as I could not agree to; my principal design was to set him right, not only for the service of Ireland, but likewise of England, and of his own administration."

"I failed very much in my design; for, I saw he had conceived opinions, from the example and practises of the present, and some former governors, which I could not reconcile to the notions I had of liberty, a possession always understood by the British nation to be the inheritance of a human creature."

The next following paragraphs enumerate the several grievances, which it was Swift's desire to represent to this minister. He concludes with the following lines:

"I most humbly entreat your lordship to give this paper to Sir Robert Walpole, and desire him to read it, which he may do in a few minutes."

[e] The following extract, from Swift's letter, exhibits a true picture of an agonized heart.—"The account you give me is nothing but what I have some time expected with the utmost agonies; and there is one aggravation of constraint, that where I am, I am forced to put on an easy countenance.—I look upon this to be the greatest event that can ever happen to me; but all my preparations will not suffice to make me bear it like a philosopher, nor altogether like a christian.—If I were now near her, I would not see her; I could not behave myself tolerably; and should redouble her sorrow. Judge in what a temper of mind I write this.—The very time I am writing I conclude the fairest soul hath left its body! I have been long weary of the world, and shall for my small remainder of years be weary of life, having for ever lost that conversation which could alone make it tolerable. I fear, while you are reading this, you will be shedding tears at her funeral. She loved you well: and a great share of the little merit I have with you, is owing to her solicitations." For similar passages see page 307.

[f] "In his return to Dublin," says Mr. Sheridan, "upon notice that the ship in which he sailed was in the bay, several heads of the different corporations, and principal citizens of Dublin went out to meet him, in wherries engaged for that purpose, in order to welcome him back. The boats, adorned with streamers and colours, in which were many emblematical devices, made a fine appearance; and thus was the drapier brought to his landing-place in a kind of triumph, where he was received, and welcomed on shore, by a multitude of his grateful countrymen, by whom he was conducted to his home amidst repeated acclamations of, *long live the drapier*. The bells were all set a ringing, and bonfires kindled in every street. As there never was an instance of such honours being paid to any mortal in that country, of whatever rank or station, Swift must have been a stoic indeed, not to have been highly gratified with these unexpected, unsolicited marks of favour, from his grateful fellow-citizens."

[9] Scott's Life of Swift, page 325.

[g] During the earl of Oxford's administration a plan was projected, and partly executed by Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot and others, who formed themselves into a literary society, which they called the Scriblerus Club. Their original purpose was, to censure the abuses of learning, by a fictitious life of an infatuated scholar. The death of queen Anne, however, by scattering abroad this society of philosophical satirists, prevented the completion of their design; an event, which Warburton laments, as disastrous to polite letters, but which Dr. Johnson, judging from the first book, which was the production of Arbuthnot alone, pretends to treat as a matter of indifference: whether those great wits would have produced, by their united efforts, any thing more considerable than each has done separately, is a subject of fruitless conjecture; but, when we contemplate, in their subsequent works, the fragments of this great plan, we shall not be apt to agree, that the design merited such contemptuous treatment, as it has met with from the British Cynic. Swift at least has shewn, by his inimitable Travels, that he was able to perform his part; different from his friend Pope, who was too much occupied with personal satire upon the most unworthy of his contemporaries, the dean regarded the great mass of humanity; "his quick and powerful perception of their failings, errors, and crimes," says Mr. Scott, "his zeal for liberty and freedom of thought, tended at once to generalize, while it embittered his satire, and to change traits of personal severity for that deep shade of censure which Gulliver's Travels throw upon mankind universally."

The various commentators have, as usual, exercised their ingenuity, and displayed their learning, by tracing out imaginary resemblances between the Travels of Gulliver and the Works of some preceding writer. The earl of Orrery "thinks he can discover a very great resemblance between certain pas-

with that cloud of mystery, with which Swift delighted to envelope all his works of consequence, upon their first appearance. On this occasion, the effect upon the public was greatly heightened by this mode of publication, we may easier imagine than describe the sensations of surprize which this piece must have given rise to, displayed as it was before the world by an unknown hand.[h] No work ever com-

sages of Gulliver's voyage to Lilliput, and the voyage of Cyrano de Bergerac to the sun and moon." This writer, his lordship describes to be, "A French author of singular character, who had a very peculiar turn of wit and humour, in many respects resembling that of Swift;—his imagination was less guarded, and correct, but more agreeably extravagant.—In many parts he directed the plan which the dean of St. Patrick's has pursued."—There are few who would not think it an irksome task to read this work through, although it is but a small volume, yet this critic presumes to call the author, a writer "more agreeably extravagant" than Swift. In truth, Bergerac's work is remarkably barren of incident, but Swift's is particularly fertile; the chief, if not the sole merit of the former, consists in a *bizarrerie* or whimsical inversion of reasoning, to explain which the following examples will serve better than any description that can be given. The earth's turning upon its axis is accounted for in the following way: "Je m' imagine que la terre tourne, non point pour les raisons qu' allegue Copernic, mais parce que le feu d' enfer etant enclos au centre de la terre, les damnès qui veulent fuir l' ardeur de sa flamme, gravissent, pour s' en éloigner, contre la voûte, et font ainsi tourner la terre, comme un chien fait tourner une roue, lorsque il court enfermé dedans." The inhabitants of the moon are described as walking on four legs; that such a formation is preferable to ours is humorously maintained; I shall quote the following passage as a specimen: "Voyez une peu, comme ils ont la tête tourneé vers le ciel: c'est la disette où Dieu les a mis de toutes choses qui les a situés de la sorte; car cette posture suppliante temoigne qu' ils se plaignent au ciel de celui qui les a créés, et qu' ils lui demandent permission de s' accommoder de nos restes. Mais nous autres, nous avons la tête panchée en bas, pour contempler les biens dont nous sommes seigneurs, et comme n'y ayant rien au ciel a qui notre heureuse condition puisse porter envie." There are some few pieces of exquisite satire interspersed through the work, which are chiefly levelled at the followers of Aristotle; the dogmatic decisions of the schools, in matters of reason, and that deference to authority, which is the bane of science, are likewise successfully ridiculed.

If there be any part of Swift's work for which he is indebted to Bergerac, it is in the voyage to Laputa; the seemingly-philosophical way he accounts for the rise and fall of the floating island, may be said to resemble that, whereby the French voyager pretends to elevate himself to the moon; but such resemblances are not copies, and indeed Swift does not appear to be at all indebted, either to him, or to any other author, for more than the mere conception of writing an imaginary voyage. The circumstance of his being exhibited as a sight, and afterwards, when brought to the metropolis, the whimsical disquisition, which is held amongst the learned, relative to the class of beings in which he should be ranked, is the only incident that I have observed to be common to both.

Mr. Dunlop, likewise, compares Gulliver's Travels with the voyages of Bergerac; but, as his general observations upon the resemblance between those pieces, are chiefly borrowed from lord Orrery's remarks, what is above written will apply equally well to his work.—Compare the Earl of Orrery's Remarks, Letter XI. with the History of Fiction, Vol. III. Chapt. 13. page 350, third edition. Mr. Dunlop appears, like the generality of his countrymen, totally insensible to Swift's humour.

Mr. Walter Scott thinks, that the general idea of the work is taken from the True History of Lucian, and that he borrowed likewise from Rabalais; Gulliver's Travels may have some slight points of resemblance to the latter work, but Swift is not indebted in any respect to the former. In truth, as Mr. Walter Scott himself remarks, "None of these works either approach in excellence, or anticipate in originality, the romance of Swift. They are, in comparison, eccentric, wild, and childish fables, neither conveying a useful moral nor an amusing satire. The passages of satirical allusion are few, and thrown at random, among a scattered mass of incoherent fiction. But no word drops from Gulliver's pen in vain. Where his work ceases for a moment to satirize the vices of mankind in general, it becomes a stricture upon the parties, politics, and court of Britain; where it abandons that subject of censure, it presents a lively picture of the follies and vices of the fashionable world, or of the vain pursuits of philosophy, while the parts of the narrative which refer to the traveller's own adventures form a humorous and striking parody of the manner of old voyagers; their dry and minute style, and the unimportant personal incidents with which their journals are encumbered."

The Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, by Swift, can only be compared to the Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, by Defoe: between these two writers there are many points of resemblance; both are remarkable for the unaffected simplicity of their narratives, the variety of their incidents, but, most of all, for the air of truth with which they have enveloped the whole; a circumstance which was incomparably more difficult to Swift than to the other, because the matters whereof he treated were marvellous beyond credibility, whereas the events related by Defoe were mere ordinary occurrences. This appearance of truth is effected by the intermixture of minute circumstances, which state, particularly, dates, names of places, and persons, some of whom are referred to as actually living; the incidents too are described in so circumstantial a manner, and embellished with so many minute particulars, which we are apt to think would hardly be mentioned if they were not true, that we are induced to believe what we are perusing is a real story. "It is, indeed," says Mr. Scott, "a marked difference between real and fictitious narrative, that the latter includes only such incidents as the author conceives will interest the reader, whereas the former is uniformly invested with many petty particulars, which can be interesting only to the narrator himself. Another distinction is, that, in the course of a real story, circumstances occur which lead neither to consequences nor to explanations; whereas the novelist is, generally speaking, cautious to introduce no incident or character which has not some effect in forwarding his plot." This ingenious writer goes, in this passage, near to declaring what is, I believe, the truth, that the exertions of genius have been, in all ages, unnecessarily confined by the rules of art; and that, as our great dramatic poet succeeded beyond all writers of his kind, by transgressing the unities, as they are called, and daring to copy nature in despite of the rules of art, so did Swift and Defoe outstrip all others in romance, by adventuring the same course. "They were aware," as Mr. Scott says, "that the course of human life is as irregular and capricious as the process of natural vegetation; and that the trim parterre does not more accurately point out the operation of art, than a story in which all the incidents are combined with, and depend upon each other with epic regularity, leads us to infer its being the offspring of invention."

[h] Motte, the bookseller, said, he received the manuscript, he knew not from whom or from whence, dropped at his house, in the dark, from an hackney coach. Charles Ford, formerly employed in the negociation with Barber, about the tract, entitled, "Free Thoughts, &c." was the person who performed this second piece of secret service for his friend the dean.

When the work appeared, it had undergone several retrenchments and alterations, owing to the timidity of the printer; Swift insinuates as much, in his letter to Pope, dated 17 Nov. 1726, "If I were Gulliver's friend I would desire all my

municated such universal satisfaction, or received such general applause, for no other work was ever so perfectly addressed to all ages, and all ranks, of society. To frame a narrative capable of amusing the fastidious taste of the literary adept, and of gratifying, at the same time, the most vulgar or infantine capacity, was a task which no one but Swift could ever accomplish: but to amuse was not its sole object; to instruct the whole race of mankind, was the benevolent purpose of its philanthropic author.[i]

In the voyage to Lilliput, religious and political divisions are humorously burlesqued; the importance often attached to these sources of civil discord is contrasted with the factions of high-heels and low-heels, big-endians and little-endians; the cause of humanity is served by this animated representation of the insignificance

acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled and abused, and added to, and blotted out by the printer; for so to me it seems, in the second volume particularly." In the letter from Captain Gulliver to his cousin Sympson, prefixed to the second edition, he complains of the same thing, in the following words: "I do not remember I gave you power to consent that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted, &c." Of these alterations, in the text of Gulliver's Travels, Dr. Hawkesworth gives the following account in a note upon this letter: "That the original copy of these travels was altered by the person through whose hands it was conveyed to the press, is a fact; but the passages, of which Mr. Gulliver complains in this letter, are to be found only in the first editions; for the dean, having restored the text wherever it had been altered, sent the copy to the late Mr. Motte, by the hands of Mr. Charles Ford. This copy has been exactly followed in every subsequent edition, except that printed in Ireland by Mr. Faulkner; the editor of which, supposing the dean to be serious when he mentioned the corruptions of dates, and yet finding them unaltered, thought fit to alter them himself. There is, however, scarce one of these alterations in which he has not committed a blunder; though, while he was thus busy in defacing the parts that were perfect, he suffered the accidental blemishes of others to remain."

Mr. Bowyer edited the 7th volume of Swift's Miscellanies, printed in 1742; the following passage occurs in the introduction; "It must be acceptable to the possessors of Gulliver's Travels, to have an opportunity to correct the text, by our comparison of the Dublin edition with those of London, which is to be found at the end of this volume."—Literary Anecdotes of xviii Century, Vol. II. page 156. Mr. Nichols, the author of this work, informs us, in the note, "that this comparison is to be found only in the edition here noticed."

The later editors of Swift's works have been deficient, both in curiosity and diligence, in not having collated the different editions of these Travels; indeed it could not be expected, that a person of so sublime genius as Mr. Scott, should engage in so slavish an undertaking, which is rather suited to a class of writers, who have been sometimes denominated "pioneers of literature:" however, let them be called by whatever names they may, they are, nevertheless, very useful members of society; and, had Mr. Scott engaged one of those persons in his service, his work would not have been the less valuable; he would have escaped an error that I shall here notice, which he was led into, I apprehend, by the false suggestions of Mr. Theophilus Swift: I allude to the following note, in his Life of Swift, page 342.

"At a late period of Swift's life, he undertook a revision of Gulliver's Travels, and made some bitter additions wherever the law or its professors are mentioned. The volume bearing these corrections, passed from the possession of Mr. Theophilus Swift into that of the bishop of Ossory; but it is said that all or most of the alterations have been transferred to the later editions, so that it is now matter of curiosity alone."—Had Mr. Scott compared the copy of Gulliver's Travels in his own edition, with the first, he would have discovered, that the opposite to what is here stated, is the truth; he would have found, that the invectives against lawyers, &c. (which occur chiefly in the voyage to the Houyhnhnms) are much more numerous and more severe in the first, than in any of the later editions. The particular copy to which Mr. Scott alludes, I had in my hand, it is a large paper copy of the first edition, corrected by Swift, and was, I believe, the same from whence the subsequent editions were printed. I suspect it never was the property of Mr. Theophilus Swift, for the bishop of Ossory informed me, he purchased it from the late Mr. Milliken, a bookseller of this city, for half-a-guinea; Mr. T. Swift exhibited no great specimen of taste or judgment, if he sold it for a sum which would allow a bookseller sufficient profit, when re-sold at so small a price.

Mr. Walter Scott (Vol. XII. page 12) informs us, that the first part of these Travels, appeared in 1726, and the second early in 1727: and Dr. Johnson sets down the year 1727 as that of the publication of the whole; they are, however, both mistaken, my copy of the first edition, has a title to each of the four parts, and every one of them has the same date, viz. 1726: the same thing is confirmed, likewise, by Arbuthnot's letter of the 8th, and Gay's of the 7th of Nov. 1726.

[i] "To expose vice," says Swift, in a letter to his friend Gay, "and to make people laugh with innocence, does more public service, than all the ministers of state from Adam to Walpole." Indeed, what is said in the preface to the Miscellanies, is remarkably applicable to these Travels. "All of them are innocent, and slight as they are, have all a moral tendency; either to soften the virulence of parties against each other; or to laugh out of countenance some vice or folly; or to discredit the impositions of quacks and false pretenders to science; or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to lessen the vanity, and promote the good humour of mankind."

The earl of Orrery, "whose gall coins slanders like a mint," throws out some malicious insinuations against Swift, in his critique on Gulliver's Travels; such are the following: "That his disappointments rendered him splenetic, and angry with the whole world"—and again, "The man whose ambitious views are crossed, is scarce ever afterwards endued with benevolence of heart."—I shall quote, in answer to these, the following words of an erudite writer. "It is certain that the whole was written, or at least revised and published, at a time when he was far from having any reason to be out with his own species." See Swift's Life, in Biog. Brit. note, FF.

It is difficult, when we read Delany's Observations upon this work, to refrain from smiling at the solemn gravity of the learned doctor; he calls thiswork, "A book of unimportant travels," and asks, "Who would not wish, rather to be the author of one Arcadia, than fifty Laputa's, Lilliputs and Houyhnhnms!" He asserts that Swift's genius was then verging to a decline, nevertheless he contends that it was written before 1724, when the Drapier's Letters appeared: moreover, the Legion Club is particularly applauded by him, and yet that poem was written twelve years after the time which the learned doctor fixes on, as the era of the decline of Swift's genius. I apprehend, however, after the specimen we have here given of his judgment, the reader will be inclined to think that it was the doctor's, not the dean's, faculties that were defective.

of those objects, for which the blood of thousands has been copiously shed.[k] Besides reflections of a general nature, the voyage to Lilliput contains particular allusions to the court and politics of England. Sir Robert Walpole is plainly designated by the Premier, Flimnap; the Lilliputian treasurer's fall from the tight rope, which was broken by one of the king's cushions, seems to intimate the English minister's dismissal from office in 1717, when he was supposed to have been saved from utter disgrace, by the interest of the duchess of Kendal. By the ceremony of leaping over the coloured strings, the revival of the orders of the Garter, Bath, and Thistle is alluded to: the high-heels and low-heels express the political parties of tories and whigs, the small-endians and big-endians, the religious sects of papist and protestant. When the emperor's heels are described as lower than any of his court, the preference shewn by King George I. to the whigs is glanced at; and where the heir apparent is said to wear one heel higher than the other, the conduct of the Prince of Wales is alluded to, who acted, at that time, in opposition to his father's ministers, and divided his favours between the discontended of these two political parties: the resemblance, Mrs. Howard informs Swift in one of her letters, was recognized by his royal highness, who laughed heartily at this passage, which represents him as halting between the two political creeds which divided the kingdom. Many other allusions might be traced, which have reference, chiefly, to the reign of George I. but, where he mentions the offence the empress took at his manner of extinguishing the flames in the royal palace, he appears, manifestly, to glance at the character of queen Anne, who paid greater regard to court ceremonial than was quite consistent with good sense; Mr. Walter Scott thinks that Swift meant to intimate thereby, his own disgrace with that queen, "founded upon the indecorum of the Tale of a Tub, which was remembered against him as a crime, while the service, which it rendered the cause of the high church, was forgotten." Swift's remarks on the institutions of the empire of Lilliput are not the least important part of this voyage, they serve as useful comments upon the legal policy of his own country; where he mentions, that the Lilliputians looked upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and alludes to their policy in rewarding merit as well as punishing vice, he points out matters which are not, perhaps, undeserving of public attention.

In the voyage to Brobdingnag, Swift, as Mr. Scott remarks, "turns the opposite end of the telescope,[l] and, as he had held up to the derision of ordinary beings the intrigues, cabals, wars, and councils of a Lilliputian court and ministry, he now

[k] The transactions of courts, and the intrigues of court ministers, are matters to which great importance is commonly attached; to set those in a proper light, no method could be more effectual than that of attributing such magnificent schemes to a set of beings, who, from their minute stature and small physical force, were, by their greatest united efforts, able to execute what was very minute, in comparison to what a small exertion of our own powers might easily perform. By such sort of representation, the acts of the whole human race are set before us; men are enabled to contemplate the actions of the whole species, whereas generally, even the most thinking persons, seldom go farther than to compare one man with another, and the praise or censure they bestow, is the result of this comparison; few considering the conduct of the whole species, or comparing it with models of higher perfection. "To ascribe human actions to pigmies and giants," says Dr. Hawkesworth, in his remarks upon the first two voyages, "was, perhaps, the most probable method of engaging the mind to examine them with attention, and judge of them with impartiality, by suspending the fascination of habit, and exhibiting familiar objects in a new light. The use of the fable, then, is not less apparent than important and extensive: and that this use was intended by the author, can be doubted only by those who are disposed to affirm that order and regularity are the effects of chance."

[l] "In Lilliput," says lord Orrery, "we behold a set of puny insects, or animalcules in human shape, ridiculously engaged in affairs of importance. In Brobdingnag the monsters of enormous size are employed in trifles." "A very happy effect," as Mr. Walter Scott remarks, "is produced by thus painting Gulliver, who had formerly been a giant among the Lilliputians as a pigmy amidst this tremendous race. The same ideas are often to be traced, but, as they are reversed in in the part which is performed by the narrator, they are rather illustrated than repeated."—The great accuracy with which the proportions are preserved, is a matter which has been often noticed; if we are once contented to suppose the existance of such sort of people as the traveller describes, we shall find it difficult to trace any inconsistence in Swift's narrative. His own conceptions too, seem to conform to the dimensions around him; every thing becomes great and small according to the standard which he has for the time adopted; he moreover displays, in the application of them, an admirable degree of finesse; thus, in the voyage to Lilliput, he has the air of mag-

shews us in what manner a people of immense stature, and gifted with a soundness and coolness of judgment in some degree corresponding, might be likely to regard the principles and politics of Europe." To exhibit a human creature, displaying the actions of mankind to the view of a coolly reflecting and philosophical monarch, "a stoic in appetite and ambition;" to represent that faultless person pronouncing judgment upon those actions, and deciding on their importance or merit, by the criterion of the real benefit they might produce to mankind, was to effect a moral purpose, by means before unthought of; how truly prophetic was the following remark of lord Bolingbroke, expressed in his letter to Swift, of 1st January 1721-2. "I long to see your Travels, for, I will undertake to find, in two pages of your *bagatelles*, more good sense, useful knowledge, and true religion, than you can show me in the works of nineteen in twenty of the profound divines and philosophers of the age."—In this part the satire is of a more general nature, there are no particular references to political events, no circumstances mentioned which are not applicable, equally, to all courts; "as in the last voyage political intrigue, the chief employment of the higher rank, is ridiculed by being transferred to a court of creatures of about six inches high, so in this, female levities, and the lighter follies of a court, are rendered monstrous and disgusting, by being attributed to a race of tremendous stature." [1]

In the voyage to Laputa, the satire is aimed at the abuses of science; against those grave projectors, who, leaving behind them the land-marks of common sense, wander, without the guide of reason, into the immeasurably extended regions of speculative philosophy. Those qualities, by means of which Swift rose to preeminence, his profound skill in ethics, his extensive knowledge of the world and of the human heart, served him but to little purpose in a task, which required rather a deep insight into the science of physics: the satire, however, is not aimed, as has been unjustly insinuated, at true science, but at its abuses [m]; "the projectors in the academy of Lagado are described as pretenders, who had acquired a very slight tincture of real mathematical knowledge, and eked out their plans of mechanical

[1] Scott's Life of Swift.

nifying objects and exploits, he talks with great solemnity of the tall trees in the royal park, "the tops whereof he could *but just reach* with his first clinched."—He has had a sirloin of beef so large, that he has been obliged to make three bites of it, "*but this is rare.*"—The royal horses belonging to the army, and those of the royal stables could leap over his hand; and "one of the emperor's huntsmen, upon a large courser, took his foot, shoe and all, *which was indeed a prodigious leap.*"—On the contrary, when at Brobdingnag, he appears rather desirous of diminishing objects; thus, when he describes the tower of the chief temple, he appears to under-rate its dimensions; "one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple."—His not being able to leap over the cow-dung, he relates as a common occurrence, and he has the air of censuring his own rashness or awkwardness, rather than describing its prodigious size.—"There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it, I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle, up to my knees." Thus, instead of trespassing upon the credulity of the reader, he appears scarcely to take credit for all he might be allowed, and clothes with an air of probability the most improbable fictions. Some accounts of the ludicrous effects which this verisimilitude had upon different persons, occur in the correspondence between Swift and his friends. Arbuthnot writes, on the 8th Nov. 1726, "Gulliver is in every body's hands. Lord Scarborough, who is no inventor of stories, told me, that he fell in company with a master of a ship, who told him, that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver; but that the printer had mistaken, that he lived in Wapping, and not in Rotherhithe. I lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map to search for Lilliput."—Swift himself writes to his friend Pope, of a bishop who said, "the book was full of improbable lies, and that for his part, he hardly believed a word of it"

[m] The voyage to Laputa gave less general satisfaction, "I tell you freely," says Arbuthnot, in his letter to Swift, "the part of the projectors is the least brilliant." Upon this passage Mr. Walter Scott grounds a remark, that Arbuthnot "disliked the voyage to Laputa;" the same writer adds, "he probably considered it as a ridicule upon the Royal Society." These are ample conclusions to draw from such premisses, either directly or by implication. The editor, after endeavouring in this manner to establish a sort of precedent for his opinion, proceeds to make some remarks upon this voyage, which are very injurious to the author's credit, and cannot, I apprehend, be fairly objected against him. "Swift's ridicule of mathematical science," says Mr. Scott, "and his supposing that the knowledge of the theory of geometrical demonstrations either leads to, or is consistent with the misapplication of them in mechanical arts, only shews his want of acquaintance with the very principles on which these arts depend. The satire on experimental

improvement by dint of whim and fancy. The age in which Swift lived had exhibited numerous instances of persons of this description, by whom many of the numerous *bubbles*, as they were emphatically termed, had been set on foot, to the impoverishment of credulous individuals, and the general detriment of the community." [2]

The satire contained in the voyage to the Houyhnhnms is more intense than in any of the preceding. Swift, who had, in the former voyages, satirized the mental degradation of the human race, proceeds, in this, to vilify the debasement of the corporeal part of our nature. Although it was a necessary part of his scheme, and the intention was equally laudable, this portion is nevertheless executed with less ability. It exhibits mankind in a light too degraded for contemplation, the satire is too much exaggerated to be stiled a resemblance; "That magnifying-glass," says Dr. Delany, "which enlarges all the deformed features into monstrous dimensions, defeats its own purpose; for no man will ever know his own likeness in it; and consequently, though he be shocked, he will not be amended."—If, however, the picture of the Yahoos be disgusting, it is what the author intended; but, in that of the Houyhnhnms, which he meant, doubtless, should be inviting, he has totally failed; the representation is cold and insipid, it wants both light and shade; there is a mediocrity of character, in his representation of those animals, which renders, them quite uninteresting; their virtues are all negative, they act inoffensively, but they have neither motive nor power to act otherwise; they are void of all those tender passions and affections, without which life becomes a burthen. It is true, some exalted virtues, and even some splendid accomplishments, are attributed by Swift to those animals; "in poetry," he tells us, "they excel all animals;" he talks of their "exalted notions of friendship and benevolence," but he does not illustrate those matters, and indeed, to imagine how they could exercise them is beyond the power of comprehension.

The voyage to the Houyhnhnms is defective, likewise, in being quite destitute of verisimilitude, a charm which is the principal embellishment of his other works. [a]

[2] Scott's Life of Swift, page 333.

philosophy shews ignorance as well as injustice."—Really there does not appear any ridicule of mathematical science, throughout the whole tract; the absurd and pedantic application of it to several mechanical arts is ridiculed by Swift, without prejudicing, I apprehend, the cause of true science; and, as to his acquaintance with the principles of mathematics or experimental philosophy, his caricature representation of their misuse by no means proves his ignorance. The introduction of the flapper, which raises a smile at the expence of Sir Isaac Newton, whose habitual absence of mind rendered him an indifferent companion, is mentioned as an heinous offence, and is said to have been suggested by the remembrance of his report in favour of Wood's halfpence, whereas it is, in truth, one of those harmless jests, which would excite mirth in the object of it himself. But sufficient answers are furnished by the editor himself to his own objections; "it must be owned," he writes, "that if the author's contempt for speculative science hurried him too far, he has fallen with just severity upon a class of men whom the circumstances of England at the time furnished ample food for satirizing—these quack pretenders, namely, whose projects were, for a time, so greedily received and fostered by all ranks. The plans of these projectors, or undertakers, as they were called, were usually founded upon some smattering of science, or some supposed discovery, which they had neither information nor honesty sufficient to verify by experience, before they set afloat their bubble. The extensive ruin in which the South-sea scheme involved the nation must have made a strong impression on the mind of Swift, as honest as it was ardent. It may be also remarked, that some of the wildest hallucinations of the college of Lagado were revived in the middle of the last century by Maupertuis, who thereby subjected himself to the lash of Voltaire's satire. The censure, therefore, upon philosophical research, although it cannot hurt that which is conducted upon the principle of experiment, is richly merited by the wild hypothesis of the projector or sophist." Swift's Works, Vol. XII. page 12. The same objections are reiterated by Mr. Scott, in his Life of Swift, page 331, and fully refuted by himself again, in page 333, &c. "The professors of speculative learning," says Mr. Scott, "are represented as engaged in prosecution of what was then termed Natural and Mathematical Magic, studies not grounded upon sound principles, or traced out and ascertained by experiment, but hovering between science and mysticism. Such are the renowned pursuits of alchemy."—Mr. Scott terminates a very learned and amusing account of the extravagant projects of Raimond Lully, Cornelius Agrippa, Kircher, Knittel the Jesuit, Brunus and Kuhlman, by the following remark upon a machine, announced to have been discovered by the latter; which was to contain a general system of all arts and sciences, and to comprehend the essence of all the books that ever were written; "when it was gravely announced by a learned author, in tolerable latinity, that all this knowledge was to be acquired by the art of a mechanical instrument, much resembling a child's whirligig, it was time for the satirist to assume the pen. It was not real science, therefore, which Swift attacked, but those chimerical and spurious studies with which the name has been sometimes disgraced."—Upon the subject of bubbles I have already treated largely in page 323, &c.

[a] As Dr. Delany remarks, "he places the Houyhnhnms in houses which they could not build; and feeds them with corn

"The state of the Houyhnhnms," says Mr. Scott, "is not only morally but physically impossible;" the unsuitableness of their animal formation to the purposes of art and ingenuity are too manifest, too impossible even for fiction. "There are improprieties in the narrative," says Dr. Beattie, "which, without heightening the satire, serve to aggravate the absurdity of the fable. Houyhnhnms are horses in perfection, with the addition of reason and virtue. Whatever, therefore, takes away from their perfection as horses, without adding to their rational and moral accomplishments, must be repugnant to the author's design, and ought not to have found a place in his narration; yet he makes his beloved quadrupeds dwell in houses of their own building, and use warm food and the milk of cows, as a delicacy; though these luxuries, supposed attainable by a nation of horses, could not attribute to their perfection."[3]

This satire upon human corruptions, has been unjustly represented to be, a libel[o] on human nature.[p] "The voyage to the land of Houyhnhnms," says the last editor of Swift's Works, "holds mankind forth in a light too degrading for contemplation, and which, if admitted, would justify or palliate the worst vices, by exhibiting them as natural attributes[q]:" how vices, by being represented in an

[3] Beattie's Essay on Poetry and Music, Part I. Chapt. II.

which they could neither sow, nor reap, nor save. He gives them cows which they could not milk, and deposits that milk in vessels which they could not make, &c."—But, after all, it is very questionable, whether it was not the author's intention, that this part of the satire should differ from those which preceded, in the respect of its being entirely void of verisimilitude. To excite equal degrees of admiration, by means entirely opposite, proves the wonderful versatility of Swift's talent; at least the impossibility of structure, in those animals, to perform the acts attributed to them, does, in certain passages, produce its principal effect from that very incongruity; of this the first incident of the narrative will serve as an example.

"About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four Yahoos. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be of quality: he alighted with his hind feet forward, having by accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches, upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger; so that each horse and mare eat their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behaviour of the young colt and foal appeared very modest, and that of the master and mistress extremely cheerful and complaisant to their guest."

"I happened to wear my gloves, which the master gray observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of wonder what I had done to my fore-feet. He put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former shape; which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket. This occasioned further talk; and I saw the company was pleased with my behaviour, whereof I soon found the good effects."

That the passage here quoted derives its humorous effect from the cause above assigned will, I trust, be admitted. Shall we then quarrel with this author because he has used such various modes of entertainment? or, can we reasonably deny to Swift the same privileges which have been allowed to all fablers, from Æsop, down to his cotemporary, Gay: that of conveying a useful moral under the mask of an improbable fiction. In truth, the formal criticisms used by some writers, to prove we should not be pleased with this part of those admirable voyages, is best answered by such an argument, as that offered to the philosopher who denied the existance of motion, which his antagonist disproved by getting up and walking.

[o] This is a favourite word of Mr. Scott's, he applies it frequently to this voyage, but without propriety, as I apprehend, for it wants every character of a libel, taken in its legal, or indeed in any other sense; there is a *malice prepense* necessarily indicated by that word, which Swift's plan absolutely excludes; if it be a libel, then to advise a man of his faults is defamation.

[p] "This satire is, in effect," says Dr. Delany, "a panegyrick on the human frame, by shewing the utter inability, even of the noblest structure of inferior animals, to answer the purposes of a reasonable life in this world.—The utmost capacity, with which even Swift, with all his wit and invention, was able to endow his Houyhnhnms, was that of carrying a little oats between his hoof and his fetlock: and what a fine figure must he make, even in that action, hobling aukwardly, upon three legs!—He talks indeed of their untying the Yahoos, and giving Gulliver a bowl of milk, but was far from being able to endow them with the power of doing either."

[q] To say that Swift "palliates or justifies the worst vices" in his representation of the Yahoos, is to assert what is absurd and monstrous; the chief objection to the picture is, that it is a caricature; it places the vices incident to our nature in too odious a light;—"this is the head and front of his offending;" for men cannot bear the notion, that even the worst of their own species should, by any possibility, approach so near to the brute creation. This remark of Mr. Scott's is adopted from bishop Warburton. "It is no wonder," says the Divine, "a man of merit should condemn a satire on his species, as it injures virtue and violates truth; and as little, that a corrupt and worthless man should approve such a satire, because it justifies his principles and tends to excuse his practice."—I fear, the learned bishop, if he proves any thing by this sentence, proves too much; to censure vice, by any representation of its ill consequences, would be, according to this prelate's creed, to encourage it—I tremble to calculate all the ill effects this right reverend bishop may have produced by his sermons.

Another objection is brought against this last voyage by Mr. Walter Scott, which, although at first sight it appears to be founded on better reasons, is nevertheless equally futile, "it cannot be denied," he says, "that even a moral purpose will not justify the nakedness, with which Swift has sketched this horrible outline of mankind degraded to a bestial state; since a moralist ought to hold, with the Romans, that crimes of atrocity

odious light, should be, therefore, palliated or justified, this writer has not explained; Swift meant to produce, and has, I apprehend, succeeded in producing an effect precisely opposite. From this decision of Mr. Walter Scott, I appeal to that of the judicious and intelligent Dr. Hawkesworth; who, as he displays a laudable regard for truth, in his memoir of Swift, so does he, likewise, exhibit an admirable sagacity, in his observations upon these voyages. I allude to the following passage of the learned doctor's comment.

"To mortify pride, which, indeed, was not made for man, and produces not only the most ridiculous follies, but the most extensive calamity, appears to have been

should be exposed when punished, but those of flagitious impurity concealed." But this illustration will not bear out the commentator, nor establish what he wants to prove; to be satisfied of this, let us consider the motives which influenced this wise nation to such proceedings. They knew, that to expose vices of the former sort, would excite abhorrence, but to display those of the latter, would not produce any such effects. Swift has therefore followed, rather than transgressed, this admirable rule, he has not exposed vices which ought to be concealed, and those which he has exposed, he has rendered hateful; to use Mr. Scott's own words, he has so contrived it, "That the moral to be derived therefrom is so much the more impressive as the picture is disgusting."

But this writer blows hot and cold with the same breath, for the excuse he makes for this part of the work is justification quite sufficient.—"The picture of the Yahoos," he writes, "utterly odious and hateful and as it is, presents to the reader a moral use. *It was never designed as a representation of mankind in the state to which religion, and even the lights of nature, encourage men to aspire*, but, *of that to which our species is degraded, by the wilful subservience of mental qualities to animal instincts; of man, such as he may be found, in the degraded ranks of every society, when brutalized by ignorance and gross vice.* In this view, the more coarse and disgusting the picture, the more impressive is the moral to be derived from it."— Here this writer not only furnishes an answer to his own objections, but acknowledges that the image, detestable as it is, is actually drawn from nature: and yet, in another part of the same work, we read the following passage; "The satire, in this last division, *comprehends human nature in every stage and variety*, and, with an industry as malicious as the author's knowledge of life is extensive, *holds it up to the execration of all.*" In what way can we meet those contradictory observations better, than by applying the two following lines of the inimitable Butler?

"On either side he would dispute,
Confute, change sides, and still confute."

Several other writers have sought to make a character for themselves by abusing the fourth part of these voyages.—Mr. Harris, in his philological enquiries, uses the following words: "One absurdity in this author (a wretched philosopher, though a great wit) is well worth remarking.—In order to render the nature of man odious, and the nature of beasts amiable, he is compelled to give human characters to his beasts, and beastly characters to his men; so that we are to admire the beasts, not for being beasts, but amiable men, and to detest the men, not for being men, but detestable beasts." This observation, like many others of the same writer, has nothing beneath its polished surface; the author here, as he has done in other cases, mistakes sound for sense; what he labours to prove, is a truism, and what he asserts, without proof, is the controverted point: that Swift gives "human characters to his beasts, and beastly characters to his men," is strictly true; but we will not allow to Mr. Harris, that this was done, "in order to render the nature of man odious, and the nature of beasts amiable." This would be to make him, "a wretched philosopher" indeed.—It was for such a head as Mr. Harris's, not Swift's, to contemplate an absurdity like this, of making the nature of beasts amiable, by attributing to them a quality which never entered into their composition: "The absurdity," says Mr. Sheridan, "belongs to the commentator, not the author." Alluding to the same writer's attempt, in this passage, to detrude Swift from the chair of philosophy, and usurp it for himself, Mr. Sheridan remarks; "it will be difficult to persuade the world, that Swift is not one of the greatest adepts in the first philosophy, the science of mankind; of which he has given such ample proofs throughout his works, and more particularly in this very book, so superciliously decried by this *soi disant* philosopher; and which will be of more real benefit to mankind, than the labours of a thousand such writers as the author of philological enquiries, employed about splendid trifles, and useless metaphysics."

Dr. Young, in a pamphlet, entitled, Conjectures on Original Composition, has the following passage: "O Gulliver! Dost thou not shudder at thy brother Lucian's vultures hovering over thee? Shudder on! they cannot shock thee more, than decency has been shocked by thee. How have thy Houyhnhnms thrown thy judgment from its seat, and laid thy imaginations in the mire? in what ordure hast thou dipt thy pencil? what a monster hast thou made of the

'Human face divine?'

This writer has so satyrised human nature, as to give a demonstration in himself, that it deserves to satyrised."—"After such a string of poetical epiphonemas," says Mr. Sheridan, "what is the charge which he brings against Swift. It is all contained in these words—'What a monster hast thou made of the human face divine!'—Now Dr. Young himself, and all the world must have allowed, that the human face can have no claim to the epithet of divine, unless when animated by the divine particle within us; how can he be said to make a monstrous representation of the human face divine, who first supposes the divine part to be withdrawn, which entitles it to that appellation, and substitutes in its place the mind of a brute."

But the reflections which have been made upon this last voyage, by Dr. Beattie, in his essay on poetry and music, are much more severe than any of those above quoted, and quite as unfounded. "Did Swift believe," says this writer, "that religious ideas are natural to a reasonable being, and necessary to the happiness of a moral one? I hope he did, yet has he represented his Houyhnhnms, as patterns of moral virtue, as the greatest masters of reason, and withal as completely happy, without any religious ideas, or any views beyond the present life."—How insidious, how false is this representation! Is Swift guilty of representing moral beings, as completely happy without religion, because he treats of morality, abstracted from religion! Surely it must appear manifest to any person endued with common sense, that to introduce religion would have been an impropriety, and totally foreign to the subject of the satire, which was to shew, *how debasement of our nature follows from indulging extravagantly our animal propensities.* But this attempt to charge Swift with impiety is scarcely less justifiable, than the conclusion which he draws is manifestly inconsequent; "In a word," says the Doctor, "he would make stupidity consistent with mental excellence, and unnatural appetites with animal perfection."—This is so notoriously false that I shall not waste words to disprove it.

The writer goes on with his charge, and becomes more violent as he proceeds; but, to veil his malevolence, he seizes upon the cloak of religion, and thus, by seeking to make his

one general view of the author in every part of these travels.[r] Personal strength and beauty, the wisdom and the virtue of mankind, become objects, not of pride, but of humility, in the diminutive stature and contemptible weakness of the Lilliputians, in the horrid deformity of the Brobdingnagnians, in the learned folly of the Laputians, and in the parellel drawn between our manners and those of the Houyhnhnms."

I shall conclude my remarks upon this volume of inimitable satires, with the following paragraph from Mr. William Hazlitt's Lectures upon the English Poets, read before the Surry Institution, and published in 1818; the passage itself will display the good taste and sound judgment of the critic, better than any eulogium that could be devised.

censure more intense, he becomes guilty of the most unjustifiable blasphemy.—"These, however, are small matters, compared with the other absurdities of this abominable tale.—But when a christian divine can set himself deliberately to trample upon that nature, which he knows to have been made but a little lower than the angel's, and to have been assumed by ONE far more exalted than they; we need not be surprised if the same perverse habits of thinking which harden his heart, should also debase his judgment." Every candid reader must acquit Swift of any such impious intentions, as are here, so uncharitably, and wickedly insinuated against him: indeed this writer's way of stating the case is itself, not only grossly offensive but impious: to intrude this matter upon us in this way, to mention in this manner, the greatest instance of condescension in the divine nature, and that too, to strengthen a vile and uncharitable insinuation, is actually, as I feel it, an intolerable affront, a vile profanation, under the cloak of sanctity, of an awful mystery of our religion; besides, if it has any force, it must apply equally against every species of satire, and to the full as much against that which represents the debasement of the mental, as the corporeal part of human nature; and yet, I believe no person ever thought works of that sort profane, nor will the arguments of any canting metaphysician ever prove them so, to the satisfaction of the soberly-judging part of mankind, who wish candidly, and charitably, to attribute the actions of men to their proper motives.

Since the two last mentioned writers appear to have been influenced by sentiments so very remote from those of christian charity, it is fair to seek out for motives to which we may attribute such outrageous conduct; Dr. Young, it is probable, was influenced by private pique, and Dr. Beattie, by the same motive which has influenced the greater number of his country-men.

"What is the meaning," says Mr. Sheridan, "of the general clamour raised against Swift, unless it be thought criminal in him to suppose it possible, even in a fable, that the human frame, upon which we value ourselves so highly, might be the receptacle of a brutal soul? I should not wonder if such men would arraign the Almighty also, for having really effected this, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar; or exhibiting another instance of it to our view, without a miracle, in that of Peter the wild man, caught in the woods of Germany—Nor should I be surprised if they who value themselves chiefly on their outward form, should mutter complaints against their creator, for giving certain animals so near a resemblance to them, as is to be found in some species of baboons, but more particularly in the mantyger, (he means, perhaps, the ourang-outang.)"

Mr. Sheridan suggests a reason, which is sufficiently ingenious, why this satire upon the human frame has excited greater resentment, than those observations in the preceding voyages, which attribute all manner of vices to the mind of man.—He supposes, that men are ready enough to allow all sorts of bad qualities to exist in the minds of others, being so blinded by self-love as not to find the resemblance to themselves; but, when their bodily form, which is common to all, is vilified, each individual brings the attack home to himself—his self-love takes fire, and kindles his indignation against the author, as an enemy of the whole human species.

The following remark of the learned Dr. Hawksworth, upon the horrid description given by Swift of the ravages of war, will serve as well as a volume of commendations, and may be opposed, as an antidote, to the poison of calumny conveyed in the preceding paragraphs.—"It would perhaps be impossible," says this judicious writer, who well knew how to estimate the works of our immortal satyrist, "by the most laboured argument, or forcible eloquence, to shew the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually, as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light. With war, including every species of iniquity, and every art of destruction, we become familiar by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed. Thus it happens, that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity, we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If, when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover, with astonishment, that when the same events have occurred in history we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes, and carried on by such means; let not him be censured for too much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up in their native deformity the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed."

[r] The concluding paragraphs of the voyage to the Houyhnhnms, prove the truth of this learned commentator's remark.—"My reconcilement to the Yahoo kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only, which nature has entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pick-pocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whore-monger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like; this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together.—The Houyhnhnms, who live under the government of reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm; which no man in his wits could boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject, from the desire I have to make the society of an English Yahoo by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here entreat those, who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight."

There is a great conformity between the sentiments of Swift and those of lord Bathurst, casually expressed in his letter, dated 29 March 1733: I entreat the reader to compare the following passage with the extract from a letter of Swift's to Pope, in page 351, note y.

"I have often reflected (from what cause it arises I know not) that though the majority of a society are honest men, and

"Dr. Johnson[s] could not deny that Gulliver's Travels were Swift's; he therefore disputed their merits, and said that after the first idea of them was conceived, they were easy to execute; all the rest followed mechanically. I do not know how that may be; but the mechanism employed is something very different from any that the author of Rasselas was in the habit of bringing to bear on such occasions. There is nothing more futile, as well as invidious, than this mode of criticising a work of original genius. Its greatest merit is supposed to be in the invention; and you say, every wisely, that it is not in the execution. You might as well take away the merit of the invention of the telescope, by saying that, after its uses were explained and understood, any ordinary eyesight could look through it. Whether the excellence of Gulliver's Travels is in the conception or the execution, is of little consequence; the power is somewhere, and it is a power that has moved the world. The power is not that of big words and vaunting common places. Swift left these to those who wanted them; and has done what his acuteness and intensity of mind alone could enable any one to conceive or to perform. His object was to strip empty pride and grandeur of the imposing air which external circumstances throw around them; and for this purpose he has cheated the imagination of the illusions which the prejudices of sense and of the world put upon it, by reducing every thing to the abstract predicament of size. He enlarges or diminishes the scale, as he wishes to shew the insignificance or the grossness of our overweening self-love. That he has done this with mathematical precision, with complete presence of mind and perfect keeping, in a manner that comes equally home to the understanding of the man and of the child, does not take away from the merit of the work or the genius of the author. He has taken a new view of human nature, such as a being of a higher sphere might take of it; he has torn the scales from off his moral vision; he has tried an experiment upon human life, and sifted its pretensions from the alloy of circumstances; he has measured it with a rule, has weighed it in a balance, and found it, for the most part, wanting and worthless—in substance and in shew. Nothing solid, nothing valuable is left in his system but virtue and wisdom. What a libel is this upon mankind! What a convincing proof of misanthropy! What presumption and what malice prepense, to shew men what they are, and teach them what they ought to be! What a mortifying stroke aimed at national glory, is that unlucky incident of Gulliver's wading across the channel and carrying off the whole fleet of Blefuscu! After that, we have only to consider which of the contending parties was in the right. What a shock to per-

would act, separately, with some humanity, and according to the rules of morality; yet, conjunctively, they are hard-hearted determined villains. I know physicians, who, if you take them out of their practice, are very good sort of men; but, was there ever in the world a consultation of them, that tended to any thing else than robbery and murder? Do the body of lawyers think of any thing else, but to plunder and destroy the rest of mankind? In short, there is no corporation to be excepted out of this general rule, but the two houses of parliament; and all assemblies of divines, wheresoever dispersed over the christian world?"—The last sentence has in it somewhat of an air of irony; it reminds us of the exception which, in common conversation, usually qualifies such general conclusions.—"The present company always excepted."

[s] Dr. Johnson, as I have said in another place, often denied, or affected to deny, that Swift was the author of the Tale of a Tub. He used to say, of Gulliver's Travels, "when once you have thought of big men and little men, it is easy to do all the rest."—Boswell's Life of Johnson, Vol. II. page 327, edit. 1799.—Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Swift, expresses himself, upon the subject of those voyages, in the following words:

"This important year sent, likewise, into the world, 'Gulliver's Travels;' a production so new and strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was received with such avidity, that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made; it was read by the high and the low, the learned and illiterate. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder; no rules of judgment were applied to a book written in open defiance of truth and regularity. But when distinctions came to be made, the part which gave the least pleasure was that which describes the flying island, and that which *gave* most disgust *must be* the history of the Houyhnhnms." How the character of the man displays itself in this short comment! It is not the beauties of the work he points out, although that was more properly his duty, in this prefatory memoir, because we read authors for sake of their beauties, not their imperfections.—"That which gave the least pleasure was"—"That which *gave* most disgust *must be*."—I suppose the infallibility of Dr. Johnson makes the last sentence good grammer; which has, moreover, another discordance, for one member of it relates an historical fact, and the other, (what I presume he thought of equal importance), his own opinion."

sonal vanity is given in the account of Gulliver's nurse, Glumdalclitch! Still, notwithstanding the disparagement to her personal charms, her good-nature remains the same amiable quality as before. I cannot see the harm, the misanthropy, the immoral and degrading tendency of this. The moral lesson is as fine as the intellectual exhibition is amusing. It is an attempt to tear off the mask of imposture from the world; and nothing but imposture has a right to complain of it. It is, indeed, the way with our quacks in morality to preach up the dignity of human nature, to pamper pride and hypocrisy with the idle mockeries of the virtues they pretend to, and which they have not: but it was not Swift's way to cant morality, or any thing else; nor did his genius prompt him to write unmeaning panegyrics upon mankind!"[t]

1727—Mrs. Johnson being restored, apparently, to a good state of health, Swift visited England for the last time, in the month of April 1727. He was received at Leicester-house, as before, with great cordiality; but nothing like an accommodation was either proposed or insinuated by Sir Robert Walpole: in 1726, that minister had, in a conference with Pope, expressed a desire of seeing the dean before he left England, and likewise said, that he had observed a willingness in him to reside there.[4] By this overture he doubtless meant that something should be asked by Swift, and was probably offended by his indifference: indeed, however desirous this minister might have been to obtain the assistance of so able a coadjutor, or anxious to prevent his enemies from receiving so great an accession of force, he could not, in prudence, have made a more direct proposal; Swift was, however, equally averse to open solicitation; so that, notwithstanding this indirect proposal of an interview, no further communication ever took place; and Swift, within a few weeks after his arrival, shewed so decided an inclination towards hostilities,[u] by

[4] Pope's Letter to Swift, 3d September 1726.

[t] On the 17th of November 1726, immediately after the work had made its appearance, Gay transmitted to his absent friend an account of its success. This communication must have afforded much gratification to Swift, interlarded as it is with the remarks made upon it by the dunces of all ranks, which Gay has detailed, with a degree of humour scarce inferior to that of the dean himself. From his letter I shall annex the following abstract.

"About ten days ago a book was published here of the Travels of one Gulliver, which has been the conversation of the whole town ever since; the whole impression sold in a week: and nothing is more diverting than to hear the different opinions people give of it, though all agree in liking it extremely.—Now and then we meet with people of great perspicuity, who are in search for particular applications in every leaf; and it is highly probable we shall have keys published to give light into Gulliver's design. Lord ——— is the person who least approves it, blaming it as a design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature, at which it cannot be wondered that he takes most offence, being himself the most accomplished of his species, and so losing more than any other of that praise which is due both to the dignity and virtue of a man.—Among lady critics, some have found out that Mr. Gulliver had a particular malice to maids of honour. Those of them who frequent the church, say, his design is impious, and that it is depreciating the works of the Creator; notwithstanding, I am told the princess has read it with great pleasure.—It has passed lords and commons, *nemine contradicente;* and the whole town, men, women, and children are quite full of it.—Perhaps I may, all this time, be talking to you of a book you never have seen, and which has not yet reached Ireland; if it has not, I believe what we have said will be sufficient to recommend it to your reading, and that you will order me to send it to you. But it will be much better to come over yourself, and read it here, where you will have the pleasure of variety of commentators, to explain the difficult passages to you."—Again he says; "I hope you do not write the thing that is not. We are afraid that B—— has been guilty of that crime, that you (like a Houyhnhnm) have treated him as a Yahoo, and discarded him your service. *I fear you do not understand these modish terms, which every creature now understands but yourself.*"

Swift, who never denied to acknowledge the merit of any other person, nor ever apprehended, that he thereby detracted from the praise due to himself, celebrates, in his verses upon his own death, Gay's talent for humour; the compliment is bestowed, in his usual manner, with seeming reluctance;

"I grieve to be outdone by Gay
In my own humorous biting way."

So perfect, indeed, is the irony of this letter, that it has deceived some of Swift's biographers into an opinion, that his literary friends were in the uncertainty, as to the author, which is here pretended. Pope, however, in his letter of 6th Jan. 1733-4, uses the following beautiful image to illustrate how vain Swift's attempts were, of concealing the author by withholding the name only; "your method of concealing yourself puts me in mind of the Indian bird I have read of, who hides his head in a hole, while all his feathers and tail stick out."

[u] Soon after his arrival in London, Swift wrote a paper to be sent to the Crafts-man, the general channel of assault against Walpole. See "A letter to the writer of the Occasional Paper." Swift's Works, Vol. X. page 329. In the following year he wrote, "An account of the court and empire of Japan," which has an emblematical reference to the administration of that minister; both of these tracts contain sarcastic allusions to the government of Sir Robert Walpole. "Here only," he writes, in the first of these pieces, "at the sign of the Brazen-head, (Sir Robert was called, Sir Robert Brass), are to be sold places and pensions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of mistaking the door." In the second, he dilates upon the character of the

the affection which he openly manifested towards Pulteney and Bolingbroke, as must have rendered ineffectual any attempts towards a reconciliation. It was asserted upon this, as on a former occasion, that Swift had made a voluntary tender of his services; but this charge is not grounded on any evidence; "Had such an offer been made," says Mr. Walter Scott, "it must have been worse than folly in Walpole to refuse the assistance of Swift, while he was expending large sums to reward the political treatises of Arnall and Henly[v]; so that, considering the well-known sagacity of the minister, as well as his unscrupulous mode of charming opposition to silence, by the ready mode of corrupt influence, we may conclude, that the offer not being accepted proves that it never was made." [5]

Upon the approach of winter, Swift formed a design of passing that season in the south of France[w]; he hoped the air of that mild climate would mitigate the symptoms of his recurring disorder; and was actually upon the point of carrying his resolution into effect, when the unexpected news of the king's death caused

[5] Scott's Life of Swift, page 320.

minister, whom he designated by the name, Lelop-Aw; the following traits, sketched with particular severity, were too near an actual resemblance, to be misapplied, and too bitter, to be easily forgiven. "The minister above-mentioned, (Lelop-Aw), was of a family not contemptible—he had been formerly disgraced in the senate, for some frauds in the management of a public trust. He was perfectly skilled, by long practice, in the senatorial forms, and dexterous in the purchase of votes, from those who could find their accounts better in complying with his measures, than they could possibly lose by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He seemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings; never scrupling openly to lay out vast sums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchasing estates; when it was known that, upon his first coming into business, upon the death of the empress Nena, (queen Anne), his fortune was but inconsiderable. He had the most boldness, and the least magnanimity, that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a support against an evil day. He had the best among all false appearances of courage; which was, a most unlimited assurance, whereby he would swagger the boldest man into a dread of his power; but had not the smallest portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and disgracing every man who was known to bear the least civility to those he disliked. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one person upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or pension, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumstance." Swift penned likewise, in Oct. 1730, "The Answer of the Right Hon. William Pulteney, Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole." Mr. Scott observes, "that, after the death of Stella, he seems first to have been roused by the sense of Walpole's enmity, which was greatly increased by the conduct of queen Caroline and that minister towards Gay:" he made war upon them, both in prose and verse. His "Directions for making a Birth-day song," written in 1729, are severe upon the whole of the royal family, and especially on queen Caroline.

[v] "Sir Robert Walpole," says Mr. Scott, "was by no means negligent of his literary assistants. But unfortunately, like an unskilful general, he confided more in the number than the spirit or discipline of his forces. Arnall, Concanen, and Henley, were wretched auxiliaries; yet they could not complain of indifferent pay, since Arnall used to brag, that, in the course of four years, he had received from the treasury, for his political writings, the sum of 10,997*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*" Swift, in the "Letter to the Writer of the Occasional Paper," severely satirizes the minister's ill taste in those respects; "It is a grievous mistake in a great minister to neglect or despise, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wisest persons in my time observe, that an administration was to be known and judged by the talents of those who appeared their advocates in print. This I must never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiously unfortunate, that, among the answerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyrists, started up in defence of present persons and proceedings, there has not yet arisen one whose labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good will." And again, he humorously says, alluding to the same minister, "in such an exaltation, why should he be at the trouble to make use of fools to sound his praises; because I always thought the lion was hard set, when he chose the ass for his trumpeter." If, under all these circumstances, Sir Robert Walpole declined the proferred services of Swift, he must have been influenced by some such motive, as that which actuated "a bad painter, who having painted a cock, drove away all the cocks and hens, and even the chickens, for fear those who passed by his shop might make a comparison with his work." See Swift's Letter to Gay, 3 October 1731.

[w] From the year 1714, when Swift took possession of his deanery, until his death, in 1745, he was but twice absent from Ireland, nor did either of these visits extend beyond the the period of a few months; nevertheless, upon the second occasion, he received some vexatious intimations from Archbishop King, who appears often, in the case of Swift, to have stooped beneath the dignity of his nature, and to have exhibited symptoms of that sort of jealousy, which is the characteristic of an inferior understanding. Although the motives for Swift's second visit were properly admissible, the metropolitan shewed, at the period of his annual visitation, a strong desire to call the absent dean to a severe account; Swift repelled the invasion with becoming dignity, and seemingly with superior force of argument. His letter, upon this occasion, is dated 18 May 1727, and regards the priviledges of this dignity so far, as to demand its insertion in this place.

"My Lord,

"I understand, by some letters just come to my hands, that at your grace's visitation of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, a proxy was insisted on from the dean, the visitation adjourned, and a rule entered, that a proxy be exhibited within a month. If your grace can find, in any of your old records or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a dean of St. Patrick's, you will have some reason to insist upon it: but, as it is a thing wholly new and unheard of, let the conse-

him to postpone it. A total change of ministers, it was expected, would follow this event, but Swift was less sanguine than others; although, from the following passage of his letter to Dr. Sheridan, [6] he appears to have been consulted. "Here are a thousand schemes wherein they would have me engaged, which I embraced but coldly, because I like none of them." He even hesitated whether he should suspend his journey, but was persuaded by his friends to remain at home. "There would not be common sense in your going to France at this juncture," writes lord Bolingbroke, [7] "even if you intended to stay there long enough to draw the sole pleasure and profit, which I propose you should have in the acquaintance I am ready to give you there. Much less ought you to think of such an unmeaning journey, when the opportunity of quitting Ireland for England is, I believe, fairly before you." Mrs. Howard's council, Swift informs us, was, "by all means, not to go; as it would look singular, and perhaps disaffected:" he remained accordingly, although he put no great confidence in the assurances given him; kissed the hands of their majesties, on their accession, and was, upon this occasion, particularly distinguished by the queen. All hopes, however, were soon terminated, by the re-instatement of Sir Robert Walpole, who, through the interest of queen Caroline, acquired the same power and confidence with the reigning monarch, that he had possessed with his predecessor.

During this interval of anxiety Swift was visited with a severe paroxism of his disorder; a state, the misery of which was further aggravated, by accounts of Mrs. Johnson's being again reduced to the utmost extremity: not able to endure, in the presence of another person, the agony which these last tidings communicated, he, suddenly, and without advice, left the house of his friend Pope at Twickenham, and shut himself up in lodgings in London; from thence he addressed letters, expressive of the bitterest sorrow, to his friends, Dr. Sheridan [x] and Mr. Worrall;

[6] Dated 1 July 1727.

quences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any: it is only through them that you visit me, and my sub-dean is to answer for me. I am neither civilian nor canonist: your grace may probably be both, with the addition of a dexterous deputy. My proceeding shall be only upon one maxim; never to yield to an oppression, to justify which no precedent can be produced. I see very well how personal all this proceeding is: and how, from the very moment of the queen's death, your grace has thought fit to take every opportunity of giving me all sorts of uneasiness, without ever giving me, in my whole life, one single mark of your favour, beyond common civilities. And if it were not below a man of spirit to make complaints, I could date them from six-and-twenty years past. This has something in it the more extraordinary, because, during some years, when I was thought to have credit with those in power, I employed it to the utmost for your service, with great success, where it could be most useful against many violent enemies you then had, however unjustly; by which I got more ill-will than by any action of my life, I mean from my friends. My lord, I have lived, and by the grace of God will die, an enemy to slavery and servitude of all kinds: and I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due. Your grace has often said, 'you would never infringe any of our liberties.' I will call back nothing of what is past: I will forget, if I can, that you mentioned to me a license to be absent. Neither my age, health, humour, or fortune, qualify me for little brangles: but I will hold to the practice delivered down by my predecessors. I thought, and have been told, that I deserved better from that church, and that kingdom: I am sure I do from your grace. And I believe, people on this side will attest, that all my merits

[7] Letter dated 24 June.

are not very old. It is a little hard, that the occasion of my journey hither, being partly for the advantages of that kingdom, partly on account of my health, partly on business of importance to me, and partly to see my friends; I cannot enjoy the quiet of a few months, without your grace interposing to disturb it. But, I thank God, the civilities of those in power here, who allow themselves to be my professed adversaries, make some atonement for the unkindness of others, who have so many reasons to be my friends. I have not long to live; and therefore, if conscience were quite out of the case for me to do a base thing, I will set no unworthy examples for my successors to follow: and, therefore, repeating it again that I shall not concern myself upon the proceeding of your lordship. I am, &c."

In a subsequent letter, to Dr. Sheridan, dated 24 June, Swift mentions, that he had given instruction to his sub-dean, to lodge an appeal, should the Archbishop proceed to *sub poena contemptus*, *&c.* but as we hear no more of the matter, it is probable that the Archbishop declined taking any further steps against him.

[x] On the 29th of August, Swift wrote to his friend Sheridan; from his letter I quote the following words. "I have had your letter of the 19th, and expect, before you read this, to receive another from you with the most fatal news that can ever come to me, unless I should be put to death for some ignominious crime. I continue very ill with my giddiness and deafness, of which I had two days intermission, but since worse, and I shall be perfectly content if God shall please to call me away at this time. Here is a triple cord of friendship broke, which hath lasted thirty years, twenty-four of which in Ireland. I beg, if you have not writ to me before you get this, to tell me no particulars, but the event in general; my weakness, my age, my friendship will bear no more."

and as soon as his health was sufficiently established, departed for Ireland. When he arrived in Dublin he wrote to Pope in the most affectionate terms, excusing his precipitate retreat, and holding out some faint hopes of his return: "If it pleases GOD, I shall readily make a third journey; if not, we must part as all human creatures have parted;" and then, as if he augured, that they should not meet again, in this world, he pathetically adds.—"I have often wished that GOD ALMIGHTY would be so easy to the weakness of mankind, as to let old friends be acquainted in another state; and if I were to write a Utopia for Heaven, that would be one of my schemes."[y]

When he arrived in Dublin, Swift found Mrs. Johnson on the verge of the grave; for twelve months she had never had a day's health, and during the last six had been kept alive, almost against nature, by the generous kindness of her physicians, and the care of her friends: about six o'clock, in the evening of the 27th January

Swift was very sensible of the opportunity for scandal that would be given, should Stella breathe her last at the deanery house; his sentiments, upon this subject, he communicated to his friend Mr. Worrall, upon her first illness, in a letter dated 15 July 1726, which, although highly expressive of the true feelings of his heart, has wrought an effect, upon the mind of the last editor of his works, different from what it would have produced, had he not prejudged the matter. He moreover animadverts upon it, in the following extraordinary way: "even during the extremity of distress which Swift sustained at the apprehension of Stella's death, he remained stubbornly fixed, that, living or dying, their marriage should remain concealed." The same caution was repeated, upon the return of Stella's illness in 1727. Lord Orrery, of his abundant charity, insinuates, that Stella was destroyed by the peculiarity of her fate, and, that the fabrick of her constitution would not have fallen so soon, had not the foundation been injured by the slow minings of regret and vexation. Lord Orrery, it should be observed, had not seen the letters which passed between Swift and Stella; from those we learn, that the seeds of disorder had shewed themselves at an early period, and it is not wonderful that seventeen years of frequently reverting illness should destroy a constitution of which was never, at any period, very vigorous.

The writer of the Life of Swift, in the Biographia Britannica, Note MM. makes the following remark upon this supposed event. "In so flagrant an instance of the most inhumanly savage cruelty (I had almost said murder) what can be said for the author of it? Mr. Hawksworth indeed has told us, that it is generally agreed, that in this instance, as in every other, the dean's intention was upright, though his judgment might be erronious; but he had better have said nothing." I agree with this humane writer, that, supposing the case to be truly stated, the excuse is quite insufficient; but I presume it has already been fully proved, that no such event ever took place as that, upon which all these scandalous insinuations have been grounded: I shall not, therefore, attempt to excuse an act, which I deny to have ever happened.

[y] Some particulars of this last parting, between Swift and Pope, may be gathered from their correspondence. Pope writes, on the 2d October, "It is a perfect trouble to me to write to you, and your kind letter left for me at Mr. Gay's affected me so much, that it made me weep like a girl. I cannot tell what to say to you; I only feel that I wish you well in every circumstance of life; that it is almost as good to be hated as to be loved, considering the pain it is to minds of any tender turn, to find themselves so utterly impotent to do any good, or give any ease, to those who deserve most from us. I would very fain know, as soon as you recover your complaints, or any part of them. Would to GOD I could ease any of them, or had been able even to have alleviated any!—I have given your remembrances to those you mention in yours; we are quite sorry for you, I mean for ourselves. I hope, as you do, that we shall meet in a more durable and more satisfactory state; but the less I am sure of that, the more I would indulge it in this. We are to believe, we shall have something better than even a good friend there, but certainly here we have nothing so good. Adieu for this time; may you find every friend you go to as pleased and happy, as every friend you went from is sorry and troubled."

In answer to this, Swift wrote the letter to which I have alluded in the text. "I find," he adds, "it is more convenient to be sick here, without the vexation of making my friends uneasy.—Surely, beside all other faults, I should be a very ill judge, to doubt your friendship and kindness. But it has pleased GOD that you are not in a state of health, to be mortified with the care and sickness of a friend. Two sick friends never did well together; such an office is fitter for servants and humble companions, to whom it is wholly indifferent whether we give them trouble or not."

The malicious insinuation of Dr. Johnson breaks in upon this melancholy scene, like the intrusion of an unconcerned and unfeeling visitor upon the house of sorrow—mark the malevolent turn he gives to this incident; "Swift left the house of Pope, as it seems, with very little ceremony, finding that two sick friends cannot live together, and did not write to him till he found himself at Chester." Even the learning and eloquence of Dr. Johnson is no sufficient recompense for the injury he has done to mankind, and to his country, by thus slandering the reputations of persons, who deserve to be held by their country in dear and everlasting remembrance: the matter, too, is falsely stated; he says, that Swift never wrote to Pope until he came to Chester, whereas it appears, that he took leave of him at his lodgings in London, and wrote to him a letter, which he left at Gay's lodgings, over which he, to whom it was addressed, "Wept like a child."

The sincere friendship which always existed between Pope and Swift, is strongly manifested by the following passages of a letter from the former, dated 22 August 1726.

"Many a short sigh you cost me the day I left you, and many more you will cost me, till the day you return. I really walked about like a man banished, and when I came home, found it no home. It is a sensation like that of a limb lopped off; one is trying every minute unawares to use it, and finds it is not. I may say you have used me more cruelly than you have done any other man: you have made it more impossible for me to live at ease without you.—Beside my natural memory of you, you have made a local one, which presents you to me in every place I frequent: I shall never more think of lord Cobham's, the woods of Ciceter, or the pleasing prospect of Byberry, but your idea must be joined with them: nor see one seat in my own garden, or one room in my own house, without a phantom of you, sitting or walking beside me. I travelled with you to Chester, I felt the extreme heat of the weather, the inns, the roads, the confinement and closeness of the uneasy coach, and wished a hundred times I had either a deanery or a horse in my gift. In real truth, I have felt my soul peevish ever since with all about me, from a warm uneasy desire after you. I am gone out of myself to no purpose, and cannot catch you. *Inhiat in pedes* was not more properly applied to a poor dog after a hare, than to me with regard to your departure. I wish

1727-8, this bright example of female virtue, wit, and sensibility, was withdrawn from the sight of mortals. She was buried about nine o'clock, in the evening of the 30th, on the south side of the nave of St. Patrick's cathedral, at the foot of the second column from the west entrance. [z]

Nature seems to have lavished upon this remarkable female, all possible charms, mental or corporeal [a]: her features were beautiful and expressive; her countenance, rather pale, was pensive but not melancholy; her eyes dark, and her hair blacker than a raven; her person was formed with the justest symmetry, but rather inclined

I could think no more of it, but lie down and sleep till we meet again, and let that day (how far soever off it may be) be the morrow. Since I cannot, may it be my amends that every thing you wish may attend you where you are, and that you may find every friend you have there, in the state you wish him or her, &c."

[z] The following inscription, upon a white marble slab, the production of no very skilful eulogist, marks the place of her sepulture.

Underneath lie
interred, the mortal Remains
of Mrs. HESTER JOHNSON, better
known to the World by the Name of STELLA,
under which she is celebrated in the Writings of
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT, Dean of this Cathedral.
She was a Person of Extraordinary Endowments, and Accomplishments, in Body, Mind, and Behaviour; justly admired and respected, by all who knew her, on account of her many eminent virtues, as well as for her great natural, and acquired Perfections.
She dyed, January the 27th, 1727-8,
in the 46th year of her Age; and,
by her Will, bequeathed one
thousand Pounds towards the
Support of a Chaplain to
the Hospital, founded in
this City, by Doctor
Stevens.

[a] On the day of her decease, Swift commenced writing an account and character of his amiable friend; at the end of which he inserted some few of her *Bon-mots*. Part of this account, so far as relates to her birth and parentage, is already inserted, in page 237, note b. From the rest I have abstracted the following paragraphs, which comprise the chief features of her character.

"Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation. Yet her memory was not of the best, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of persons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the best, and with the greatest freedom mixed with the greatest decency. She had a gracefulness, somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness, and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. Mr. Addison, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not soon after left the kingdom, assured me he would have used all endeavours to cultivate her friendship. A rude or conceited coxcomb passed his time very ill, upon the least breach of respect; for, in such a case, she had no mercy, but was sure to expose him to the contempt of the standers-by; yet in such a manner as he was ashamed to complain, and durst not resent. All of us who had the happiness of her friendship agreed unanimously, that, in an afternoon or evenings conversation, she never failed, before we parted, of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *bons mots*, wherein she excelled almost beyond belief. She never mistook the understanding of others; nor ever said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved."

"Her servants loved, and almost adored her at the same time. She would, upon occasions, treat them with freedom: yet her demeanour was so awful, that they durst not fail in the least point of respect. She chid them seldom; but it was with severity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after."—

"With all the softness of temper that became a lady, she had the personal courage of an hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new house, which stood solitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the house, where there was only one boy: she was then about four and twenty: and, having been warned to apprehend some such attempt, she learned the management of a pistol; and the other women and servants being half dead with fear, she stole softly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being seen, primed the pistol fresh, gently lifted up the sash; and taking her aim with the utmost presence of mind, discharged the pistol, loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who stood the fairest mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the rest, and died the next morning; but his companions could not be found. The duke of Ormond has often drunk her health to me on that account, and had always a high esteem for her. She was indeed under some apprehensions of going in a boat, after some danger she had narrowly escaped by water; but she was reasoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or discover any fear, in a coach or on horse-back; or any uneasiness by those sudden accidents with which most of her sex, either by weakness or affectation, appear so much disordered."

"She never had the least absence of mind in conversation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word, by waiting impatiently until another had done. She spoke in a most agreeable voice, in the plainest words, never hesitating, except out of modesty before new faces, where she was somewhat reserved; nor, among her nearest friends, ever spoke much at a time. She was but little versed in the common topics of female chat; scandal, censure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: yet, among a few friends, in private conversation, she made little ceremony in discovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and describing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own sex, she was rather inclined to extenuate, or to pity."

"When she was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a person of high station, especially in the church, she could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without shewing her displeasure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter sort, whom she had known and esteemed, but detested above all mankind, when it was manifest, that they had sacrificed those two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much sooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity."

"Her frequent fits of sickness, in most parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progress in reading which she would otherwise have done. She was well versed in the Greek and Roman story, and was not unskilled in that of France and England. She spoke French perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and sickness. She had read carefully all the best books of travels, which serve to open and enlarge

to *embonpoint*; every motion had a gracefulness more than human in it: her powers of conversation, whether grave or gay, excited the admiration of all who knew her: Swift, in the verses which he addressed to her in 1720, says;

" Her hearers are amaz'd from whence
Proceeds that fund of wit and sense;
Which, though her modesty would shroud,
Breaks like the sun behind a cloud;
While gracefulness its art conceals
And yet through every motion steals."

She never failed of delivering the best thing that was said in company, and yet, she never said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved; never was there so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness, and sincerity. Of her

the mind. She understood the Platonic and Epicurean philosophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abstracts of the best books she had read. She understood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good insight into physic, and knew somewhat of anatomy; in both which she was instructed in her younger days, by an eminent physician, who had her long under his care, and bore the highest esteem for her person and understanding. She had a true taste of wit and good sense, both in poetry and prose, and was a perfect good critic of style: neither was it easy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whose advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to send a thing into the world, provided it was on a subject that came within the compass of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, she was sometimes too severe, which is a safe and pardonable error. She preserved her wit, judgment, and vivacity, to the last; but often used to complain of her memory."—

" She was a prudent economist; yet with a stronger bent to the liberal side, wherein she gratified herself by avoiding all expense in clothes (which she ever despised,) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of sickness were very chargeable, except fees to physicians, of which she met with several so generous that she could force nothing on them, (and indeed she must otherwise have been undone;) yet she never was without a considerable sum of ready money; insomuch that upon her death, when her nearest friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her strong box about 150*l.* in gold. She lamented the narrowness of her fortune in nothing so much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends so often, and in so hospitable a manner, as she desired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while she was in health to direct, were treated with neatness and elegance, so that the revenues of her and her companion passed for much more considerable than they really were."—

" Her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminished, and therefore became a tax upon those tradesmen, who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. She bought clothes as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity; for it went farther in doing good than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, 'she always met with gratitude from the poor;' which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them."

" She had another quality that much delighted her, although it might be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however, it was a pleasure she could not resist: I mean, that of making agreeable presents; wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present, 'That it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted, or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money.' I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, she has, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being, on all occasions, the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of."

" From her own disposition, at least as much as from the frequent want of health, she seldom made any visits; but her lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many persons of the graver sort, who all respected her highly, upon her good sense, good manners, and conversation. Among these were the late primate Lindsay, bishop Lloyd, bishop Ashe, bishop Brown, bishop Sterne, bishop Pulleyn, with some others of later date; and indeed the greatest number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modesty, were the virtues she chiefly possessed, and most valued in her acquaintance: and where she found them, would be ready to allow for some defects; nor valued them less, although they did not shine in learning or in wit: but would never give the least allowance for any failures in the former, even to those who made the greatest figure in either of the two latter. She had no use of any persons liberality, yet her detestation of covetous people made her uneasy if such a one was in her company; upon which occasion she would say many things very entertaining and humorous."—

" By returning very few visits, she had not much company of her own sex, except those whom she most loved for their easiness, or esteemed for their good sense: and those, not insisting on ceremony, came often to her. But she rather chose men for her companions, the usual topics of ladies' discourse being such as she had little knowledge of, and less relish. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for she easily descended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, censure, family management, or town talk, she always diverted to something else; but these indeed seldom happened, for she chose her company better: and therefore many, who mistook her and themselves, having solicited her acquaintance, and finding themselves disappointed, after a few visits, dropped off; and she was never known to inquire into the reason, nor ask what was become of them."—

" She was never positive in arguing; and she usually treated those who were so, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr. Addison, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse

judgment and good sense, besides all direct testimony, the journal addressed to her by Swift, during his ministerial career, furnishes ample evidence; to Stella alone was communicated, without reserve, all those court secrets which it is the policy of ministers to keep from the public eye; we have not her answers to these valuable letters, but doubtless, his confidence was amply recompensed by that judgment which he well knew how to value, and which, he says, "never mistook the understandings of others:" "I want your judgment of things and not your country's,"[8] are the emphatic words with which he rejects the opinion of his learned tutor, Dr. St. George Ashe; and thus, by the implied comparison, forcibly expresses how much he valued the opinions of his female friend.[b]

[8] Journal to Stella, 30 Nov. 1710.

she commonly gave, when her friends asked the reason, was, 'that it prevented noise, and saved time.' Yet I have known her very angry with some, whom she much esteemed, for sometimes falling into that infirmity."

"She loved Ireland much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it; and having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, one thousand pounds, to Dr. Stephens's hospital. She detested the tyranny and injustice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reason to love a country, where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her, and the universal good report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by those who keep general conversation; which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a person of so much knowledge, wit, and vivacity; qualities that are used to create envy, and, consequently, censure; and must be rather imputed to her great modesty, gentle behaviour, and inoffensiveness, than to her superior virtues."

"Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extensive than usually falls to the share of her sex; yet she was so far from making a parade of it, that her female visitants, on their first acquaintance, who expected to discover it by what they call hard words and deep discourse, would be sometimes disappointed, and say, 'they found she was like other women.' But wise men, through all her modesty, whatever they discoursed on, could easily observe that she understood them very well, by the judgment shewn in her observations, as well as in her questions."

[b] Dr. Johnson, after giving an account of what, he supposes, were the motives for Swift's marriage with Stella, proceeds to consider, "what were her claims to this *eccentrick tenderness*, by which *the laws of nature were violated* to retain her,"—concerning these, "curiosity will enquire," says the Doctor, "but how shall it be gratified? Swift was a lover; his testimony may be suspected. Delany and the Irish saw with Swift's eyes, and therefore add little confirmation. That she was virtuous, beautiful, and elegant, in a very high degree, such admiration from such a lover makes it very probable; but she had not much literature, for she could not spell her own language; and of her wit, so loudly vaunted, the smart sayings which Swift himself has collected afford no very splendid specimen.—The reader of Swift's 'Letter to a Lady on her Marriage,' may be allowed to doubt whether his opinion of female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted; for, if his general thoughts on women were such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a lady would enrapture, and a very little virtue would astonish him. Stella's supremacy, therefore, was perhaps only local; she was great, because her associates were little."

Were those the words of any other person but Dr. Johnson, they should pass unnoticed, but his authority attaches a sort of value to them, which it is proper should be tried by the touchstone of truth; I make no doubt, however, that it will be found upon examination, to be a malignant attempt to detract from the posthumous fame of two well-deserving persons. First, Doctor Johnson endeavours to set aside all coetaneous testimony, which is important evidence, that he may establish his own opinion, which is of no importance, for it is grounded on no evidence whatever; this he attempts by the most unmeaning and fallacious argument possible; "Swift was a lover, his testimony may be suspected.—Delany and the Irish saw with Swift's eyes and therefore add little confirmation."—What is this but a burlesque of argument? a mere jingle of words? One lover's testimony, it is true, may be suspected, but a number of lovers, nay, a whole nation, Does this add "little confirmation?" A nation too, amongst whom there are many as capable of appreciating female merit as even Dr. Johnson himself. The doctor says, "she had not much literature, for she could not spell her own language," and insinuates, that, "perhaps, her supremacy was only local; she was great, because her associates were little." These objections may be easily disproved. That she could not spell her own language is an exaggeration; Swift, it is true, chides her more than once for bad spelling; but it is also true, that he sometimes alters words, spelt by her according to modern use, to a mode which has since become obsolete; this proves, if indeed it be necessary to prove, that the orthography of the language was not then settled, and that, for want of any fixed standard, perfection therein was, at that time, unattainable; but even this disqualification, the extent of which we are unable to ascertain, will not prove, that Stella was deficient in literature; we shall judge the doctor by his own words; Pennant, the Tourist, is highly praised by Dr. Johnson; in Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, (page 221, 3d edit.) he is related to have said, "that Pennant had greater variety of enquiry than almost any man;" and Boswell, in his Life of Johnson, (Vol. III. page 293, 3d edit.) records another saying of the doctor's, "that he was the best traveller he ever read, &c." and yet this person's printed works are deformed with the vilest specimens of bad spelling that can be imagined; which faults, although they are further aggravated by the circumstances of their being in print, which proves that they were done with consideration, and in a more enlightened age, did not, in Dr. Johnson's opinion, detract from the literary merit of the man.

But, notwithstanding Dr. Johnson's disregard of such authorities, I will cite some passages from the writings of Swift and Delany, whose testimony, concerning what they knew, I believe the reader will esteem to be as good evidence as Dr. Johnson's opinion, concerning what he knew not. Swift cordially recommended Stella to Dr. Tisdall as a wife, (which, by the way, was not acting very like a lover), his words are as follows; "Though it has come in my way to converse with persons of the *first rank*, and of that sex, more than is usual to men of my level, and of our function; yet I have no where met with a humour, a wit, a conversation so agreeable, a better portion of good sense, or a truer judgment of men and things, *I mean here in England*, for as to the ladies in Ireland, I am a perfect stranger." Besides the direct proof which this passage brings, in favour of Stella's merit, it conveys likewise an answer to Dr. Johnson's insinuation, "that her supremacy was only *local*, and that she was great, because her associates were little."—That Swift's judgment of Stella was not formed from comparison with a few associates, appears likewise from his journal:

Judgment, wit, and beauty, although very estimable qualities, did not make up the whole catalogue of Stella's perfections: to the softer, and therefore, by her sex, more attainable virtues, religious faith, charity, and modesty, she united those of a more masculine sort which are allied to fortitude; her truth, honour, and personal courage were themes whereon Swift delighted to dwell, and which he has celebrated in the following lines, addressed to her on her birth-day, in 1720.

" Pallas, observing Stella's wit
Was more than for her sex was fit,
And that her beauty, soon or late,
Might breed confusion in the state,
In high concern for human kind,
Fix'd honour in her infant mind."

" Ten thousand oaths upon record
Are not so sacred as her word:
The world shall in its atoms end,
Ere Stella can deceive a friend.
By honour seated in her breast
She still determines what is best:
What indignation in her mind
Against enslavers of mankind!
Base kings, and ministers of state,
Eternal objects of her hate!
She thinks that nature ne'er design'd
Courage to man alone confin'd.
Can cowardice her sex adorn,
Which most exposes ours to scorn?
She wonders where the charm appears
In Florimel's affected fears;
For Stella never learned the art
At proper times to scream and start."

alluding to the ladies of highest rank in England, with whom he, at that time, daily associated, he writes, on the 17th Oct. 1711; "The Secretary and I dined to-day with Brigadier Britton, a great friend of his. The lady of the house is very gallant, about thirty-five; she is said to have a great deal of wit; but I see nothing among any of them that equals MD by a bar's length, as hope saved." It will perhaps be urged, that this was said by way of compliment; it is, I apprehend, much more likely that it was not, as Swift was not much addicted to flattery of any kind, and, even so, there must have been some good grounds for it, or it would be rather overstrained to say, that she was superior in wit, to every woman of her time. Again, on the 24th of August, speaking of a poem by Dr. Trap, he says, "It is a dull piece, not half so good as Stella's; and she is very modest to compare herself with such a poetaster." From the dean's letter to a lady on her marriage Dr. Johnson argues, that his "opinion of female excellence ought not *implicitly* to be admitted;" this is as much as to say, that Swift could not judge of female perfection, because he knew, and could describe the opposite qualities, a conclusion which does by no means follow; neither do I argue for *implicit* belief, it is Dr. Johnson himself that does demand it, who would set up his own unfounded opinion in opposition to coetaneous testimony.

The passages quoted above, in proof that Stella was not deficient in literature, testify, more abundantly, her pretensions to wit; yet Dr. Johnson says, "of her wit, *so loudly vaunted*, the *smart* sayings which Swift himself has collected, afford no very splendid specimen." The doctor's words do here, again, carry with them sufficient confutation; if Stella's wit was "loudly vaunted," mere assertion will not be sufficient to persuade us that she had not any.—Dr. Delany writes, "I am told some attempt hath been made towards making a collection of her *bon mots:* but, as I have not the book by me, nor any great opinion of the collector, I shall only beg to assure your lordship (lord Orrery), that I have often heard a man of credit, and a competent judge declare, that he never passed one day in her society, wherein he did not hear her say something, which he would wish to remember, to the last day of his life." Observations, &c. Letter VI. This praise applies to a sort of wit much superior to what Dr. Johnson thinks fit, contemptuously, to call, "smart sayings;" moreover, the very conception of such an undertaking, as that which Dr. Delany mentions, proves the general opinion of Stella's excellence in that way, and this is enough. To Dr. Johnson's objection, urged against the collection of *bon mots* made by Swift, I shall apply the judicious remark of his friend Mr. Boswell, (Tour to Hebrides, 3d edit. page 22, *note*); "It is hazardous to exhibit particular instances of wit, which is of so airy and spiritual a nature as often to elude the hand that attempts to grasp it. The excellence and efficacy of a *bon mot* depend frequently so much, on the occasion on which it is spoken, on the particular manner of the speaker, on the person of whom it is applied, the previous introduction, and a thousand minute particulars which cannot be easily enumerated,

" Say, Stella, was Prometheus blind,
And, forming you, mistook your kind?
No; 'twas for you alone he stole
The fire that forms a manly soul;
Then, to complete it every way,
He moulded it with female clay:
To that we owe the nobler flame,
To this the beauty of your frame." [c]

A great part of her fortune, which was small, amounting to little more than 2000*l.* fell with her life; the remaining portion she bequeathed to the purpose of maintaining a chaplain to the hospital, which had been, a little while before, erected in the city of Dublin by Dr. Stephens. [d]

that it is always dangerous to detach a witty saying from the group to which it belongs, and to set it before the eye of the spectator, divested of those concomitant circumstances which gave it animation, mellowness, and relief."

There are but few pieces which can, with any certainty, be attributed to Stella; her credit for wit may however be fairly staked upon those few which are handed down to us; I shall select, as a specimen of her talent in this way, the four concluding lines of the elegy on Demar, and the best in that poem, which Dr. Delany informs us were written by her.

" But as he weigh'd his gold, grim Death in spite,
Cast in his dart, which made three moidores light;
And, as he saw his darling money fail,
Blew his last breath to sink the lighter scale."

Her verses to Swift, on his birth-day, 1721, conclude as follows.

" Long be the day that gave you birth
Sacred to friendship, wit and mirth;
Late dying may you cast a shred
Of your rich mantle o'er my head;
To bear with dignity my sorrow,
One day alone, then die to-morrow."

Mr. W. Scott informs us that he is possessed of a transcript of marginal notes on Milton, which were written by Swift in a copy of that poet's works; they convey information useful only to persons of very indifferent education; the book is moreover inscribed as follows, " The gift of Dr. Jonathan Swift to Mrs. Dingley and Mrs. Johnson, May 1703." Upon the authority of this document, and because he apprehends that Swift would not have taken all this trouble, for the illumination of Mrs. Dingley, Mr. Scott concludes, " that Stella was neither well informed or well educated."

An unjustifiable disregard of the established rules of evidence is the great blemish in Mr. Scott's Memoir; I have, in many other places, pointed out instances of that editor's remarkable predilection for traditional testimony, and unauthenticated epistolary communication: We have here another instance of his contempt for original authority; evidence, ill authenticated and vague, is here proposed, as sufficient to set aside all direct testimony in favour of Stella's literary character: but, before we allow such force to this document, we must be satisfied upon two points; viz. That those notes were originally written for Mrs. Johnson, and not for any other person; and likewise, That they were written in 1703, when the memorandum was inserted, and not during her infancy, when Swift inspected her education; Mr. Scott's *transcript* cannot supply us with satisfaction upon either of these points.

[c] The personal charms of Stella are sometimes noticed by Swift; in his journal of 12th Oct. 1711, he mentions a Mrs. Floyd of Chester, "who, I think," he says, " is the handsomest woman (except MD) that ever I saw." But these descriptions are generally accompanied with some account of their decay, and were seldom addressed to her, until after she had passed her prime. In the verses of Apollo to the dean, written in 1720, the God describes Stella.

" Her eyes were as bright as myself at noon-day,
But her graceful black locks were all mingled with grey."

And in the lines addressed to her on her birth-day in 1719.

" All travellers at first incline
Where'er they see the fairest sign:
And if they find the chambers neat,
And like the liquor and the meat,
Will call again, and recommend,
The Angel Inn to every friend.
What though the painting grows decay'd,
The house will never lose its trade:
Nay, though the treacherous tapster, Thomas,
Hangs a new Angel two doors from us,
As fine as dauber's hands can make it,
In hopes that strangers may mistake it,
We think it both a shame and sin
To quit the true old Angel Inn.
Now this is Stella's case in fact,
An angel's face a little crack'd,
Could poets or could painters fix
How angels look at thirty-six:
This drew us in at first to find
In such a form an angel's mind;
And every virtue now supplies
The fainting rays of Stella's eyes, &c."

The earl of Orrery draws a very favourable picture of Stella, which he ekes out, *more suo*, with a little invention; particularly, he celebrates her skill in music; but it does not appear that he had any authority for adding that talent to the catalogue of her accomplishments.

[d] She bequeathed 1000*l.* of her fortune to be laid out in the purchase of lands in Leinster, Ulster, or Munster, or of any good living which a lay person could sell for ever, provided such lands were not leased for any term longer than forty-one years; which were to be vested in the Governors of Dr. Stephens's hospital and their successors for ever, in trust, to pay the interest to her mother, Bridget Mose, of Farnam, in Surrey, and her sister, Anne Johnston, *alias* Filby, during their joint lives, and the survivor's; and afterwards, to be applied to the maintenance of a chaplain in said hospital; " on condition that the said chaplain shall read prayers out of the common-prayer-book, now establised, and none other, once every day, at 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning, and preach every second Lord's Day in the chapel, or some other place appointed for divine service in the said hospital; and shall likewise visit the

1728--1730—The death of this excellent female friend was a beginning of severe afflictions to Swift; a distaste for the company of his friends was its more immediate consequence, for, upon those occasions her absence was more sensibly felt; his attention was, however, soon engaged by renewed contests with his chapter [9]; the care and embellishment of his cathedral employed, for some years, much of his time; to him we are indebted for the preservation of those few monuments which adorn its fabrick [e]: on the 17th of March 1730, he effected a salutary regulation which concerned its finance, in the following manner; he proposed himself to serve the office of proctor to the oeconomy, and as soon as he was elected, offered to give security of 800*l.* for the faithful discharge of that trust; which measure was approved of unanimously, and a resolution past, that a like security should be required from each of his successors in that office. Neither did he relax in any respect his unceasing attention to the welfare of his native country; several short tracts, published about this period of time, his "Short View of the State of Ireland [f];" "Maxims Controuled in Ireland [g];" "Story of an Injured Lady" [h]

[9] See page 350, note w.

sick and wounded in the said hospital, at such times and in such manner as shall be appointed by the governors thereof. And further, my will is, that the said chaplain shall be a person born in Ireland, and educated in the college of Dublin, who hath taken the degree of A. M. in the said college, and hath received the order of priest-hood from a bishop of the church of Ireland. And my will is, that the said chaplain shall be chosen by ballot, by the governors of the said hospital, and that the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Provost of said college shall be allowed to ballot, for chusing the said chaplain, although they be not governors of said hospital. It is likewise my will, that the said chaplain be an un-married man, at the time of his election, and so continue while he enjoys the office of chaplain to the said hospital; and if he shall happen to marry he shall be immediately removed from the said office, and another chosen in his stead, by ballot, and so qualified as aforesaid. It is also my will and desire, that the said chaplain shall not lie out of his lodgings in or near the said hospital, above one night in a week, without leave from the said governors; to whom I leave full power to punish him, as far as with deprivation, for immoralities, or neglect of his duty. And if it shall happen (which God forbid) that any time hereafter, the present established episcopal church of this kingdom should come to be abolished, and be no longer the national established church of the said kingdom, I do, in that case, declare wholly null and void the bequest above made, of the said thousand pound, or the said land purchased, as far as it relates to the said hospital or chaplain; and do hereby absolutely divest the governors of the hospital of the principal and interest of the said thousand pounds; and my will is, that in the case aforesaid, it devolve to my nearest relation then living. It is likewise my will, that the lands purchased by the said thousand pounds shall be let, without fine, to one or more able tenant, for no longer term than 41 years, at a full rent, with strict penal clauses for planting, enclosing, building, and other improvements; and that no new lease shall be granted till within two years of the expiration of the former lease, and then, if the tenant hath made good improvement, and paid his rents duly, he shall have the preference before any other bidder, by two shillings in the pound, provided that in every new lease there shall be some addition made to the former rent, as far as the land can bear, so as to make it a reasonable bargain to an improving tenant."

She left some other legacies, and bequeathed to Mrs. Dingley her little watch and chain; she nominated Dr. Thos. Sheridan, Rev. John Grattan, Rev. Francis Corbet, and John Rochford, Esq. her executors. Her strong box and all papers in it or elsewhere, she desired should be given to the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Her will was dated the 30 Dec. 1727, and proved 4 May 1728.

[e] See an account of these monuments [in note A] at the end of this volume. It was suspected that Swift intended an afront to the royal family, by the monument which he placed over the duke of Schonberg; but this is not probable, for he exhibited an equal degree of anxiety about the others, and his mode of application to the representatives of the respective families was the same; the only difference was, that all were attended with success, except those which were addressed to the relations of that illustrious general.

[f] This pamphlet was written, late in 1727, and contains a short summary of all the disadvantages under which Ireland laboured at that time; some arose from the faults of the natives themselves, but by far the greater number, from the jealous interference of England. Swift first enumerates fourteen causes of a nation's flourishing and growing rich, and then shews, that none of these are efficacious with regard to Ireland. The greater number of these disadvantages have been already noticed. Alluding to the imposition of certain laws which had never been consented to by the Irish, and to the transfer of the supreme right of jurisdiction, from the Irish to the English house of peers, he says: "Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent. to decide our properties: in all which we have the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind." Although the publication of this tract was not obstructed in Ireland, when it appeared in England it occasioned such a sensation, that a prosecution was commenced against Mist, the journalist, who happened to reprint it.

[g] The object of this tract, which was written in 1724, is to shew, that certain maxims of state, founded upon long observation and experience, and drawn from the very principles of government, although they are undoubtedly true, when applied to any other nation, yet, on account of her peculiar situation, they are not applicable to Ireland: "because," says Swift, "all these maxims do necessarily pre-suppose a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the same natural rights, common to the rest of mankind, who have entered into civil society." These maxims are the following: 1st. "That the dearness of things necessary for life, in a fruitful country, is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce." 2d. "That the low rate of interest is a sign of great plenty of money in a nation." 3d. "That the great increase of buildings in the metropolis, argues a flourishing state." 4th. "That people are the riches of a nation." 5th. "That, of all taxes, those imposed upon luxury

and others,[i] exhibit proofs of the unremitting zeal with which Swift continued to guard the interests of Ireland—" to warn his country-men of their errors, to laugh them out of their follies, to vindicate their rights against the aggressions of their powerful neighbours; and to be, in the expressive language of Scripture, the man set for their watch-man, to blow the trumpet and warn the people."[1] His care and anxiety was not solely occupied about her great national rights; every thing that affected her political, commercial, or agricultural interests, all her minor concerns, were, to the patriotic mind of Swift, matters of high moment: amidst this multiplicity of interests, that of the poorest class did not pass unregarded; to the voice of charity, the greater part of mankind is usually deaf, but the genius of Swift

[1] Swift's Works, by Walter Scott, Vol. VII. page 310.

are the most equitable, and beneficial to the subject."—" Here again," says Swift, alluding to the last, " by the singular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly false; and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence, as, I certainly believe, the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach." He alludes to the effect this measure has, in encreasing the number of absentees.

[h] In this tract, England, Ireland and Scotland are personified; the three nations are represented under the allegory of a gentleman, with two mistresses, to each of whom he pretended honourable love. After giving a very unfavourable character of her rival, but a more agreeable one of herself, the Injured Lady, (Ireland), proceeds to relate the particulars of the gentleman's hard usage of her; in which narrative the oppressions of England are metaphorically described. " I shall never forget," she says, " the speech he made me one morning, which he delivered with all the gravity in the world. He put me in mind of the vast obligations I lay under to him, in sending me so many of his people for my own good, and to teach me manners: that it had cost him ten times more than I was worth to maintain me; that it had been much better for him if I had been damned, or burned, or sunk to the bottom of the sea; that it was reasonable I should strain myself as far as I was able to reimburse him some of his charges: that from henceforward he expected his word should be a law to me in all things; that I must maintain a parish watch against thieves and robbers, and give salaries to an overseer, a constable, and others, all of his own choosing, whom he would send from time to time to be spies upon me; that, to enable me the better in supporting these expences, my tenants should be obliged to carry all their goods cross the river to his own town market, and pay toll on both sides, and then sell them at half value. But because we were a nasty sort of people, and that he could not endure to touch any thing we had a hand in, and likewise because he wanted work to employ his own folks, therefore we must send all our goods to his market, just in their naturals; the milk immediately from the cow, without making it into cheese or butter; the corn in the ear; the grass as it is mowed; the wool as it comes from the sheep's back, &c."

The allegory is sustained throughout in the same natural, easy way, of which the above passage is a specimen; the likeness too is so admirably well preserved, that we may easily recognise every incident, or circumstance to which he alludes. To this tract, which is a master-piece of its kind, there is annexed a second part, entitled, " The Answer to the Injured Lady," which conveys, under the veil of the same allegory, the following rules for her future conduct.

" My advice is this: Get your tenants together as soon as you conveniently can, and make them agree to the following resolutions:

" First, that your family and tenants have no dependance upon the said gentleman, farther than by the old agreement, which obliges you to have the same steward, and to regulate your household by such methods as you should both agree to."

" Secondly, that you will not carry your goods to the market of his town, unless you please, nor be hindered from carrying them any where else."

" Thirdly, that the servants you pay wages to, shall live at home, or forfeit their places."

" Fourthly, that whatever lease you make to a tenant, it shall not be in his power to break it."

" If he will agree to these articles, I advise you to contribute as largely as you can to all charges of parish and county."

It is worthy of remark, that his country-men have followed the advice here given by Swift in every particular, except that recommended by the third article; he concludes this letter of advice with the following remark.

" I can assure you, several of that gentleman's ablest tenants and servants are against his severe usage of you, and would be glad of an occasion to convince the rest of their error, if you will not be wanting to yourself."

[i] It would tend to little advantage to specify all the tracts, that have reference to Ireland, which have been written by Swift; or those which have been attributed to him, because, perhaps, they were countenanced by him. The catalogue has been augmented, in the last edition of his works, by the addition of several pieces from Carson's Weekly Journal; such are, two letters of a projector, published 1728; and three letters upon the use of Irish coals, in 1729: Mr. Walter Scott thinks, that the humour and tendency of the first two ascertain their authenticity; in this respect I must beg leave to differ from the learned editor, for they appear to me quite unworthy of Swift: the letters upon the use of Irish coals are attributed to him, because two of them bear the well known initials of M. B. and because the third directly ascribes them to the Drapier; the composition is, however, so very bad, and so defaced with typographical blunders, that I cannot believe they issued from the pen of Swift; although, doubtless, they were, on account of their good tendency, authorised by him: they were perhaps sent into the world, much in the same manner with some tracts that appeared during the Oxford administration, which have been, in like manner, attributed to Swift.

Swift's Answer to the Memorial of Sir John Brown deserves notice, on account of his remarks upon an ill custom, which obtained about that time, of land-lords, from an apprehension of their land being worn out of heart, preventing the farmers from tilling, whereby whole tracts became depopulated, and, what would have produced food for hundreds of human creatures, was converted to the maintenance of a few beasts of the field: the impolicy of the measure is displayed by Swift in the following words.

" For a people, denied the benefit of trade, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a wild Indian would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce, by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread, The gra-

devised means to draw the attention of the public, even to this very ordinary topic[k]: in a tract published about this time, he proposed, with all the formality of a serious projector, to relieve the distresses of the poor, by converting their children into food for the rich[l]; the plausible disinterestedness which he affects, when he disclaims any advantage to himself from the success of his plan, the grave and formal way in which he proposes the oeconomical, and political advantages, from the measure, the epicurism, the *goinfrerie*, with which he describes the "magnificence" of this unusual fare, contribute, together with its other indescribable perfections, to render this tract the most extraordinary piece of humour in any language, ancient or modern;

zier's employment is to feed great flocks of sheep, or black cattle, or both. With regard to sheep, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (farther than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, but to one certain country, and only to some few ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more sheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool, or eat the flesh. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies: but we shall never be sober until we have the same way of thinking, &c."

[k] Scarcely could any direct appeal to the feelings of mankind, be more forcible or effectual than the following passage, which, with seeming apathy and pretended unconcern, places before us a truly-affecting representation of the miseries of this unhappy class of beings.

"Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can reasonably be expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come."

The year in which this tract appeared was one of great calamity.—"As to this country," says Swift in his letter to Pope, dated 11 August 1729, "there have been three terrible year's dearth of corn, and every place strewed with beggars."

[l] "This celebrated piece of humour," says Mr. Scott, "is urged with such inimitable gravity of irony, that a foreign author is said actually to have considered the proposal as serious, and to have quoted it as an instance of the extremity under which Ireland laboured, that a man of letters, and a clergyman, had seriously recommended to the rich to feed upon the children of the poor."

The cold, phlegmatic style of a political projector, who waves the consideration of all the finer feelings of humanity, or makes them subservient, as matters of slight moment, to the general advantages proposed in his plan of financial improvement, is admirably well satirized.—"It is true, a child just dropped from its dam may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them, &c."—The cool, "business-like" manner, in which the calculations are stated, is equally admirable; "I calculate there may be in this kingdom 200,000 couple whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract 30,000 couple, who are able to maintain their own children;—I again subtract 50,000, for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year; there only remain 120,000 children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for?—For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houses (I mean in the country), nor cultivate land: they can seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier.—I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no saleable commodity; and even when they come to this age they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at most, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.—I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that, of the 120,000 children already computed, 20,000 may be reserved for breed.—That the remaining 100,000 may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune throughout the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter."

These calculations are every where interspersed with satirical allusions to the vices, follies, and prejudices which it was Swift's business, as well as his amusement, to expose.—"I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for land-lords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.—I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child to be about two shillings per annum, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the carcass of a good fat child;—thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; and the mother will have eight shillings neat profit, and be fit for work till she produces another child."—He then alludes to the anecdote, related in the description of the island of Formosa, by George Psalmanazer, of the carcass of a girl, aged nineteen, being sold as a dainty by the executioner; "neither indeed can I deny," says Swift, "that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at a playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse."

The same sarcastic allusions are interspersed throughout the list of advantages which he describes to arise from the measure.—"As I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies; who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes to an episcopal curate.—The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to distress, and help to pay their land-lord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.—It

there are, moreover, combined with the main object, other subordinate advantages; the extravagance of our country-men, and the intolerant jealousy of our neighbours, are successfully satirized; in no tract that Swift ever wrote, did he so well exemplify the precept which he has expressed in the following lines.

"—I find it by experiment,
Scolding moves you less than merriment.
I may storm and rage in vain;
It but stupifies your brain.
But with raillery to nettle,
Sets your thoughts upon their mettle;
Gives imagination scope;
Never lets your mind elope;
Drives out brangling and contention,
Brings in reason and invention." [z]

In the year 1728, a periodical paper, called the Intelligencer, [m] was commenced by Swift and Sheridan; but the circulation being small, and the price only one halfpenny, the printer could not afford to pay any sum to an editor, so that it was soon dropped. While it lasted, this publication served as a vehicle of satire against

[z] Verses to a Lady, &c. Vol. XIV. page 282.

would encrease the care and tenderness of mothers toward their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes.—Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of the mares in foal, their cows in calf, their sows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of miscarriage."

Herein he alludes to the mean subject of his other political tracts, and though he ironically rejects them, he illustrates them with exquisite humour.—"I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be on earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients—for, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it has something solid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging England. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it."

That unconsciousness of the barbarity of his own project, which he so well feigns, greatly encreases the effect, and produces a high degree of amusement, particularly when it is contrasted with the great compassion which he sometimes affects.—"There is another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard children, alas too frequent among us! sacrificing the poor babes, I doubt more to avoid the expence than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast."

He concludes this admirable specimen of comic humour with the following protestation of personal disinterestedness.—"I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the public good of my country.—I have no children by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old and my wife past child-bearing."

[m] See Swift's letter to Pope, dated 12 June 1731, where he gives an account of this publication. "Two or three of us had a fancy, three years ago, to write a weekly paper, and call it an Intelligencer; but it continued not long; for the whole volume (it was re-printed in London, and I find you have seen it,) was the work only of two, myself, and Dr. Sheridan.—In the volume you saw (to answer your questions) the 1, 3, 5, 7, were mine. Of the 8th, I writ only the verses, very incorrect, but against a fellow we all hated; the 9th mine; the 10th only the verses, and of those, not the four last slovenly lines; the 15th is a pamphlet of mine printed before, with Dr. Sheridan's preface, merely for laziness, not to disappoint the town: and so was the 19th, which contains only a parcel of facts relating purely to the miseries of Ireland, and wholly useless and unentertaining."

Of these, No. III. contains some reflections upon the moral use of humour, "which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their vices," illustrated by the play of the Beggars Opera. Nos. V. and VII contain the Essay on the Fates of Clergymen, exemplified in the story of Curosides and Eugenio. The verses in No. VIII are the dialogue between Mad Mullinix and Timothy; the former, a crazy beggar, and a mad tory politician: by Timothy is meant Richard Tighe, the officious informer against Sheridan, a violent whig, and furious enemy to the clergy. No. IX is nearly the same with the "Essay on Modern Education," which treatise, Mr. Scott says, is "excellent in all points, excepting, perhaps, the tone of bitterness with which Swift reprobates persons, and professions, of a different turn from his own." But it is quite undeserving of any such censure; the profession of the army, as a school for youth of noble birth, and the practise of employing French tutors, are very justly and successfully ridiculed. Mr. Scott concludes his remarks with the following passage, which not only exculpates, but fully justifies Swift. "It is a matter of important remark, that since the continent has been shut against wanderers of rank and wealth, we have seen symptoms of the revival of ancient learning and discipline among our nobility and youth of fortune." The verses in No. X are "Tim and the Fables." No. XV contains an exposition of the causes of the public distress in Ireland, which is the same with the "Short View of

the dean's political and literary enemies; of these the chief were, Richard Tighe [n]; Sir Thomas Prendergast; and Jonathan Smedley, dean of Clogher; the last of whom had, just before, provoked his enmity by publishing, in an octavo

the State of Ireland, mentioned in p. 373, note f. No. XIX relates to the scarcity of silver coin. All the preceding have been incorporated into Swift's works.

I have never seen the London edition to which Swift alludes, but am in possession of what I apprehend to be a perfect set of the original papers; they are twenty in number; the last is double, the first part contains the latin inscription intended to have been placed under a mezzotinto print of Dean Smedley, and the parody upon it, both which are printed in Swifts works, Vol. XIV. page 436; this first part is entitled, "Dean Smedley gone to seek his fortune," with "a short history of the dean, by way of illustration;" it appears from hence that this enemy of Swift had got considerably in debt, and had eloped to Fort St. George: the second part is entitled, "A posthumous work communicated;" it contains only one short poem.

Of the papers by Sheridan, some are well deserving of notice. No. II contains an account of the affront offered to Swift by A. Ram, Esq. of Gorey, (called in this paper, Squire Wether), whose carriage rudely encountered the dean as he stood in the street of that town, and nearly overwhelmed him; it is republished in Scott's Life of Swift, page 367, note. No. VI gives a dreary description of the poverty of Ireland, and of its ruinous parish churches, a state of desolation to which those edifices had been reduced by the infuriated zeal of Cromwell and his followers; the present state of the country here described, (the district between Dundalk and Dublin,) forms a curious and pleasing contrast to that which is given in this paper. No. XI ridicules, both in prose and verse, an advertisement by Dean Smedley, that appeared in the London Journal, which announces the publication of a specimen of a book, entitled, "An Universal View of all the eminent writers on the Holy Scriptures, &c." No. XIII, on story-telling; this is a very pleasing tract; the description of a "delightful story-teller" was manifestly intended for Swift himself, and the story introduced as a specimen, is taken from his Tale of Tub. Nos. XVI and XVII relate to the usual subjects of the dean's political pamphlets, published at that period of time, the poverty of Ireland, and the oppressions under which the natives of the country then laboured. No. XVIII recounts the many services which the Drapier had rendered to his native country, and proposes that St. Andrew's day, his birth-day, should be celebrated with anniversary rejoicings.

Dr. Delany, ever jealous of Sheridan on account of Swift's partiality towards him, was more than usually piqued at the approbation those papers received; he attacked them violently, both in conversation and print, but unfortunately stumbled upon some numbers that the dean had written, which occasioned his poem, entitled, "Paddy's Character of the Intelligencer;" never was there, perhaps, a popular fable more beautifully illustrated, or more fortunately applied.

"As a thorn bush, or oaken bough,
Stuck in an Irish cabin's brow,
Above the door, on country fair,
Betokens entertainment there;
So bays on poets brows have been
Set, for a sign of wit within.
And as ill neighbours in the night
Pull down an ale-house bush for spite;
The laurel so, by poets worn,
Is by the teeth of envy torn;
Envy, a canker-worm, which tears
Those sacred leaves that lightning spares.
And now t' exemplify this moral:
Tom having earned a twig of laurel,
(Which, measur'd on his head, was found
Not long enough to reach half round,
But, like a girl's cockade, was ty'd,
A trophy, on his temple-side),
Paddy repin'd to see him wear
This badge of honour in his hair;
And, thinking this cockade of wit
Would his own temples better fit,
Forming his muse by Smedley's model,
Lets drive at Tom's devoted noddle,
Pelts him by turns with verse and prose,
Hums like a hornet at his nose.
At length presumes to vent his satire on
The Dean, Tom's honoured friend and patron.
The eagle in the tale, ye know,
Teas'd by a buzzing wasp below,
Took wing to Jove, and hop'd to rest
Securely in the thunderer's breast:
In vain; even there, to spoil his nod,
The spiteful insect stung the God."

It would be difficult to ascertain the respective authors of the several anonymous pieces which were published at that time, neither would it be easy to decide which of those, against Sheridan, were written by Delany, nor which of these latter occasioned the epigram here printed; such pieces as I have seen are very dull; "Tom Punsibi's Farewell to the Muses," although but indifferent, is the best; I here annex a few lines from the original broad-side in my possession;

"Apollo, farewell, and ye Muses seraphick,
No longer in metre shall Punsibi trafic:
A wife and a muse!—no need of the latter,
The former may very well serve for a satyr;
And since I must dance in a conjugal fetter,
I, of the two evils, have chosen the better.
Oh! would that I never had talli'd with Phæbus,
Or traded in doggrel, in puns, or in rebus!
Ne'er meddled with catches, or satires, or farces,
And lash'd at nothing, but at innocent a—s! &c."

[n] Of the satires upon Richard Tighe, many are published in Swift's works (See Vol. X. page 511, &c.), but there are others, of which some issued doubtless from the pen of Swift, that have escaped the vigilance of collectors; I possess the original broadside copies of two poems; the first, printed in 1725, holds out the promise of a similar publication, weekly, "if due encouragement be given;" it is addressed, "To the honourable Mr. D. T. great pattern of piety, charity, learning, humanity, good-nature, wisdom, good-breeding, affability; and one most eminently distinguished for his conjugal affection." The other poem has an inscription very similar; it is a versification of the sick lion and the ass, and concludes with the following moral;

"Rebukes are easy from our betters,
From men of quality and letters,
But when low dunces will affront,
What man alive can stand the brunt."

That Swift was not ignorant of Tighe's conduct towards his wife appears manifest from the following passage of his journal to Stella, 23d Aug. 1711; "Dick Tighe and his wife lodged over against us; and he has been seen, out of our upper windows, beating her two or three times: they are both gone to Ireland, but not together; and he solemnly vows never to live with her. Neighbours do not stick to say she has a tongue: in short, I am told, she is the most urging, provoking devil that ever was born, and he a hot whiffling puppy, very apt to resent." Swift practised, in 1711, a humorous mode of affronting Tighe, whom he seems always to have disliked; in his journal of 13th May, 1711, he writes; "Dick Tighe and

volume, under the title of "Gulliveriana[o] and Alexanderiana, or a fourth volume of their Miscellany," all the ribaldry he could compose, or collect, against Swift and Pope. By his presumption this second Mævius has earned for himself a sort of opprobrious immortality; not only has his name been attached as a foil to that of Swift, but he has likewise obtained a prominent place amongst the Dunciad heroes.

The occasional poems, written by Swift about this time, are numerous and of various kinds; they were given to the public anonymously; almost all of them were originally printed upon single sheets or broad-sides, and consigned in this form to the hawkers. Amongst those which have immediate reference to the vice-roy and his court, "The Apology to lady Carteret" challenges a distinguished place: Dr. Delany, by his epistle to his excellency,[p] had attracted around him a swarm of

I meet, and never stir our hats. I am resolved to mistake him for Witherington, the little nasty lawyer that came up to me so sternly at the castle the day I left Ireland. I'll ask the gentleman I saw walking with him, how long Witherington has been in town."

Farquhar, the comedian, inscribed his comedy, "The Inconstant," to Richard Tighe, and, although he has painted him in very different colours from the dean's satirical pencil, yet, as Mr. Scott remarks, "there may be discerned, even in that dedication, the outlines of a light mercurial character, capable of being represented as a coxcomb or fine gentleman, as should suit the purpose of the writer who was disposed to immortalize him." The portrait, in the story of "Tim and the Fables," may be easily recognised to be a just, although a caricature resemblance to the person described in the following paragraph of this panegyrick. "From the part of Mirabel, in this play, and another character in one of my former, people are willing to compliment my performance in drawing a gay, splendid, generous, easy, fine young gentleman. My genius, I must confess, has a bent to that kind of description, and my veneration for you, Sir, may pass for unquestionable, since, in all these happy accomplishments, you come so near to my darling character, bating his inconstancy."—Farquhar's fine gentleman might, as we may easily imagine, appear to Swift's eyes a coxcomb, even though he were not blinded by party zeal.

[o] Dean Smedley appears to have been the aggressor in this paper war; in his petition to the duke of Grafton, he commenced hostilities against Swift, who, by noticing him in his works, has favoured him with a mark of distinction, which he by no means vouchsafed to confer upon the other dunces his confederates. Swift, who was generally insensible to personal abuse, seems to have been provoked by the confident familiarity which his adversary asumed; Smedley begins his petition to the duke of Grafton, with a comparison between their merits and qualifications, founded upon his having a knack at rhime, which his self-conceit magnified into an opinion of equality, or even superiority of talent; whereas the whole resemblance between those persons amounted to no more than a similarity between their names, and ecclesiastical promotions; Smedley presumed to court the duke's favour, in the "looser rhime" with which "t'other Jonathan, viz. Swift" used to propitiate Ormond or Oxford. "The dean," says Mr. Scott, "like other great men, did not easily forgive those, who, with inferior talents and different political principles, affected the same stile of addressing the great, by which he had originally distinguished himself," he replied, in the duke's name, to Smedley, and this poem, probably, set the latter about raking together the filth which he has published under the title "Gulliveriana:" however, as Mr. Scott remarks, "Smedley's 'much malice' was mingled with a little wit.—He has drawn the following malignant caricature of Swift, which has considerable point and vivacity, as well as a distorted resemblance to the dean's character."

"THE DEVIL'S LAST GAME:
A Satire.

"Said Old Nick to St. Michael, you use me but ill,
To suppress all my force and restrain all my skill;
Let me loose at religion, I'll shew my good parts,
And try if your doctrine can balance my arts.
'Tis a match, cried the angel, and drew off his guard,
And the devil slipt from him, to play a coat-card.
The first help he sought, was a qualified mind,
That had compass and void for the use he design'd.
There occurr'd a pert nothing, a stick of church timber,
Who had stiffness at will, but his morals were limber:
To whom wit serv'd for reason, and passion for zeal;
Who had teeth like a viper, and tail like an eel:
Wore the malice of hell with heavenly grace,
Of humour enchanting, and easy of face;
His tongue flow d with honey, his eyes flash'd delight;
He despis'd what was wrong, and abus'd what was right;
Had a knack to laugh luckily; never thought twice;
And, with coarseness of heart had a taste that was nice.
Nature form'd him malignant, but, whetting him fast,
He was edg'd for decay, and too brittle to last.
He would quarrel with virtue because 'twas his foe's,
And was hardly a friend to the vice which he chose:
He could love nothing grave, nothing pleasant forbear;
He was always in jest, but was most so in prayer.
Lord be prais'd, quoth the devil!—A fig for all grace!
So he breath'd a new brogue o'er the bronze of his face;
Lent him pride above hope, and conceit above spleen,
Slipt him into church service, and call'd him a Dean."
Gulliveriana, page 272.

But Smedley's creditors were enemies he dreaded more than Swift, from these he was obliged to fly, in February 1728-9; Swift took leave of him in a parody upon the Latin inscription which Smedley had written, and proposed should be engraved under a mezzotinto portrait of himself. The first lines of this parody are at least as applicable to Smedley, as those above quoted are to Swift.

"The very reverend Dean Smedley,
Of dullness, pride, conceit, a medley,
Was equally allow'd to shine
As poet, scholar, and divine;
With godliness could well dispense,
Would be a rake, but wanted sense;
Would strictly after truth inquire,
Because he dreaded to come nigh her.
For liberty no champion bolder,
He hated bailiffs at his shoulder.
To half the world a standing jest,
A perfect nuisance to the rest; &c."

[p] The following account of the poems, written upon this occasion, will not, perhaps, be deemed unacceptable. I shall take the liberty of quoting largely from such as, on account of their extreme rarity, have not been mentioned by any editor of Swift's works.

I. "An Epistle to his Excellency John, Lord Carteret." By Dr. Delany, printed 1729.—Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. XIV. p. 392. The circulation of this poem, wherein the doctor signifies his dissatisfaction at the smallness of his promotions, was like an appeal to the public; it occasioned numerous

critics; Swift flew to his relief, and defended his friend in two poetical pieces; the first is entitled, "A Libel on the Rev. Dr. Delany, and his Excellency John, lord Carteret;" the second an "Address to Dr. Delany, on the Libels which had been written against him;" both of these pieces appeared in 1729, from the last Delany seems to have acquired fresh confidence; in 1730, he published his fable of "The Pheasant and the Lark," the object of which was nearly the same with his Epistle to lord Carteret, namely, to draw the viceroy's attention to his merits, and to propitiate his favour by a poetical offering; the fable of the Pheasant and

replies and rejoinders; "The affectation," says Mr. Scott, "of holding himself forth as the chosen favourite of the lord lieutenant's easier hours, called down the censure of Tisdall, Smedley, and others." Life of Swift, Appendix, page cxxvi. The first of these answers to Delany's Epistle is entitled,

II. "An Epistle, upon an Epistle from a certain Doctor to a certain great Lord; being a Christmas-box for Dr. Delany." Re-printed, Swift's Works, Vol. XIV. page 396.

III. "An Answer to the Christmas-box; in defence of Doctor Delany; by R——t B——r." 1729, 12mo.

"Ye damnable dunces, ye scribblers, what mean ye,
To fall with your doggrell on Doctor D—n—y, &c."

This piece has never been re-printed; like the other poems, written against Delany, it attributes his pecuniary difficulties to his expences at Delville, in the village of Glasnevin;

"Quite ruin'd and bankrupt, reduc'd to a farthing,
By making too much of a very small garden."

And so likewise the preceding piece;

"But you, forsooth, your all must squander
On that poor spot call'd Delville, yonder."

IV. "A Libel on the Reverend Dr. Delany, and his Excellency John, Lord Carteret;" 1729. This poem is by Swift, and is printed in his Works, Vol. XIV. page 400.

V. "A Panegyric on the Reverend D——n S——t; in answer to the Libel on Dr. D—-y, and a certain great L—d." 1729-30, 12mo.

"Could all we little folks that wait,
And dance attendance on the great,
Obtain such privilege as you,
To rail, and go unpunished too, &c."

This poem has likewise escaped the vigilance of collectors; it, in some places, glances at the dean himself. The following passage alludes to the advice given by Swift in the preceding poem;

"Rightly you shew, that wit alone
Advances few, enriches none,
And 'tis as true, or story lies,
Men seldom by their good deeds rise:
From whence the consequence is plain,
You never had commenc'd a Dean,
Unless you other ways had trod
Than those of Wit, or Trust in God."

This piece terminates with the following lines;

"For Gulliver divinely shews,
That Human-kind are all Yahoos.
Both envy then and malice must
Allow your hatred strictly just;
Since you alone of all the race
Disclaim the Human name, and face,
And with the Virtues pant to wear
(May Heav'n indulgent hear your pray'r!)
The proof of your high origin,
The Horses countenance divine.
While G [*rattan*], S [*heridan*], and I,
Who after you adoring fly,
An humbler prospect only wait,
To be your Asses-colts of state,
The Angels of your awful nods,
Resembling you as Angels Gods."

The last two lines are a parody on the last four of the Dean's "Libel, &c."

VI. "To Dr. Delany, on the Libels written against him." 1729. This beautiful poem is written by Swift, and is printed in his works; Vol. XIV. page 406. The following lines, although addressed to Delany, are more peculiarly applicable to the dean himself.

"A genius in the reverend gown
Must ever keep its owner down;
'Tis an unnatural conjunction,
And spoils the credit of the function.
Round all your brethren cast your eyes,
Point out the surest men to rise;
That club of candidates in black,
The least deserving of the pack,
Aspiring, factious, fierce, and loud,
With grace and learning unendowed."

———

"They crowd about preferment's gate,
And press you down with all their weight;
For, as of old, mathematicians
Were by the vulgar thought magicians;
So academic dull ale-drinkers,
Pronounce all men of wit free-thinkers."

The concluding lines of this admirable poem shew in what contempt Swift held the libels written against himself.

"You have been libell'd—Let us know,
What fool officious told you so?
Will you regard the hawker's cries,
Who in his titles always lies?
Whate'er the noisy scoundrel says,
It might be something in your praise:
And praise bestow'd in Grub-street rhymes,
Would vex one more a thousand times.
Till critics blame, and judges praise,
The poet cannot claim his bays.
On me when dunces are satiric,
I take it for a panegyric.
Hated by fools, and fools to hate,
Be that my motto, and my fate."

VII. "A Letter of Advice to the Rev. D—-r D—la—y, humbly proposed to the consideration of a certain great Lord." Broadside. This piece has been re-published by Mr. Walter Scott; Appendix to Life of Swift, page cxxvi. "This curious Libel, upon Dr. Delany," says Mr. Scott, "takes the same tone with the rebuke administered to him, by Swift, for boasting of his intimacy with Lord Carteret;" the more curious Libel which I now proceed to describe, rebukes Delany for his vanity on account of the encomiums which had been bestowed on him by the Dean.

VIII. "Some Seasonable Advice to Doctor D—-n—-y." Broadside; printed 1730.

"My friend D——y be not vain,
For those encomiums from the dean,
And huff, and strut about the town
Upon unmerited renown.

the Lark drew from one of the opposite party an answer, which is not deficient in merit; and indeed, Delany's ambition, and self conceit, seems to have left a fair opening for such an attack. This answer reflects with severity, not only upon the doctor, but likewise on his friend and advocate the dean. Besides these there are other occasional pieces, both in prose and verse, which flowed from the pen of Swift, they are however too numerous to specify each distinctly, amongst them are to be found some of his most admired works. [q]

Believe me, they are only writ,
To shew his elegance and wit.
He chooses trifles for the nonce,
And so he praised a broom-stick once."

" Go dive into an Irish bog,
And thence hawl out a shapeless log,
A skilful artist can with ease
Give it what shape and mien you please,
But then, in spite of all his skill,
We see it is but bog-wood still.
So let the dean use all his art,
To rig you out a poet smart,
Your smoaky genius no where shines,
But thro' the lustre of his lines;
For all who read your works agree,
They're any thing but poetry."

" So let the dean say what he will,
D——y, you're D——y still."

" Our dean has only this one blot,
The telling us what you are not."

" Once on a time (the tale you know)
A fox did compliment a crow,
And told her, if she would but sing,
The hills and dales for joy would ring.
By vanity the fool was fir'd,
And strove to sing, as he desir'd,
But, from her harsh, and tuneless throat
She could not fetch a single note,
All she could do, was croak, and croak,
So merry Reynard had his joke."

IX. " The Pheasant and the Lark. A Fable. By Dr. Delany." 1730.—Swift's Works, Vol. XIV. page 419.—This poem may be considered as a continuation of the same series. Delany here characterises his adversaries, and the persons designated by some of those names, have been explained by the editor of Faulkner's edition.—The Rook is said to signify Dr. T——r (it should, I apprehend, have been T——l, Tisdall;) the Daw or Crow, Richard Tighe; the Tom-tit, Sheridan; the others, whom Delany describes to have been many in number, have not been ascertained. This poem occasioned a reply, which is entitled,

X. " An Answer to Dr. Delany's Fable of the Pheasant and the Lark." 1730.—Swift's Works, Vol. XIV. page 424. Mr. Walter Scott appears, from a reference in his Appendix, page cxxvi., to attribute this poem to Swift; but it is quite impossible that it should have been written by him: an advertisement, attached to the article described No. VIII. makes the following declaration, " The animadversions upon your Fable of the Pheasant &c. is by the same hand which has given you this friendly advice."

Dr. Delany's representations, however, were crowned with almost immediate success; when Edward Synge was promoted to the episcopal bench, he was nominated to succeed him in the chancellorship of this cathedral: Delany had been promoted to the chancellorship of Christ-church, in 1727; he held both those dignities until 1744, when he was promoted to the deanery of Down.

[q] Even whilst Swift was engaged most deeply in political controversy, his active mind was, as we have seen, employed in various literary pursuits; several tracts, both in prose and verse, some of greater and some of less consequence, which have not yet been noticed, flowed from his pen, at different intervals between the years 1720 and 1730. I shall proceed to lay before the reader a brief account of such of those pieces as seem to be most deserving of attention.

I. Works of immoral and irreligious tendency were always held by Swift in utter abhorrence, it is no wonder that his zeal should, therefore, be awakened by the practice, which at that time prevailed, of hawking about scandalous and immoral treatises, both in prose and verse, the productions of minor poets and witlings, a set of manufacturers whom Swift pretends to patronize and instruct, and proposes humorously to incorporate, in a tract, entitled, " A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet, together with a Proposal for the Encouragement of Poetry in Ireland."—This piece was written in the year 1720, about the same time that his proposal for the encouragement of our manufactures, and his tracts in ridicule of the bank-project made their appearance: it humorously alludes to both those matters, and satirizes the numerous Grub-street publications of those times, in a strain of irony resembling that which pervades " the Swearer's Bank," and other pieces: he proposes, that if any further application should be made on the other side to obtain a charter for a bank, poetry should be made a sharer in that privilege, " being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded as our stocks." The following refined piece of raillery, with which he sets out, is levelled directly at Sir Philip Sidney, but is intended, likewise, to satirize those writers who extol extravagantly the subject upon which they treat, and moreover, to place in a ridiculous light the numerous pretenders to poetry with whom it appears the city was then infested; " History, ancient or modern, cannot furnish you with an instance of one person, eminent in any station, who was not in some measure versed in poetry, or at least a well-wisher to the professors of *it*; neither would I despair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or lawyer, or even so much as an eminent bellman, or balladsinger, without some taste of poetry, and a competent skill in versification: but I say the less of this, because the renowned Sir P. Sidney has exhausted the subject before me, in his Defence of Poesie, on which I shall make no other remark but *this*, that he argues there, as if he really believed himself."—More than once throughout the piece Swift indulges himself in satirical effusions against this tract by the renowned knight. He then proposes, in his usual grave manner, " to offer his poor thoughts for the encouragement of poetry in this kingdom."—" I have had many an aking heart for the ill plight of that noble profession here, and it has been my late and early study, how to bring it into better circumstances. And surely, considering what monstrous wits, in the poetic way, do almost daily start up and surprise us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here, (of which I could give instances without number) and withal, of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here, for it is plain our linen manufacture is advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present set of poets; not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shop-keepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and pastry cooks, and I might add, but for our writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bum-fodder, and must of necessity import the same from England and Holland, where

Of those fugitive pieces there is one class which turns upon subjects of a filthy and disgusting nature, in the publication of which the dean regarded, as he has done upon other occasions, the public service, and the exigencies of the times, more than his own permanent credit, as a man of literature; Swift's office of censor called for the exercise of his talents in reforming errors of a private, as well as those of a public nature: his own habitual cleanliness rendered him sensible of the smallest

they have it in great abundance by the indefatigable labour of their own wits."—He then exhibits, in his business-like way, a calculation of the number of scribblers that existed at that time: "I have been idle enough to make a computation of wits here; and do find we have three hundred performing poets and upward, in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for demies, like pint bottles, &c."—Indeed, if we may judge from the multiplicity of broadside publications which appeared on almost every occasion, and the number of hawkers or flying stationers, whom the sale of these sort of productions served to maintain, this class of writers must have been then pretty numerous; above sixty of the retailers above-mentioned signed the declaration against Wood's half-pence, alluded to in page 349. In the same strain of humorous gravity he offers his arguments to prove the utility of Grub-street, "as a common drain; which might be made," as he says, "to serve two good ends at once, both to keep the town sweet, and encourage poetry in it."—"Seriously then," he adds, "I have many years lamented the want of a Grub-street in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called one.—Every one knows Grub-street is a market for small ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as the nose is upon a man's face, and for the same reason; we have here a court, a college, a play-house, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper, clear of taxes, and every other circumstance to provoke wit; and yet those, whose province it is, have not thought fit to appoint a place for evacuation of it,—and truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniencies; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the commonwealth of letters, I am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted air, and frequent thick fogs, are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our wit; and that, with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town without infecting the whole, as the case is at present, to the great offence of our nobility and gentry, and others of nice noses. When writers of all sizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions, in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of great travellers, Edinburgh is at night, a thing well to be considered in those pestilential times."—Throughout every part of this tract Swift's intention to serve the cause of religion and good morals is manifested, and, although he attempts it in a different manner, he does it perhaps as effectually, by the mock instructions contained in this amusing piece, as the gravest and most profound moralist that ever wrote. "Our poetry of late," he humorously says, "has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found, by experience of our professors, that the smallest quantity of religion, like a single drop of malt liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius."—Swift, in this tract, makes some very severe reflections upon the stage, and indeed the popular productions of those times will bear him out in his censures; but it is an affectation which borders close upon cant and hypocrisy to continue, at this day, to urge objections against those kind of exhibitions; the case is so far altered, that, generally speaking, there is more immorality in the audience than the performers; there are not, perhaps, many of the former that hear, in other places, better lessons of morality than those which are inculcated in our favourite dramatic pieces; Swift was not insensible of the progress of this reform in the Drama, as appears from No. III of the Intelligencer: he has not omitted to intersperse, throughout this piece, some good poetical rules; these precepts are illustrated in his usual inverted way, more by shewing the absurdity of a contrary practice than by any direct mode of instruction.

II. Another letter of advice, the tenor of which is more serious, was written by Swift in the same year; it is entitled, "A Letter to a Young Clergyman lately entered into Holy Orders." As I shall have occasion, in a future page, to say somewhat of Swift's religious principles, I shall postpone, for the present, the consideration of this admirable treatise, which is particularly illustrative of his opinions upon this important subject.

III. Another tract by Swift, of the same serious nature with the last, was published, probably, at a period of time not much subsequent; it is entitled, "A Letter to a very Young Lady on her Marriage." This little piece has incurred the usual fate of others of his works, that of being alternately praised and blamed; I think too, as is generally the case, the censure is quite unmerited, and originates in misapprehension on the part of the objectors. Lord Orrery says of this letter, "That it ought to be read by all the new married women," that, "although it is addressed only to a young lady, it is adapted to every age and understanding, and contains observations that will delight and improve every mind; it will be read," says the peer, "with pleasure and advantage by the most distinguished, and most accomplished ladies." Mr. Walter Scott thinks, "that much of their pleasure must consist in the reflection, that the piece was for the instruction of another."—"There is," says this writer, "so little reverence for the individual who is addressed, and such a serious apprehension expressed, lest she may fall into the worst of the errors pointed out, that one can hardly wonder the precepts of so stern a Mentor were received by the lady to whom they were addressed with more pique than complacence."—To these objections it may be answered, first; that a system of advice, to be compleat, must of necessity presuppose every error that can be imagined, in like manner as every code of laws must pre-conceive every species of crime. Secondly; whether the piece be complimentary or not is quite foreign to the subject; I cannot discover any passage therein, that should lead Mr. Scott to imagine that any such thing was intended, much less should he censure it because it is not written in that strain: Swift professes that "he had always born an entire friendship for the lady's father and mother;" he says too, "that her husband had been, for some years preceding, his particular friend;" and he expresses "some hope that, from her good disposition and the counsel of wise friends, she may, in time, become worthy of him;" but, of the lady herself he says, that her parents had failed, "as is generally the case, in too much neglecting to cultivate her mind." There is nothing of panegyrick in this address, nor does Swift appear to have had any thing of that kind in contemplation; Mr. Scott may be right in his opinion, that an epithalamium or panegyrick would better suit the occasion of a recent marriage, but he does not judge rightly, when he censures this piece for not conforming to productions of that sort.—But this editor is not satisfied with thus, himself, derogating from the author's credit, but he places at the end of the tract the following sentence, quoted from Dr. Johnson: "The reader of this letter may be allowed to doubt, whether Swift's opinion of female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted; for, if his general thoughts on women are such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a lady would enrapture, and a very little virtue would astonish him."—Dr. Johnson here alludes to a character of Stella drawn by Swift (see page 368), wherein he attributes to her the most exalted qualities;

transgressions against it; with characteristic eagerness he hastened to correct the offensive error, and by the forcible measure of drawing disgusting representations, effected, with a rapidity which doubtless was proportioned to the violence of the means, the projected reform.[r] It is true those pieces do no longer serve to any purpose but to fill the mind of the reader with disgust; we behold them now like nauseous drugs, without any regard to their sanative qualities, although to them we are perhaps indebted, in a great measure, for the present soundness of our constitution. "They are," says Dr. Delany alluding to those poems, "the prescriptions of an able physician, who had, in truth, the health of his patients at heart, but laboured to attain that end, not only by strong emeticks, but also by the most nauseous and offensive drugs and potions, that could be administered." If Swift, therefore, did intend that these poems should be published, he may be considered as having submitted, voluntarily, to a sort of literary martyrdom, as having renounced some portion of his posthumous fame for the benefit of the community; but it is more probable that he did not think these pieces would be deem'd worthy to be transmitted to posterity, nor could he possibly foresee that indiscriminate publication of his works, which

but in this Letter of Advice he displays a very unfavourable picture of the sex; an unprejudiced reader would conclude, from those opposite descriptions, that Swift was sensible of the perfections, and likewise alive to the failings and imperfections of the sex. Not so Dr. Johnson, whose judgment of every thing that concerned Swift was obscured by the darker passions; he argues, from the same premises, first, that Swift's particular description of the excellence of one female ought not to be admitted, because he entertained unfavourable opinions of the generality of the sex; and secondly, that because of his unfavourable opinion of the generality, so much sense or virtue as falls commonly to the lot of each individual was enough to enrapture or astonish him. In truth, I think his argument is a sort of sophism which may be thus paraphrased.—Swift's general thoughts of women were such, that he was very hard to be pleased, therefore, a very little sense and a very little virtue would not only please, but enrapture and astonish him.

IV. In the year 1728, Swift wrote a prose tract which treats "On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland;" this piece was occasioned, as he informs us, by reading some advertisements in the newspapers, containing large lists of denominations of land, to be sold or let. "I am confident," he says, "they must be genuine; for it is impossible that either chance, or modern invention, could sort the alphabet in such a manner as to make those abominable sounds; whether first invented to invoke or fright away the devil, I must leave among the curious."—The satire, so far as it concerns the original Irish names is, however, quite unmerited; these denominations are, generally speaking, much more descriptive, and vastly more picturesque than any of those, which have been substituted in their places by the English settlers; that part indeed of his satire which applies to the names imposed by the lattser, is very just, "they were," as Swift says of their immediate descendants, "no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well-skilled in prosody." The utmost extent of their genius lay, as he remarks, in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, &c. he might have added, in applying denominations of vulgar import to those beautiful features of nature which were in the vicinity of their residences; it is not necessary to go far from this metropolis for an example; those two beautiful hills, whose conical shaped summits furnish with picturesque apices the mountain scenery of Wicklow, were by the native Irish called by a name which signifies, "The Gilt Spears," derived from their retaining the light of the sun after the rest of the surrounding landscape was involved in darkness; this name, than which no other could be imagined more picturesque or significant, was altered by the English, for the vulgar appellation of "The Sugar-loaves," a change which Swift himself, had he known the language, would by no means have approved of. The other objections which the dean brings against those names are likewise without force; the difficulty of pronouncing them arises, chiefly, from the unskilful mode of spelling so frequently used; the discordance of sound is imaginary, and may be, with as much reason, urged against the words of any other primeval, and of many modern languages; the Hebrew or Arabic, (perhaps if we knew their proper pronunciation, the Greek and Latin,) and all the European languages derived from the Teutonic, abound as much with gutteral sounds as the Irish; from nasal sounds, which Swift insinuates against it, the language is altogether free: it is remarkable too, that those Scotch appellations which Swift describes as tuneable, are, almost all of them, derived from the Irish, and are terms significant in that language.—Mr. Walter Scott observes, that "the reproach contained in this tract, has been removed since the dean flourished; for the titles of the Irish peerages of late creation, have rather been in the opposite extreme, and resemble, in some instances, the appellatives in romances and novels." But there has been no such change as this editor imagines; the names which those peers have selected for their titles are ancient denominations of land, which obtained in this country before the earliest period of time whereof we have any written record.

[r] The poems entitled, "The Ladies Dressing-room," "Cassinus and Peter," "Strephon and Chloe," and "Corinna," are those which are here alluded to: such persons as have not been able to discern the object which Swift proposed to himself by drawing these disgusting pictures, may learn it from the following lines of the poem, entitled, Strephon and Chloe.

"Fair Decency, celestial maid!
Descend from Heaven to Beauty's aid!
Though Beauty may beget desire,
'Tis thou must fan the Lover's fire:
For Beauty, like supreme dominion,
Is best supported by Opinion.
If Decency bring no supplies,
Opinion falls, and Beauty dies."

———

"Why is a handsome wife ador'd
By every coxcomb but her lord?
From yonder puppet-man inquire,
Who wisely hides his wood and wire. &c."

Dr. Beddoes, in the ninth essay of his work, entitled "Hygeia," out of his abundant ignorance and self-conceit, attributes these poems to motives of a very different nature; this writer has thought fit to ascribe the vertigo of Swift, to habits of early, and profligate indulgence; his conduct to Stella and Vanessa, indicates, as this profound doctor would fain persuade us, the inflamed imagination, and the exhausted frame of a premature

afterwards took place, against which he would probably have exclaimed, in like manner as he did when the sisters of his friend Gay meditated a similar prostitution of his posthumous fame, for the advantage of immediate pecuniary emolument. "I had rather," he says in a letter to his friend Pope, "the two sisters were hanged, than to see his works swelled by any loss of credit to his memory. I would be glad to see the most valuable printed by themselves, those which ought not to be seen burned immediately, and the others that have gone abroad printed separately, like opuscula, or rather be stifled and forgotten.[s]

At Gosford, the seat of Sir Arthur Acheson, near Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, Swift enjoyed, occasionally, the comforts of an agreeable retreat; here he spent eight months of the year 1728, amply recompensing his host and hostess for their affectionate attention, and contributing to the amusements of their domestic circle, by the production of numerous poetical compositions. One of his most lively pieces of humour was written during this visit, for the private diversion of the Gosford family, it is entitled, "The Grand Question debated; Whether Hamilton's Bawn should be turned into a Barrack or a Malt-house."[t] It will hardly be credited that a charge of ingratitude and inhospitality,

voluptuary, who still courts pleasures he is unable to enjoy; even the tendency of Swift's writings towards indelicacy are attributed by him to the same cause. But the theories and examples, cited by this fantastical writer, are both equally visionary, they both emanate from his own whimsical brain. It is a well known fact, that Swift never did indulge in early habits of profligacy, that his conduct towards Stella and Vanessa was the most opposite that can be imagined to a licentious intercourse, it was coldness itself; and it is likewise certain that, however coarse or indelicate his descriptions are, they are none of them licentious or seductive, they are calculated to disgust, not to delight the fancy. But, in truth, it is only waste of time to answer what is objected by writers of this class; that the doctor was ignorant of Swift's life and writings, is quite manifest; he had heard just something of Swift's malady, something of his attachment to two females, and something of his writing indelicate poems; out of this very superficial knowledge, he blunders forth his absurd hypothesis, which he impudently palms upon the world, as a regularly digested theory, and thoroughly proved by well-authenticated examples: perhaps the learned doctor never gave better advice, during the course of his practice, than may be gleaned from the following passage, addressed to him, by Mr. Walter Scott. "Until medical authors can clearly account for, and radically cure the diseases of their contemporary patients, they may readily be excused from assigning dishonourable causes for the disorders of the illustrious dead." Life of Swift, page 28, note.

Although Mr. Walter Scott rejects Dr. Beddoes' hypothesis, he afterwards, in page 386 of his Memoir, allows himself to be bewildered nearly after the same manner. Mr. Scott begins by telling us, that "certain passages in the most esteemed poets of the reign of George I. would, in modern times, be accounted to *deserve the pillory;*" that "Swift's offences, of *this description*, certainly *far exceeded* those of contemporary authors;" "this unfortunate propensity seems," says Mr. Scott, "nearly allied to the misanthropy which was the precursor of his mental derangement;" the poems above-mentioned he considers "as marks of an incipient disorder of the mind; which induced the author to dwell upon degrading and disgusting subjects, from which all men, in possession of healthful taste and sound faculties, turn with abhorrence." The confusion of charges, exemplified in this passage, savours much of Dr. Beddoes' visions; but there are not any passages in Swift's works which would, in modern days, be accounted to *deserve the pillory*, much less do his offences *of that description* exceed those of contemporary authors. Of Swift's misanthropy, I have said enough in a former page, and shall only remark, that the word is, in this place, so little applicable to Swift, that one of a directly opposite meaning, philanthropy, attaches with full as much propriety: of Mr. Scott's medical skill, who pronounces the disgusting images in these poems to be "marks of an incipient disorder," I entertain very great doubts; 1st. because I apprehend such matters were never recognised, as symptoms, by the faculty; and 2dly. because I doubt whether Swift was ever mentally deranged, I mean permanently so, the transitory suspension of the faculties which disease occasions, not properly deserving that name: in fact Mr. Scott uses, in this place, a sort of inverted manner of reasoning, which, if it proves any thing, proves the direct contrary to his thesis; Swift's habits and inclinations were really those of remarkable cleanliness, no one ever considered these as indicative of disorder, either in body or mind; the disgusting images which he used, arose from his abhorrence of filth, and by no means from any unnatural liking towards it; which latter would, indeed, denote a very great degree of distraction.

[s] This opinion of Swift is very conformable to that of lord Orrery; "Who does not wish," says the earl, "to see an edition of Swift's works, becoming the genius, and dignity of the author? When such an edition is undertaken, I should hope that all the *minutiæ* of his idle hours might be entirely excluded: or at least placed, like out-buildings, at a distance from the chief edifices of state."—It is much to be regretted that the editors of Swift's works have not attended to what is here suggested.

Dr. Delany alledges, that Swift wrote few things that he did not wish should be printed some time or other; this is contradicted, in direct terms, by many passages of the dean's letters to his intimate friends, and particularly in that addressed to Dr. Jenny, dated 8th June 1732. "Ever since the queen's death I remember to have published nothing but what is called the Drapier's Letters, and some few other trifles relating to the affairs of this miserable and ruined kingdom. What other things fell from me (chiefly in verse) were only amusements in hours of sickness or leisure, or in private families, to divert ourselves and some neighbours, but were never intended for public view, which is plain from the subjects and the careless way of handling them." In his letter to Mr. Pope likewise, dated 1 Nov. 1734, he writes as follows; "God be thanked, I have done with every thing, and of every kind, that requires writing, except now and then a letter; or, like a true old man, scribbling trifles only fit for children or school-boys of the lowest class at best, which three or four of us read and laugh at to-day and burn to-morrow."

[t] This poem is somewhat in the manner of the petition of Mrs. Frances Harris; the metre of which latter was invented by Swift, and is admirably well calculated to represent the tedious elocution of a lady's chamber-maid or house-keeper. Mary, the

grounded upon this admirable specimen of original humour,[u] was urged against the dean, by his enemies. In this, and other poems written about this time, Swift has displayed "that irony which turns to praise;" he has qualified the cloying sweetness of panegyrick, after his own manner, "by an obliging ridicule," which the malevolence of his enemies have stupidly misinterpreted[w]; like

"—— fools, they fancy he intends
A satire, where he most commends."

His residence at Market-hill was so agreeable to Swift,[x] that he meditated, at one time, to make it more permanent, by taking a lease of some ground from Sir

cook-maid's letter to Dr. Sheridan (Swift's Works, Vol. XIII. page 103) is another specimen of the same style, which is not inferior to either of those above-mentioned. I have in my possession two rare pieces of poetry, in imitation of Mrs. Harris's petition, printed upon broadsides, and which have as much right to be attributed to Swift, as some other pieces that have been of late, confidently enough, inserted among his works; they are without date, and at the head of the first is inscribed as follows:

"The Distress'd Maid, being put to her last shift,
Maketh her Petition to the Reverend Dr. Swift."

The second professes to be,

"The Rev. Dr. S.— Answer to the Distress'd Maid's petition, Being a state of the case, setting forth the Plaintiff's condition."

[u] A similar charge was preferred against Swift, after his residence at Gaulstown, 1722. His poem entitled, "A Country Life, &c." was published in the Whitehall journal, prefaced by a letter, dated New-year's-day 1723, in which the writer, with stupid malignity, represents that lively *Jeu d' esprit* as a serious and ungrateful attack upon the hospitality of the Rochfort family: the same person insinuates, that the passage of the poem which begins with the line, "from the four elements assembling," contains an allusion to the day of judgment; it would be an unpardonable tresspass upon the reader's patience to attempt a serious reply to so silly and malicious an objection.

Swift vindicated himself from both these charges, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Henry Jenny, dated 8 June 1732; from thence I shall quote the following passages, because they are not only explanatory of the subject, but likewise illustrative of the dean's sentiments concerning the libels uttered against him.—"Some weeks ago a manuscript paper of verses was handed about this town, and afterwards printed. The subject was, my great ingratitude and breach of hospitality in publishing a copy of verses called Hamilton's Bawn. The writer hath likewise taken severe notice of some other verses published many years ago by the indiscretion of a friend, to whom they were sent in a letter. It was called a Journal, and writ at Mr. Rochfort's; and the consequences drawn from both by this writer is, that the better I am used in any family the more I abuse them; with other reflections that must follow from such a principle." In another part of the same letter he says, "I knew you were well acquainted with the whole history and occasion of writing those verses on the Barrack; how well pleased the master and lady of the family were with it; that you had read it more than once; that it was no secret to any neighbour, nor any reserve but that against giving a copy. You know well by what incidents that reserve was broken, by granting a copy to a great person, and from thence how it fell into other hands, and so came (as it is the constant case) to be published, and is now forgot."—Relative to the effect those libels had upon himself, Swift writes as follows; "I was originally as unwilling to be libelled as the nicest man can be, but having been used to such treatment ever since I unhappily began to be known, I am now grown hardened.—One thing, I confess, would still touch me to the quick; I mean, if any person of true genius would employ his pen against me; but if I am not very partial to myself, I cannot remember, that among at least two thousand papers full of groundless reflections against me, I ever saw any one production that the meanest writer could have cause to be proud of."—Swift has given, what may be called a poetical version of the same sentiments, in the following lines, quoted from his poem addressed to Dr. Delany, on the libels written against him.

"As some raw youth in country bred,
To arms by thirst of honour led,
When at a skirmish first he hears
The bullets whistling round his ears,
Will duck his head aside, will start,
And feel a trembling at his heart.
Till 'scaping oft without a wound
Lessens the terror of the sound;
Fly bullets now as thick as hops,
He runs into a cannon's chops.
An author thus, who pants for fame,
Begins the world with fear and shame;
When first in print, you see him dread
Each pop-gun levell'd at his head:
The lead yon critic's quill contains,
Is destin'd to beat out his brains:
As if he heard loud thunders roll,
Cries, Lord have mercy on his soul!
Concluding, that another shot
Will strike him dead upon the spot.
But, when with squibbing, flashing, popping,
He cannot see one creature dropping;
That, missing fire, or missing aim,
His life is safe, I mean his fame;
The danger past, takes heart of grace,
And looks a critic in the face."

In his Rhapsody on Poetry are the following lines;

"Hobbes clearly proves, that every creature
Lives in a state of war by nature.
The greater for the smaller watch,
But meddle seldom with their match.
A whale of moderate size will draw
A shoal of herrings down his maw;
A fox with geese his belly crams;
A wolf destroys a thousand lambs;
But search among the rhyming race,
The brave are worried by the base.
If on Parnassus top you sit,
You rarely bite, are always bit:
Each poet of inferior size
On you shall rail and criticize,
And strive to tear you limb from limb,
While others do as much for him."

[w] It is worth observing, by the way, that Swift is himself the chief object of satire in those poems, indeed he is the only individual personally satirized in the principal one of the series, "The Grand Question debated, &c."

[x] The cutting down an ancient thorn-bush, at Market-hill, gave occasion to a poem by Swift; it likewise gave rise to a piece of slander, which is related by Mr. Anderson, in his

Arthur Acheson, and building thereon a villa: the chosen spot even received the name of "The Drapier's-hill," as an earnest of his intention; but the remoteness of its situation from Dublin, or his increasing infirmities, or, perhaps, his growing reluctance to expend money, occasioned his subsequent renunciation of a project, which it is not probable he ever seriously adopted. At Market-hill Swift met Captain Creichton, who had served many years, as a dragoon officer, in the wars with the Scotch west-country fanatics, during the reigns of Chas. II. and James II. To relieve this old gentleman's necessities the dean digested his early adventures into a memoir, which is replete with original anecdote. This piece has another admirable quality, that of verisimilitude, which gives it the appearance of being expressed in the very words of the narrator himself; and so well has Swift personated the character assumed on this occasion, that he has imposed upon the last editor of his works, who was pretty well aware of his other transformations. Upon this latter occasion, however, the deception was too complete, and he expresses utter dismay at "the obvious relish with which these acts are handed down to us by Swift." [y]

memoir, and introduced, by Mr. Walter Scott, into his narrative: "The tree," says Mr. Anderson, "was much admired by the knight; yet the dean, in one of his unaccountable humours, gave directions for cutting it down in the absence of Sir Arthur, who was of course highly incensed, nor would see Swift for some time." Mr. Walter Scott not only quotes the words, but adopts the style of his compatriot, (see Swift's Works, Vol. I. p. 391, and XV. p. 181,) and yet it is not easy to imagine how Mr. Anderson's assertions should be esteemed credible testimony in matters that relate to Swift; indeed the poem itself contradicts both their evidences; the dean, it appears, was "the chief contriver of its fall," but lady Acheson was his confederate, "and bragged that she had condemned it to the fire;" even Sir Arthur himself "could tamely see it slain."—Where then are the grounds for this story, which is wrought up by these critics into a tale of scandal? Mr. Scott will have the tree to have been picturesque, although he has no reason for saying so, but because it was old; both writers attribute the act to Swift's caprice solely, although it appears to have been done in consequence of a concerted plan, and executed by a trusty domestic of the baronet, Neal Geoghegan; they likewise describe Sir Arthur as incensed at the proceeding, although the poem represents him as tamely submitting to the measure. Sir Arthur Acheson, as it appears, from this and other poems of the series, was not very active in business of improvement, but it does not therefore follow that he was averse to it. The neglected state of his demesne is humorously described in the following verses of the poem, entitled, "The Dean's Reasons for not building at Drapier's Hill."

"His rural walks he ne'er adorns;
Here poor Pomona sits on thorns;
And there neglected Flora settles
Her bum upon a bed of nettles."

[y] Mr. Walter Scott expresses no small degree of aversion to the author of this narrative, and Swift likewise comes in for some share of his censure; Mr. Scott prefaces the memoir with the following critique:

"The printer's advertisement sufficiently explains the purpose of these memoirs, which form a most extraordinary picture of the times in which they were written. That a soldier of fortune, like Creichton, bred up, as it were, to the pursuit of the unfortunate fanatics, who were the objects of persecution in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. should have felt no more sympathy for them than the hunter for the game which he destroys, we can conceive perfectly natural: nor is it to be wondered at that a man of letters, overlooking the cruelty of this booted apostle of prelacy in the wild interest of his narrations, should have listened to and registered the exploits which he detailed. But what we must consider as shocking, and even disgusting, is the obvious relish with which these acts are handed down to us in Swift's own narrative. The best apology is, that the reporter assumed the tone and spirit of the original hero, and that any trait of remorse, or penitence, would have utterly injured the authenticity of the memoirs. If, however, the generous and free-born spirit of Swift could regard with complacence the pitiless slaughter of those ignorant and miserable enthusiasts, merely because they were enemies to the hierarchy, it is a striking instance how humanity and liberality may be hoodwinked by prejudices of education, interest, and political faction."

A conformity of sentiment between the performer in a dramatic piece and the character he represents, might, with as much justice, be insinuated, on account of the liveliness of his manner of exhibiting, as a congruity of principles between Swift and the narrator of this story. Mr. Scott's censure upon Swift, as expressed in the passage above quoted, is both severe and unjust: severe, because he represents him as void of christian charity; and unjust, because it is not possible to imagine how he should have proceeded in a different manner: "Any trait of remorse or penitence would," as Mr. Scott himself says, "have injured the authenticity of the memoirs." It is not easy to imagine what this editor would be at, or to guess what he means by this mode of bestowing praise and blame upon the same act, and in one and the same sentence, unless he means to do what is too frequent a practice of modern writers, and particularly some of his own country, to make a critique upon the works of a dead author the vehicle of the sentiments of a living writer.—Swift's advertisement to the reader does not defend the narrator's sentiments. Of Captain Creichton he says, he is a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp; and it is probable that some of his principles will not relish very well in the present disposition of the world.—Principles, as the world goes, are little more than fashion; and the Apostle tells us, that 'the fashion of this world passeth away!' We read, with pleasure, the memoirs of several authors, whose party we disapprove, if they be written with nature and truth. Curious men are desirous to see what can be said on both sides; and even the virulent, flat relation of Ludlow, though written in the spirit of rage, prejudice and vanity, does not want its advocates. This inclines me to think, that the memoirs of Captain Creichton may not be unacceptable to the curious of every party.—These memoirs are, therefore, offered to the world," continues Swift, "in their native simplicity:" and doubtless there are but few who would not prefer them in that dress, rather than in any garb that Mr. Walter Scott could possibly devise; and, generally speaking, it is true, that Swift is better as he is, than were he whatsoever Mr. Scott would make him.—

In the year 1729, the lord mayor and corporation of Dublin, moved by a just sense of the great services he had rendered to his country, decreed unanimously, and in full assembly, that the freedom of their city should be presented to the dean in a golden box. [z] This token of respect and gratitude was particularly gratifying to Swift; but, being quite out of the common forms to a person in private station, it stirred up the malice of his enemies, and the envy of his political opponents. Amongst these, Joshua, Viscount Allen, eminently distinguished himself; testifying singular zeal in traducing Swift, in the privy council, in the senate, and in the city, at the very time he was perfidiously courting the dean's friendship. From charges so unjustly urged, Swift vindicated himself in a speech which he delivered to the lord mayor and corporation, [a] when they waited on him to present the instrument of his freedom, and likewise in an advertisement [b] published 18th Feb. 1729, which contains a contradiction of lord Allen's charge, and declares it to be "insolent, false, scandalous, and in a particular manner perfidious." Upon the peer himself the dean took ample revenge; under the designation of Traulus, [c] he not only impaled him alive, but gibbetted even the memory of this luckless offender.

1731-1736.[d]—From the period of his first entrance upon the stage of ecclesiastical or political controversy, Swift manifested a rooted dislike to the whole body of pro-

Captain Creichton's conduct is not, indeed quite defensible; neither does, perhaps, that of any other person, or party, engaged in a civil war, appear so, when it comes to be coolly and dispassionately considered. What Mr. Scott says of him in the following passage may not be far from truth, that he "possessed an ample portion of courage and fidelity to his cause, unqualified by any spark of humanity towards those who were opposed to him;" but the same writer manifests a vehement desire to attach to him, by implication, more censure than he merits, when, in Vol. XVII. page 250, he insinuates, that a bottle of usquebaugh, which Swift ordered should be delivered to Captain Creichton, "who was to bring down other things to lady Acheson," was meant for his private drinking; and intimates, "that the dean's gift was happily adapted, *doubtless*, to the taste of the person on whom it was conferred." This mode of writing is unworthy of Mr. Scott; it is an unfair way of invalidating the testimony of an obnoxious witness: the insinuation is, moreover, quite unfounded, for the cordial here mentioned is of a medicinal quality; and the captain might as justly be taxed with swallowing a bottle of lavender water, intended for her ladyship, as a bottle of usqebaugh, from the motive of gratifying his palate, presumed, without any evidence, by Mr. Scott, to be addicted to the use of strong liquors.

Mr. Scott observes upon Creichton's Memoirs, "that he is borne out by corresponding authorities on most occasions, in which he gives his own personal evidence."

[z] The high veneration in which Swift was held, by the city of Dublin, is elucidated by the following passage of lord Carteret's letter to the dean, dated 24th March 1732-3—"I know by experience how much that city thinks itself under your protection, and how strictly they used to obey all orders fulminated from the sovereignty of St. Patrick's."

[a] A small tract, published in Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 467, professes to set forth "The substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick's to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen of Dublin, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his freedom in a gold box." Alluding to lord Allen's conduct, Swift says, that "a person with a title was pleased, in two great assemblies, to rattle bitterly somebody without a name, under the injurious appellations of a tory, a jacobite, an enemy to King George, and a libeller of the government; which character many people thought was applied to him, but he was unwilling to be of that opinion, because the person who had delivered those abusive words had, for several years, caressed and courted his friendship, more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his house in town and country; by coming to the deanery often; and calling or sending almost every day when the dean was sick."—In answer to the charge itself, "he would take the freedom to tell his lordship, and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the Hanover title, and more disservice to the Pretender's cause, than forty thousand of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature has denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom against all who differ from them in their destructive principles, both in church and state."

[b] In Swift's advertisement of 18th February, which is published likewise amongst his Works, Vol. VII. p. 473, he says, "he had been credibly informed, that on Friday the 13th, a certain person did, in a public place, and in the hearing of a great number, apply himself to the lord mayor, and some of his brethren, in the following reproachful manner: 'My Lord, you and your city can squander away the public money, in giving a gold box to a fellow who has libelled the government.'—In answer to which, he declares that, 'if the said words were intended against him, they are insolent, false, scandalous, malicious, and in a particular manner perfidious; the said person having, for some years past, and even within some few days, professed a great friendship for him, the said dean; and, what is hardly credible, sending a common friend of the dean and himself, not many hours after the said words had been spoken, to renew his profession of friendship to the said dean, but concealing the oratory, &c."

[c] The poem of Traulus consists of two parts; the first of which is a dialogue, and turns upon the apology offered to Swift by their common friend, Robert Leslie, to whom this mediator, finding all other apologies fruitless, at length said, touching his forehead, "You know, Sir, our poor friend is a little disordered here at times." The second part of Traulus is a satire tremendously severe; it traces the viscount's pedigree through both the male and female lines; by the former he deduces him from a person whom he asserts to have been a butcher. To this the following very bitter lines have reference, wherein Swift affects to account, by this means, for the duplicity of the peer's conduct towards himself:

> "Hence he learnt the butcher's guile,
> How to cut your throat and smile;
> Like a butcher, doom'd for life
> In his mouth to wear his knife."

[d] On Saturday, 1st April 1732, there arose a great flood in Patrick-street, occasioned by two days of great and incessant rain; it entered the cathedral at about two o'clock in the after-

testant dissenters, [e] and upon every occasion resisted any relaxation of the penal laws against them. In 1731 those sectaries were led to expect a repeal of the sacramental test act, and their renovated hopes roused the dormant zeal of Swift. In that year he published a tract, entitled, "The Presbyterians' Plea of Merit, in

noon, and in three hours rose above three feet high. The inundation was, however, of short duration, and the damage done less than usually happens upon such-like occasions. Isaac Butler remarks, that in the course of forty-five years he remembered five great inundations, the first of which happened in 1696; and he adds that every one of them happened on a Saturday. MS. penes me.

[e] Swift never did, at any time, entertain very favorable opinions of the Protestant dissenters. The cruel treatment which his immediate ancestors experienced during the rule, or rather the mis-rule, of their party, created in his mind an early disgust for their political principles. As a sect of religious reformers he appears to have held them in still lower estimation. In the Tale of a Tub he has given the following characteristic representation of the different manner in which the two great sects carried on that great and necessary work, comprised under the metaphor of their manner of stripping from off their coats the meretricious finery with which, by persuasion of their brother Peter, they had encumbered them:

"Jack, by reflecting with indignation upon Peter's tyranny, having kindled and inflamed himself as high as possible, and, by consequence, in a delicate temper for beginning a reformation, he set about the work immediately, and in three minutes made more dispatch than Martin had done in as many hours. For, courteous reader, you are given to understand, that zeal is never so highly obliged, as when you set it a tearing; and Jack, who doated on that quality in himself, allowed it at this time to have its full swing. Thus it happened, that, stripping down a parcel of gold lace a little too hastily, he rent the main body of his coat from top to bottom; and whereas his talent was not the happiest in taking up a stitch, he knew no better way than to darn it again with packthread and a skewer.—Martin begged his brother, of all love, not to damage his coat by any means, for he never would get such another: desired him to consider, that it was not their business to form their actions by any reflection on Peter, but by observing the rules prescribed in their father's will.—Martin's patience put Jack in a rage; but that which most affected him was, to observe his brother's coat so well reduced into the state of innocence, while his own was either wholly rent to his shirt, or those places which had escaped his cruel clutches were still in Peter's livery; so that he looked like a drunken beau half rifled by bullies; or like a fresh tenant of Newgate, when he has refused the payment of garnish.—He would have been extremely glad to see his coat in the condition of Martin's, but infinitely gladder to find that of Martin in the same predicament with his. However, since neither of these was likely to come to pass, he thought fit to lend the whole business another turn, and to dress up necessity into a virtue. Therefore, after as many of the fox's arguments as he could muster up, for bringing Martin to reason, as he called it, or, as he meant it, into his own ragged bob-tailed condition; and observing he said all to little purpose; what, alas! was left for forlorn Jack to do, but, after a million of scurrilities against his brother, to run mad with spleen, and spite, and contradiction."

In the year 1707, during the viceregal administration of the earl of Pembroke, the question of repeal of the test act was canvassed in Ireland, and that measure was craftily recommended by the earl of Wharton, his successor, in his speeches from the throne, at the opening of the sessions of parliament in 1709 and 1710. An ample account of two tracts, which were published by Swift at that time, upon the occasion of this controversy, is given in pages 249 and 250, note w; and pages 252 and 253, note c.

As Swift does not appear to have taken an active part in any of the subsequent contests relative to the repeal of the sacramental test, until the year 1731, it would be foreign to the present purpose to enter upon the subject of those controversies in this place; but the following account of such tracts as appeared between the years 1731 and 1733, will not perhaps be deemed uninteresting, inasmuch as some of them may possibly have been written by the dean himself. The following account is intended as supplemental to that given in the text, and in the notes annexed, which describe such pieces as are usually attributed to Swift. This catalogue is in a great measure compiled from the originals in my own collection; such pieces as I have not seen, are distinguished by an asterisk.*

* I. "Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test considered; with Reasons humbly offered for the Repeal of it," 1732.—This piece is described in this manner in the title-page of the next tract; from thence it appears, likewise, that the author proposed seven queries, tending to shew the advantages of a repeal, which, perhaps, gave rise to the "Queries relating to the Sacramental Test," published by Swift in the same year.

II. "Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test considered;' with Reasons humbly offered for the Repeal of it." Dublin, 1732, 12mo.

III. "The History of the Test Act: in which the Mistakes in some Writings against it are rectified, and the Importance of it to the Church explained." Printed at London and Dublin; and re-printed by George Faulkner, 1733, 12mo. The presbyterians had imagined, that certain bills, which had been brought, at different times, before the parliament in England, for relief of the protestant dissenters, and likewise a resolution of the House of Commons, in 1680, declaring that the statutes made against papist ought not to be extended to protestant dissenters, alluded to the Test Act; whereupon they claimed something like a promise from the nation that it should be repealed. These and such like assertions are "the mistakes" to which the writer of this pamphlet alludes; and he proves that all these matters related to the penalties resting upon protestant dissenters for not conforming to the public worship of the church, and had not the least relation to the Test Act, or a capacity for offices of any kind.—"The parliament," he says, "put a just distinction between the relieving of conscience and the entitling to power."

IV. "Plain Reasons against the Repeal of the Test Act, humbly offered to Public Consideration." Dublin, printed by George Faulkner, 1733, 12mo.

V. "The Test Act examined by the Test of Reason." Dublin, 1733, 12mo. The last four tracts are all of them well written, and would be no discredit to Swift himself.

* V. "The Tables turned against the Presbyterians, or Reasons against the Sacramental Test, by a General Assembly of Scotland." This tract is referred to in the following, to which it was intended as an answer.

VI. "The Case of the Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland and that of the Dissenters in Ireland compared, with relation to Toleration and a Capacity for Civil Offices, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament." Dublin, 1733, 8vo. It is asserted, in almost every one of the above mentioned tracts, that the episcopalians in Scotland were excluded from holding offices there, by being required to make a declaration to maintain the presbyterian church, which circumstance was equally disqualifying with the test. The author of this tract labours to remove the imputation, but apparently without success.

* VII. "The Case of the Test considered with respect to Ireland." Faulkner, Dublin, 1733.—See Scott's Life of Swift, page 408, note.

* VIII. "The Natural Impossibilities of better uniting Protestants, &c. by repealing the Test." Dublin, printed by Faulkner, 1733.—See Scott's Life of Swift, page 408, note.

order to take off the Test, impartially examined," and, at the end of it, re-printed, as an appendix, another piece, entitled, "A Narrative of the several Attempts which the Dissenters of Ireland have made, for a Repeal of the Sacramental Test." In the first of these tracts the dean ridiculed their pretensions to extraordinary zeal for the reformed religion, and the protestant succession:[f] he, in the next year, followed

* IX. "Ten Reasons for repealing the Test Act." This piece has been re-printed from the broadside copy, by Mr. Walter Scott. Life of Swift, appendix, page xcv. "It appears," says Mr. Scott, "to be written by the dean, and the arguments correspond with those he uses elsewhere." All the tracts above mentioned, written upon the same side of the question, and some of those that follow, might, with as good reason, be attributed to him.

* X. * XI. "A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters from the Aspersions cast upon them in a late Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Presbyterians' Plea of Merit, &c.' with some Remarks on a paper called 'The Correspondent,' giving a pretended Narrative, &c."—This reply to the dean's two tracts is mentioned in Swift's Works, Vol. IX. page 71, note. I have not seen it, nor the paper called "The Correspondent," to which it refers.

* XII. "The Dispute adjusted about the *proper time* of applying for a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, by shewing that *no time is proper*; by the Reverend Father in God, Edmund, Lord Bishop of London." Faulkner, in the second edition of the "Presbyterians' Plea, &c." advertises that this tract should appear in Nov. 1733. The author of the tract No. VI. mentions that it had been "lately re-printed" in Ireland, but he says that it is "falsely ascribed to the Bishop of London."

XIII. "The Test Act considered in a Political Light." 1733—Broadside.

XIV. "Queries upon the Demand of the Presbyterians to have the Sacramental Test repealed at this Session of Parliament." 1733—Broadside. These queries are not exactly the same with those published by Swift in 1732.

XV. "A Letter from a Freeman of a certain Borrough, in the North of Ireland, to his Friend and Representative in Parliament, shewing Reasons why the Test Act should not be repealed." 1733—Broadside.

XVI. "The Grunters' request
To take off the Test,"
A poem. 1733, 12mo. The shortness of this piece, and its extreme rarity, are the only excuses I have to offer for its insertion in this place:

"My lords and lairds wha represent
The nation in y'er parliament,
We Dominies, fell faes to Teagues,
Fra' Derry town til Kerry craigs,
In haly synod duly meeting,
Send fouth of heal, wi' meikle greeting,
Til ilka brither o' baith houses,
Wha's ay the good auld cause espouses:
And neist withoutten ceremonie,
A' o' the kirk of Caledonie,
In hamely guise, maist humbly sue,
For what lang syne has been the'r due,
That ye wou'd rive that act of aith,
Whoch gars 'em giv'a test o' faith;
For dino it sound unco' odly,
That ye thilk gate exclude the godly?
Sa'l we, wha gi'd sic contribution,
To bring about the revolution,
And bra'ly ventur'd hide and bane,
To save y'er freedom and—our ain,
Ha' naithing for our feuds and battels,
Bar liberty, and gear and chattels?
Our tiltings were a' sane in need,
And why s no now a' sane our meed?
A' power (sae the scriptures prove)
An yearth is anely fram above,
And a' the saints ma' clinch an ev'n
Proportion of what comes fra' heav'n.
Thae fourty year we did bit dream on't,
But ye, good folks, hav' had the ream on't,
'Tis meet that now we skum the kirn,
And ha'd the lang spoon in our tirn.
But gin ye think thilk over meikle,
Gi' us but haff, and we'se na stickle:
Nay, mair than that, sirs, we'se recant
The solemn league and covenant,
Na meddle wi' y'er deans and chapters,
Nor ca' kirk misic papish raptures;
Nor common-preers, the deevil's books,
Nor bishops antichristian rooks,
And mair, we'se ca', howsever laith,
The king defander of the faith.
Then we and ye'se be link'd in union
Of a' things, saving kirk-communion,
Communing ay by covenants,
Like looving brither-protestants,
In a' the profits and enjoyments
O' civil state and field-employments.
Then tha' the pope and muckle Tirk,
Till scar iss, set their heads till wirk,
And marchen wi' the muckle deel,
We'se ding 'em like an auld peet-creel.
Then we 'se defand the faith's defander,
And fraight awa' the foul Pretander,
An ever that he so'd be faund
To setten foot on Irish laund.
Mean whiles, to guarden against need,
We'se ca our freends o'er fra' the Tweed;
But giff ye graunt no our request,
And cancel that ungodly test,
Which braunds iss like a herd o' cattel,
Why then, my lauds, faight y'er ain battel; *
We reckna, we caun flit awa'
To sattle in America:
The kingdom of a Scot, like Cain,
Is ony kingdom, bar his ain;†
He thrives in outher cauld or hot land,
Or ony nation, bit in Scotland."

* It appears from the following passage of Swift's "Queries relating to the Sacramental Test," that such a threat as is here alluded to, was actually held out by the protestant dissenters:—"When an artificial report was raised here, many years ago, of an intended invasion by the Pretender, the dissenters argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: 'Gentlemen, if the Pretender had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and, therefore, unless you take off the test, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery."

† Alluding to the celebrated distich of Cleveland:

"Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his doom,
Not made him wander, but confin'd him home."

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[f] The Presbyterians' Plea of Merit was printed in 1731; a second edition, 12mo. was published by George Faulkner in 1733. The Narrative of the several Attempts, &c. was, as Mr. Walter Scott informs us, (Swift's Works, Vol. IX. page 71, note,) "printed at Dublin, in a periodical paper called 'The

up the attack with an ironical statement, entitled, "The Advantages proposed by repealing the Sacramental Test impartially considered." In the same year he likewise published, "Queries concerning the Sacramental Test;" and, in 1733, "Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland for repealing the Test in Favour of the Roman-Catholics." In this last tract the claims of the Roman-Catholics to relaxation of the penal laws are advocated: it is insinuated, likewise, that their pretensions, founded upon their former services and attachment to the government, had greater weight than those of the Presbyterians; [g] a sort of representation which must have exceedingly galled these sectaries, whose chief arguments for indulgence, in those respects, were drawn from their share in the services rendered by that glorious stand made in Ulster during the contest between Jas. II. and Will. III. whereby an effectual check was given to the overwhelming power of Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, by the Enniskillen and Londonderry forces.—Between the years 1731 and 1733, the dean wrote likewise several fugitive pieces of poetry, and perhaps some other prose tracts relative to this controversy.

In one of his poetical satires, printed in 1733, ridiculing the advocates of those dissenters for their familiar use of the words "Brother-Protestants and Fellow-

Correspondent,' and was annexed to the second edition of the Presbyterians' Plea of Merit; and, to make room for it, the Ode to Humphrey French, Esq. (which stood in the first edition) was omitted in the second." With regard to the latter piece of information Mr. Scott is in error; there is no tract appendant to the second edition, which concludes with an advertisement of Faulkner's proposed edition of Swift's Works, in four vols. 8vo. dated 2d Nov. 1733. Perhaps a second edition of "The Narrative, &c." was likewise printed of the same size, and bound up, occasionally, in the same volume with this edition of the Presbyterians' Plea of Merit.

g The arguments pretended to be urged by the Roman-catholics in this tract, consist partly of true statements and partly of ironical allusions, which are combined together into such a trellis work, as to render it almost unassailable. From the statements whereby the superior merits of the Roman-catholics are proved, the following passages are abstracted:

"The first conquerors of this kingdom were English catholics, who, by their valour and success, obtained large portions of land; to which merit the dissenters have not the least pretensions.—The posterity of those victorious catholics were often forced to rise in their own defence against new colonies from England, who treated them, like mere native Irish, with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till, in the next generation, the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner by new adventurers: but it is agreed, on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders: whereas all the rebellions of puritans, presbyterians, independents and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which, however, at last they did, with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.—The catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of the king. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates which the catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution; and thus they gained by their rebellion, what the catholics lost by their loyalty.—The catholics were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas the presbyterians were always republicans both in principle and practice.—Those insurrections, wherewith the catholics are charged, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under; they had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the privilege of preserving the old—the very same their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island; they had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary: they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all Christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king, in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.—The catholics cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power, than the catholics; who, during all that period of twenty years, were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power."

The claim of the Roman-catholics to an equal right with the presbyterians to the name of protestants, is urged with infinite humour:—"The catholics of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their brother dissenters to the appellation of PROTESTANTS. They have always *protested* against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; against deism, atheism, socinianism, quakerism, muggletonianism, fanaticism, brownism, as well as against all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics. Whereas the title of protestants, assumed by the whole herd of dissenters, (except ourselves,) depends entirely upon their *protesting* against archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, and their revenues, and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the solemn league and covenant, where the word popery is only mentioned *ad invidiam*, because the catholics agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals."

But this is not the only tract in which Swift urges the superior claims of the catholics.—In the "Queries relating to the Sacramental Test," the following passage occurs--"The account stands thus: the papists aimed at one pernicious act, (under James II.) which was to destroy the protestant religion; wherein, by GOD's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious King William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by GOD; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all."

Christians," when speaking of the Presbyterians, Swift, among other ludicrous illustrations of a well-known tale, introduced the following lines, which allude to Richard Bettesworth, a sergeant at law, and a member of parliament:

"Thus at the bar the booby B———,
Though half-a-crown o'erpay's his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law, nor text, nor margent,
Calls Singleton his brother-sergeant." [h]

Bettesworth had, at all times, rendered himself remarkable by his activity in promoting every measure which came before the house, that was calculated to prejudice the rights of the established clergy; he may be said, therefore, to have merited the censure conveyed in the lines above quoted. Neither was his subsequent conduct calculated to challenge admiration, or to excite pity: his rage was elevated to so high a degree of desperation, that he swore to avenge himself, either by murdering or by maiming the author: he even proceeded, with his footman and some hired ruffians, towards the deanery, to put this threat into execution:[i] the dean being absent

[h] To explain the effect of this satire, it may be necessary to quote more largely from the original poem, which is as follows:

"An inundation, says the fable,
O'erflow'd a farmer's barn and stable;
Whole ricks of hay and stacks of corn
Were down the sudden current borne;
While things of heterogeneous kind
Together float with tide and wind.
The generous wheat forgot its pride,
And sail'd with litter, side by side;
Uniting all, to shew their amity,
As in a general calamity.
A ball of new-dropp'd horse's dung,
Mingling with apples in the throng,
Said to the pippin plump and prim,
See, brother, how we apples swim."
"Thus Lamb, renown'd for cutting corns,
An offer'd fee from Radcliff scorns,
'Not for the world—we doctors, brother,
Must take no fees of one another.'
Thus to a dean some curate sloven
Subscribes, 'Dear sir, your brother loving.'
Thus all the footmen, shoe-boys, porters,
About St. James's, cry, 'We courtiers.'
Thus Horace in the house will prate,
'Sir, we the ministers of state.'
Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half-a-crown o'erpays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law, nor text, nor margent,
Calls Singleton his brother-sergeant.
And thus fanatic saints, though neither in
Doctrine nor discipline our brethren,
Are brother Protestants and Christians,
As much as Hebrews and Philistines, &c."

[i] Swift, in a letter to the duke of Dorset, dated Jan. 1733-4, gives the following account of this interview:

"On Monday, last week, towards evening, there came to the deanery one Mr. Bettesworth; who, being told by the servants that I was gone to a friend's house, went thither to inquire for me, and was admitted into the street-parlour. I left my company in the back-room, and went to him. He began with asking me, 'Whether I were the author of certain verses wherein he was reflected on.' The singularity of the man in his countenance, manner, action, style, and tone of voice, made me call to mind that I had once seen him, about two or three years ago, at Mr. Ludlow's country house; but I could not recollect his name; and of what calling he might be I had never heard. I therefore desired to know who and what he was?—said, 'I heard of some such verses, but knew no more.' He then signified to me, 'that he was a sergeant at law, and a member of parliament.' After which he repeated the lines that concerned him with great emphasis—said, 'I was mistaken in one thing, for he assured me he was no booby; but owned himself to be a coxcomb.' However, that being a point of controversy wherein I had no concern, I let it drop. As to the verses, he insisted, 'that by his taste and skill in poetry, he was as sure I writ them as if he had seen them fall from my own pen.' But I found the chief weight of his argument lay upon two words that rhymed to his name, which he knew could come from none but me. He then told me, 'that, since I would not own the verses, and that since he could not get satisfaction by any course of law, he would get it by his pen, and shew the world what a man I was.' When he began to grow over-warm and eloquent, I called in the gentleman of the house from the room adjoining; and the sergeant, going on with less turbulence, went away. He had a footman in the hall during all his talk, who was to have opened the door for one or more fellows, as he has since reported; and likewise that he had a sharp knife in his pocket, ready to stab or maim me. But the master and mistress of the house, who knew his character, and could hear every word from the room they were in, had prepared a sufficient defence, in such a case, as they afterward told me. He has since related, to five hundred persons of all ranks, above five hundred falsehoods of this conversation, of my fears and his own brutalities, against all probability as well as fact; and some of them, as I have been assured, even in the presence of your grace. His meanings and his movements were indeed peevish enough, but his words were not. He threatened me with nothing but his pen, yet owned he had no pretence to wit. And indeed I am heartily glad, for his own sake, that he proceeded no farther; for the least uproar would have called his nearest neighbours, first to my assistance, and next to the manifest danger of his life; and I would not willingly have even a dog killed upon my account. Ever since he has amused himself with declaring, in all companies, especially before bishops, and lords, and members of parliament, his resolutions for vengeance, and the several manners by which he will put it in execution."

Various other accounts of this interview have been given, and many additional circumstances are related by Sheridan, which serve to testify his great inclination to exaggerate, and likewise verify the truth of the old proverb. Mr. Walter Scott has adopted all the incidents related by Sheridan, and many others besides, into his work. These latter may be easily recognised to proceed from the pen of Mr. Theophilus Swift. Indeed

from home, he went, therefore, to seek him at the house of a friend, and was admitted into an adjoining apartment, but the angry parley which ensued alarmed the family, and Bettesworth was forced to retire, uttering ridiculous and ineffectual threats against Swift, that since he could not get satisfaction by course of law, he would seek it by his pen. [k]

During the time that Swift was thus carrying on the war against the enemies of his religion, he was likewise engaged, occasionally, in a sort of civil dissension with the bishops of his own church. From the time of the Hanover accession, divines of low-church principles had been selected to fill the vacant sees in Ireland; and, from the period that Sir Robert Walpole's influence in the cabinet became predominant, men of English birth, although inferior in every necessary qualification, were preferred to those of Irish or Anglo-Hibernian descent. It could not be expected that persons who owed their elevation to a lukewarmness for the interests of their own orders, would be over anxious to benefit their successors, particularly where such matters would clash with their own private and more immediate advantages: accordingly we find that this new race of pastors had scarce held their staffs for ten years, before they exhibited an eager desire to ravage the fold. In 1723 an attempt was made to enlarge the power of bishops in letting leases, and to repeal a salutary act, passed in the reign of Charles I. whereby ecclesiastical bodies were limited to the term of twenty-one years, under the reserved rent of half the real value. [l] Swift informs us, that some were, in conformity with the principles then

the story of the circumstance, which suggested the rhyme to Bettesworth, is declared to be given upon the authority of that fanciful gentleman: but Mr. Scott need scarcely have taken the trouble of giving this direct information; for any one, at all conversant with Mr. T. Swift's other communications, might, without much difficulty, trace the resemblance, and guess the brain wherein this conceit was hatched.

[k] As soon as the violent attempt of Bettesworth was known, thirty-one of the inhabitants of St. Patrick's Liberty signed a paper, solemnly pledging themselves to defend the dean "against a certain person and all his ruffians and murderers:" with this paper they attended the dean the 8th January; but he being ill and in bed, dictated a grateful answer.—Grub-street Journal, Aug. 9, 1734.—As for Bettesworth, the rashness of his conduct only served to shew how keenly sensible he was of the dean's satire, and thereby he rather invited than repelled the attacks of his adversary, which were frequently renewed during the following years. Indeed, as Bettesworth's zealous persecution of the sacerdotal order was what gave rise to Swift's first act of hostility, it is not to be supposed that the dean's conviction of the efficaciousness of his own measures would induce him to suspend his operations against an enemy, who still continued to act offensively.

Bettesworth's defeat served as a signal to his other adversaries. In Feb. 1735-6, Dr. Josiah Horte, bishop of Kilmore, and afterwards archbishop of Tuam, transmitted to Swift a short satire, entitled, "A new Proposal for the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille;" with directions, that, "when he had pruned the rough feathers, he would send the kite to the Faulconer, to set it a flying." The piece was accordingly printed by Faulkner, at Swift's desire, on a broadside.—This satire, which is published in Swift's Works, Vol. VII. page 564, is generally very flat and common-place; it proposes, among other regulations, that all disputes at play should be laid before the renowned sergeant Bettesworth, saving, however, a right of appeal to a wooden figure in Essex-street, known by the name of the Upright Man. This insinuation roused the angry feelings of Bettesworth, who complained to the house of commons of breach of privilege; Faulkner, the printer, was accordingly arrested, and thrown into the common gaol. Swift, who considered himself, in some measure, the cause of his sufferings, perceiving that bishop Horte was not inclined to make him any recompence, addressed to the prelate, on the 12th May, an animated expostulation; at the close of his letter he writes as follows:—"Your lordship has too good an understanding to imagine that my principal regard in this affair is not to your reputation, although it be mingled likewise with pity to the innocent sufferer: and I hope you will consider, that this case is not among those where it is a mark of magnanimity to despise the censure of the world; because all good men will differ from you, and impute your conduct only to a sparing temper, upon an occasion where common justice and humanity required a direct contrary proceeding."—Mr. Walter Scott relates, that Bettesworth, "in the bitterness of his heart, confessed, in the house of commons, that Swift's satire had deprived him of 1200*l.* a year."

Upon the occasion of Faulkner's committal, Swift wrote the indignant lines, commencing,

> "Better we all were in our graves,
> Than live in slavery to slaves."

But the two lampoons against Hartley Hutchinson, a justice of the peace who distinguished himself by his activity in taking up hawkers of news, were not written on this occasion; neither is the "Proposal for regulation of Quadrille" the libel alluded to in those poems. The original broadside, entitled, "The Vindication of the Libel," is in my possession, and likewise, the original of that entitled, "A Friendly Apology for a certain Justice of Peace," in 8vo. The first is dated 1729-30, and the second 1730; whereas the "Proposal for regulation of Quadrille" was not printed until 1736.

I have, likewise, in my possession a short poetical satire, printed in 8vo. in the year 1736, entitled, "Proposals for erecting a Protestant Nunnery in the City of Dublin, utterly rejecting and renouncing the new Game of Quadrille by the Ladies;" and also a manuscript poem, proposing twenty-four rhymes to Bettesworth, which was occasioned by the sergeant's assertion, that no one but Swift could have hit upon a word that would rhyme to his name. I am ignorant whether the last piece was ever printed.

[l] "About the time of the reformation," says Swift, in his pamphlet, "many popish bishops of this kingdom, knowing

in vogue, "for giving the bishops leave to let fee-farms; others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops were bound to let their lands at half value." To repel the meditated invasion, Swift assumed the weapons with which he was so providentially armed. In 1723 he wrote a tract, entitled, "Some Arguments against enlarging the Power of Bishops in letting Leases," wherein he successfully proved the salutary effect of the restrictions which had been imposed. The experience of modern times has verified the truth of all his arguments: so that, as to Swift we are chiefly indebted for the preservation of our civil and commercial advantages, the prosperity, likewise, of our church establishment is, in a great measure, to be attributed to him.[m]—After a few years the same prelates exhibited as anxious a desire to augment their power, as, in the former instance, they had done to increase their wealth. In the year 1731 the majority of them brought two bills into parliament; one for enforcing clerical residence, and with that view compelling the clergy to build houses on their glebes, in whatsoever situation the bishops should elect; the other for subdividing large livings into as many portions as the same prelates should think fit, reserving to the original church only 300*l.* per annum.[n] From these bills, which passed with great rapidity through the house of lords, Swift dreaded the

they must have been soon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry.—This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations.—About the middle of King Charles the First's reign, the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops, and other ecclesiastical corporations, from setting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years: the rent reserved to be half the real value of such lands at the time they were set."—

This account, by Swift, is confirmed by all the writers upon the subject: Carte (in his Life of James, Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. page 68) informs us, that the bishopricks in Ireland had, "the greatest part of them, been depauperated in the change of religion, by absolute grants and long leases, (made generally by the popish bishops that conformed,) some of them not able to maintain a bishop—several were, by these means, reduced to 50*l.* year, as Waterford, Kilfenora, and others; and some to five marks, as Cloyne and Kilmacduagh."

Swift's conduct was, as I have shewn in the fifth chapter of the first book of this history, quite opposite to that of those prelates. When he renewed the leases of the deanery lands, he practised that self-denial which he expected from the bishops; always raising the rent, and proportionably diminishing the fine; promoting thus the advantage of his successors, by the renunciation of a considerable sum of ready money, which was properly his own, and might, according to the practice of all his predecessors, cotemporaries, or successors, be appropriated to his own private purposes.

Mr. Walter Scott detracts, in his usual manner, from the merit of the dean's opposition to this measure: "Swift," says he, "considered it as an indirect mode of gratifying the existing bishops, whom he did not regard with peculiar respect or complacency, at the expense of the church establishment, to which he was attached with most sincere devotion; the spirit of his opposition is, therefore, in this instance, peculiarly caustic." Thus does this writer, unjustly and invidiously, attribute to motives of private pique, a laudable action, which, if we are to judge from his conduct in similar cases, was dictated by principles the most praise-worthy and disinterested.

[m] By means of the operation of the bill, which, it was proposed, at this time, should be repealed, the bishops of Ireland have enjoyed their share in the gradual rise of lands. I have seen the equity of this law of limitation proved, in a remarkable way, by a calculation of Primate Newcome. In a copy of Harris's edition of Ware's Bishops, sold at his sale, there was a manuscript note by that learned prelate's own hand, dated 1773, to the following purpose—"Since 1609, in which year Wm. Daniel, who was the first that commenced D. D. in the university of Dublin, was consecrated, 180 bishops have been consecrated in Ireland, or translated from Scotch or English sees: the number of sees is 22, the number of bishops of each see is, therefore, at a medium 8, the number of years is 164, which divided by 8 gives 20½, for the time each bishop lived after consecration." As the property of each bishop, in the lands of the see, is a life interest, the power of letting should be limited, as nearly as possible, to the duration of that term; the wisdom of the statute is, therefore, proved remarkably in this instance by the calculation above quoted: indeed the following passage of this pamphlet testifies that this law was highly approved of, by no very incompetent judge of its effects. "I have been assured," says Swift, "by a person of some consequence, that the bishop of Salisbury, (Dr. Burnet), the greatest whig of that bench in his days, confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in England have, of letting leases for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act."

At the end of this piece Swift combats some arguments against the mode of collecting tithes, contained in a discourse for the encouragement of agriculture, written and addressed to the house of commons by lord Molesworth. He also refers to a tract published about that time, entitled, "The Case of the Laity, with some Queries;" which latter pamphlet, the dean says, was "full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that he had any where met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe."

[n] By the first of these bills, called the Bill of Residence, any person accepting of an ecclesiastical benefice, with cure of souls, of the yearly value of 100*l.* being endowed with such portion of glebe land as the archbishop or bishop of the diocess should judge fit or convenient for building on, after three years possession, if he had no house thereon fit and convenient for his residence, was required, within a time to be limited by the ordinary, to build a mansion-house, to cost one year and a half's income, upon whatsoever part of his glebe the said ordinary should command.—The avowed object of this bill was to promote clerical residence. "Why, then," says the author of the Reconciler, "was it rejected? Truly, amongst many other objections of less moment and consideration, because of the power this bill would give the bishops to tyrannise over their clergy, and reduce them to a state of slavery, by cruel and

impoverishment and degradation of the whole body of inferior clergy, and, moreover, their subjection to the absolute dominion of their spiritual superiors: he accordingly opposed the project in two tracts, [o] entitled, "On the Bill for the Clergy residing on their Livings," and "Considerations upon two Bills sent down from the House of Lords to the House of Commons in Ireland, relating to the Clergy." Both bills were thrown out by the house of commons; [p] but the discomfited prelates were not allowed to sit quiet under their disappointments; Swift indulged himself in some poetical satires [q] against them, and raised a laugh at their expense. "When some instances of preferment, without strict regard to character, were alleged in his presence, he denied the imputation with his usual ironical bitter-

arbitrary sequestrations." Swift represents, in his forcible manner, the exorbitant power which was intended to be conveyed by this clause:—"If there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church, or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building, the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration, upon whatever point his lordship shall command, although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues."

By the second bill, called the Bill of Division, which passed the house of lords two days after the former, it was intended to be enacted, that whenever a church should become vacant, although the incumbent should refuse to give his consent, it might be lawful for the chief governor, with the assent of the major part of the privy council, six at least consenting, by and with the consent of the ordinary and patron, to subdivide any parish into as many portions as they might think fit, provided that, after such division, the church of the old parish should continue worth, at the least, 300*l.* *per annum*, *communibus annis*. This act was an amendment of two former statutes of 2d and 10th Geo. I. which allowed nearly the same powers, but the consent of the incumbent was moreover required.

[o] Mr. Walter Scott, in his preface to Swift's tracts upon this subject, prejudices the reader's judgment by the following sarcastic insinuation:—"There is in both of these tracts, and especially in the latter, a tone of *aigreur*, intimating deep dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical preferments, which may perhaps be traced as much to *personal disappointment* as to any *better cause*."—Such is Mr. Scott's conjecture; but it does not exclude opposite speculations, viz. that Swift's dissatisfaction may be traced as well to *better causes* as to *personal disappointments*. Indeed it would be difficult to guess what were those personal disappointments to which Mr. Scott alludes. Would he persuade us that Swift expected to acquire a seat upon the episcopal bench by a determined opposition to almost every measure of the ruling powers? His poem, entitled, "The Libel on Dr. Delany, &c." will testify that he had no such absurd notions.

[p] Besides the two tracts written by Swift, which are printed in his works, there were two others published upon the subject of those bills. The first is entitled, "A Letter from a Lord to a Commoner, concerning the two Church Bills lately rejected:" The second, "The Reconciler: or, Some Remarks upon two Pamphlets lately published, viz. 'A Letter from a Lord to a Commoner, &c.' and, 'Considerations upon Two Bills, &c. relating to the Clergy of Ireland,' shewing how all the good ends proposed by either of those bills may, by a more gentle and easy method, be attained, without injury to the rights of my lords the bishops, or rigour and violence to the inferior clergy." Dublin, 1732, 8vo.

The first of these tracts I have not seen; but from the very large extracts therefrom printed in the Reconciler, it appears that it was intended as a reply to Swift's pamphlet. From the following passage it may be concluded that the author was not a spiritual peer, for he testifies no great respect for the clerical profession; and it was quite consistent that a person, with such principles as he professes, should be a favourer of those bills which proposed to subject it to a spiritual aristocracy. To Swift's remark, that this division would prevent the younger sons of the nobility and gentry from entering into the church, this noble lord replies, "Though the gentry should not breed up their sons for the church, yet religion would not suffer by this means.—Are the sons of meaner families," says he, "found to have less learning, or piety, or industry in their functions? Is not this poverty rather an incentive to them to excel in their profession?—A youth, bred up in high life, and entered early into the polite part of the world, cannot so easily relish the conversation of such rude and unbred peasants, nor buckle to the mean offices that are incumbent on the minister of a country parish, as one obscurely born."

The author of the Reconciler appears to be a very temperate sort of person: he expresses a great degree of alarm at the differences which the agitation of this subject had occasioned between the two orders of the clergy; and the object of the pamphlet is, as the title indicates, to reconcile the two conflicting parties: however, it is manifest from other passages, and from the following exhortation addressed to the bishops, that he agreed with Swift, and considered the prelates to have been influenced by a desire to increase their power when they prepared those bills:—"In short, my lords, the best and most effectual way to preserve the respect and reverence that is due to your stations and sacred characters, is, to aim at no further degree of power which may be justly formidable either to the clergy or laity; and then both clergy and laity will be more easily inclined to submit to all the reasonable authority and jurisdiction, which, by the holy scripture, the laws of the land, and the canons of the church, your lordships are invested with; for it is a general and approved maxim, that 'whosoever aim at greater respect than is due, find always less than they deserve."—He exhorts the inferior clergy, "for conscience sake, as they value the peace and unity of the church, not to aggravate or inflame the unhappy difference between the bishops and them, nor to let any mischievous incendiaries suggest to them a contempt of their bishops' power and authority, because they had lately seen them exposed and defeated." The concluding paragraph, besides giving us some insight to the history of the transaction, shews likewise what strange opinions prevailed at that time relative to the sister kingdom:—"Imagine not that those bills, of which you have been so apprehensive, were devised only by a combination of English bishops, out of prejudice to this nation: for though *one* more than all the rest appeared *a principal promoter*, and though three Irish bishops remarkably distinguished themselves by opposing the bills, yet it is too notorious to be denied, that many Irish prelates were equally engaged in the undertaking with the English bishops."—The three Irish prelates who opposed the bills were, Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel; Charles Carr, Bishop of Killaloe; and Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin.—

At the end of this tract, the following is advertised to be speedily published:—"A true and exact Account of all the non-resident Clergymen in Ireland, faithfully collected and returned; with an Extract of all the Rules laid upon them in the Visitation Books, and their several excuses and evasions to avoid residence; who are found to be few in number, except such as are by faculty dispensed with."—

[q] See the verses entitled "Judas," Vol. XIV. page 268; and those on the Irish Bishops, Vol. X. page 525. Swift has

ness. 'No blame,' he said, 'rested with the court for these appointments. Excellent and moral men had been selected upon every occasion of vacancy; but it unfortunately happened, that as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath, on their road to Ireland, to take possession of their bishopricks, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead."[4] [r]

Towards the close of the year 1733 the dean's attention was attracted by some proceedings of the Irish parliament. A bill had been introduced into the house of commons for encouraging the linen manufacture, which contained a clause for limiting, by a modus, the tithe payable on flax and hemp. Upon this occasion Swift

[4] Scott's Life of Swift, page 408.

expressed his feelings upon the subject of those bills, in a letter addressed to John Stearne, Bishop of Clogher, dated July 1733; for which I refer the reader to page 219, note a.

In the verses upon the sudden drying up of St. Patrick's well, Swift, in the person of that patriarch, apostrophizes Britain, and censures the persons to whom she had of late years intrusted the episcopal staff:

> "Britain, with shame, confess this land of mine
> First taught thee human knowledge and divine;
> My prelates and my students, sent from hence,
> Made your sons converts both to God and sense:
> Not like the pastors of thy ravenous breed,
> Who come to fleece the flocks, and not to feed."

There are likewise some very severe lines on the English bishops in his poem on Dr. Rundle, Bishop of Derry, written in 1734-5.

[r] In the second tract upon the subject of these bills, Swift amuses himself with some sarcastic reflections upon the haughtiness which those ecclesiastics generally displayed upon their promotion to the episcopal bench:—"There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or insensibility for other men's sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy.—In so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable, at least, to hope that the labour, confinement and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, like a bird out of the snare of the fowler, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of Colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression and hard treatment of colonels toward their officers; yet, in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the Mall, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him: which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death."—Swift likewise displays the effect of his humour in the manner he retorts upon the bishops, and the picture he draws of the degraded state to which the clergy would be reduced by the bill of division:—"The scheme of encouraging clergymen to build houses, by dividing a living of 500*l.* a-year into ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning of which has got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that bishops build no houses because they are so rich, and, therefore, the inferior clergy will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary." And again, in the clauses which he humorously proposes should be inserted in the bill:—"First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double bishopricks in Ireland, those bishopricks should be split, and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started whether twenty-two prelates can effectually extend their paternal care and unlimited power for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual subjects. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it: for I well remember to have read what a terrible fright the frogs were in, upon a report that the sun was going to marry. Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared null, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars. A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in elections for parliament men. Others add a fourth, which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced divines may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices; for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have episcopal ordination. For example, they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaisters for three miles round; they may get a dispensation to hold the clerkship and sextonship of their own parish *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood, or, if a barrack be near, for the soldiers. In linen countries they may card and spin, and keep a few looms in the house: they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours."

In the year 1732 Swift published a tract, entitled, "A Proposal for an Act of Parliament to pay off the Debt of the Nation without taxing the Subject, by which the number of landed gentry and substantial farmers will be considerably increased, and no person will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge." This treatise is altogether ironical, and was intended as a reflection upon the bishops, who, by seeking to have their power in letting leases increased, and by some of the measures above alluded to, had exhibited less regard for the permanent advantage of the church establishment than for their own particular interests. According to Swift's scheme, thus humorously proposed, the reversionary interests in the church leases were to be sold for the public benefit: the bishops then living were to have their full value of their share in fines for renewals; but their successors were to have no more than the reserved rents. The calculations are made with such accuracy, and the respective interests so fairly appreciated, that the plan might almost pass for a real project. Swift delighted, upon all these occasions, to put on the guise of verisimilitude. Besides the shaft of satire which is aimed at the bishops, there is another directed against those strangers whom it was the policy of the English minister to promote in Ireland, in preference to the natives: those persons, having a separate interest from that of the kingdom, were accused of paying more regard

composed a treatise, which he addressed to the members of the lower house.[s] He appeared, likewise, at the head of a body of petitioning clergymen, who prayed to be heard by their counsel against the bill; and to this opposition it has been attributed that the bill did not pass in the original form.[t] But, however successful Swift was in parrying off this attempt upon the rights of the sacerdotal order, his utmost endeavours were ineffectual in the following year. A pretty general resistance was about that time made against the tithe of pasturage, or, as it is technically called, the tithe of agistment; and many suits had been instituted by the clergy in the court of Exchequer. Whilst these actions were pending, the house of commons interfered, and, by their resolutions against those claims, intimidated the clergy from making, and the courts of law from deliberating, on any suits upon that ground.[u] This conduct of the lower house was esteemed by the dean and his

to the will of their employer than the good of the country: such a person is the feigned writer of this project; and the concluding paragraph ridicules their professions of affection for the nation, and the jealous interference of England about its concerns, in the following strain of refined irony:—"Although I am a perfect stranger in this kingdom, yet since I have accepted an employment here, of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people among whom I have been so well received; and, if I can be any way instrumental toward contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law, (which being not in the least injurious to England, will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side,) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded."

[s] Entitled, "Some Reasons against the Bill for settling the Tithe of Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus." In this tract there are some arguments which apply generally to the rights of the clergy as to tithes, and others to the particular case then under consideration. Swift is very successful in shewing that the modus, if established, would be no relief to the farmer, as the landlord would proportionably raise the rent of every part of land whereon flax was sown; and he likewise proves very satisfactorily the unreasonableness of encouraging a manufacture, however useful it may be, at the expense of one part of the community alone, who are neither particularly interested in its success, nor can afford it better than any other. Swift's conduct was in this case altogether disinterested; for the parishes annexed to the deanery of St. Patrick's are quite out of the district appropriated to the culture of flax; neither has he, or any of his predecessors or successors, ever received one shilling upon account of that tithe.

[t] On the 24th Dec. 1733, a petition was presented to the house of commons by Dr. Jonathan Swift and others, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the clergy of Ireland, setting forth, that they would be greatly affected in their properties by a clause in the heads of a bill, then before the house, for the further regulation and improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures. The petitioners prayed, likewise, to be heard by their counsel against the said clause.—On the 28th, after the committee had reported, the petitioners' counsel was heard: the words *three shillings and three pence* were altered, upon a division, to *four shillings*; and, upon a second division, the words *for ever* were expunged. It was proposed that the term of 31 years should be inserted in place of the rejected words; this was, likewise, negatived, and, finally, the term of 21 years was determined upon, and the duration of the proposed modus was accordingly limited to that short period of time.—The house divided pretty equally upon each of those questions. When it was proposed to alter the modus from 3*s*. 3*d*. to 4*s*. the ayes were 52, the noes 50; when the term 31 years was proposed to be inserted, the ayes were 44, the noes 46. Upon the latter occasion the tellers for the ayes were Bettesworth and Tighe, "the puppy pair of Dicks." See Com. Journ. Vol. IV. pp. 110 and 113.

[u] The first public proceeding upon the subject of this claim in Ireland was in the year 1707, when Archdeacon Neal sued Edward Stratford, Esq. in the court of King's-bench, for the tithe of agistment for dry and barren cattle. The cause was carried on for some years, and at length judgment was given for the plaintiff. The cause was then removed by writ of error into the King's-bench in England, where the judgment was affirmed. This case is reported in Bohun's Law of Tithes, p. 390; from whence it appears that Mr. Stratford's counsel insisted upon some niceties in the law proceedings, and did not meet his adversary upon the main point, which it is to be therefore presumed was against him: it is certain also that there was no appeal to the house of lords. On the 24th Nov. 1722, we find the same plaintiff filing a bill in the court of Exchequer against the same defendant for the tithe of agistment, and the former obtaining a decree against the latter. Indeed this last mode of proceeding seems to have been adopted by the clergy from that time forward. In 1726, and the following years, several bills were filed by clergymen in the same court, all of whom obtained decrees, with costs; and in 1735 Edward Synge, Bishop of Ferns, made himself remarkable by filing eight bills for the recovery of this tithe, all in one term. The point of law appears from these decisions to have been quite settled; accordingly the land-holders took the alarm, and their measures being precipitated by the decided steps of the last mentioned prelate, Samuel Low and some other persons presented a petition to the house of commons on the 18th March 1735, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the gentlemen and land-holders in the kingdom, wherein they set forth—that this claim was never heard of until within the last few years—that the petitioners and their ancestors had purchased their estates without any apprehension of this demand, and, consequently, had no allowance in the purchase thereof—that suits in equity for such tithes multiplied very fast, and that this demand, unless in time prevented, would become a general grievance—that if such demands should be generally set up, it would ruin many land-holders who had taken leases at an improved yearly value, without any consideration of their being liable to this tithe—and finally, they stated, that the proceedings of the clergy in such demands greatly increased the disposition which prevailed among the protestants of Ireland to withdraw to America, whereby the protestant interest and strength of this kingdom were likely to be much impaired.

On the 5th of March the house of commons appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Sergeant Bettesworth, and others, which persons, or any five, or more of them, were to examine the allegations of this petition, &c. and to report their proceedings, with their opinions thereupon, to the house. The report of this committee (which is published in the Appendix to the Commons Journals, Vol. IV. page lxv.) was communicated to the house, together with the following resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition to the satisfaction of the committee, and deserve the strongest

brethren to be partial and oppressive;—partial, because the members of that house were themselves great landed proprietors; and being, therefore, the persons chiefly interested, might be considered as judging in their own cause;—and oppressive, because the clergy claimed the tithe of agistment as theirs by the common law, confirmed, moreover, by a statute, 33 Hen. VIII. Ses. I. ch. 12. The several tracts written upon the subject, many of which are extant, serve to shew the degree of doubt with which this very novel claim was veiled.[v] There can, however, be no

assistance the house can give them." To this resolution of the committee the house likewise agreed, on the 18th of March. They moreover resolved—1st. "That the allotments, glebes, and known tithes, with other ecclesiastical emoluments, ascertained before this new demand of tithe of agistment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of this kingdom—2d. That the demand of tithe agistment for dry and barren cattle is new, grievous, and burthensome to the landlords and tenants of this kingdom, who could have no notice thereof previous to their purchases and leases, nor the least apprehension that such unforeseen demands could have been claimed—3d. That the commencing suits upon these new demands must impair the protestant interest, by driving many useful hands out of this kingdom; must disable those that remain to support his majesty's establishment; and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground, by the contest that must necessarily arise between the laity and clergy—4th, That all legal ways and means ought to be made use of to oppose all attempts that shall hereafter be framed to carry demands of tithe agistment into execution, until a proper remedy can be provided by the legislature."—Com. Jour. Vol. IV. page 219.

The particular notice that was taken by the commons of the bishop of Ferns's proceedings, occasioned the publication of a pamphlet with the following title:--"Two Affidavits in relation to the demand of Tithe-agistment in the diocess of Leighlin, with an Introduction, by Edward, Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin." Dublin, 1736, 12mo.—This prelate declares, in his introduction, that he had no design to provoke or inflame: "My view," he says, "is to justify myself; and this I shall always think I am at liberty to do, let who will attempt to asperse me."—"In these affidavits," he adds, "the reader will find a fair account of those eight bills which gave so much offence: I confess I do not see that they need any apology; for is it a crime, in a free country, to assert a fair legal right, in a legal way?—If these bills had been filed to try a doubtful right, the number had been unnecessary; but the law is so clear in the point, that, since the judgment in the case of Neal and Stratford, the right has not been questioned in the courts. The design of these bills was only to bring the parties to account. A bill filed against A, can be of no use towards settling an account with B."-Against the associations, into which the landed proprietors had formed themselves for the purpose of distressing the clergy, this prelate exclaims in the following manly strain: "If to associate, as in a time of foreign invasion, against those who, in a free country, claim only the benefit of the laws; if by this means, to sound a general alarm through the kingdom; if to inflame the people, brand innocent and peaceable men as public enemies, and expose them to the fury of national resentment; if to threaten to distress them in their other unquestionable and unquestioned rights, in case they offer to sue for this; if to appoint treasurers, lawyers, agents, attorneys, in almost every county to support suits out of a common stock; if this be virtue, justice, love of liberty, or public spirit, let me be deemed a covetous oppressor."

The declaration of the association to which this prelate alludes is to be found in Gent. Mag. Vol. VI. page 216, Dub. edit. In page 215 there is a similar sort of proclamation by the gentlemen of the county of Cork, who declare, that they will not compound with any clergyman for his other tithes who shall sue for the tithe of agistment, but that they will force him to draw them. There is no one, I apprehend, that will not say these sorts of associations were disgraceful and illegal combinations.

[v] Notwithstanding that the court of King's-bench in Ireland had decided upon a matter of this sort near 20 years before, in the case of Neal against Stratford, (see note u,) and that the judgment of that court had been affirmed by the court of King's-bench in England, and that several of the clergy had obtained decrees in the court of Exchequer in Ireland, the point of legal right seems not to have been absolutely determined, even at so late a period as the year 1739. Several pamphlets appeared between 1735 and 1739, in some of which the case is argued very learnedly. I shall proceed to give the reader an account of such as I have seen, and am myself in possession of.

I. "Two Affidavits in relation to the Demand of Tithe-Agistment in the Diocess of Leighlin, with an Introduction, by Edward, Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin." Dublin, 1736, 12mo.—This pamphlet has been already described in note u.

II. "Prescription Sacred: or, Reasons for opposing the new Demand of Herbage in Ireland." 1736, 8vo.

III. "Property Inviolable: or, some Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled 'Prescription Sacred." Dublin 1736, 8vo. This tract in defence of the clergy's right was written by Counsellor Alex. M'Auley, the friend of Swift, and one of his executors. The dean alludes to it in his will, where he bequeaths to Mr. M'Auley the gold box he had received from the city of Dublin.

IV. "Property Vindicated: or, some Remarks upon a late Pamphlet, entitled, 'Property Inviolable." Dublin, 1739, 8vo. This tract is written with great ability, and is intended as a reply to the foregoing.

V. "An Apology for the Clergy of Ireland in respect of their Civil Rights, especially as to Agistment for dry and barren Cattle." Dublin, 1737-8, 8vo.

Nos. II. III. IV. in the above list form a distinct series, in which the point of law, as to the clergy's right to this sort of tithe, is contested. A short abstract of the pleadings of those advocates will, perhaps, throw some light upon the question; and, as it is an important national subject, the matter will not perhaps be deemed wholly impertinent.

The clergy of Ireland appear to have grounded their claim to the tithe of agistment upon that of the English clergy, to whom it was due by the common law of England; and they argued that, by the adoption of the common law into Ireland, the same right was derived to them. They pleaded that there was evidence of a prescriptive right in their favour, for the tithe of pasturage had been paid in some parts of Ireland from the remotest period of time. They ascribed the discontinuance of the custom to the troubles which had prevailed for near a century; but argued, that, according to a well-known maxim of law, their claim could not be barred by lapse of time. They conceived, too, that their right was confirmed by the statute 33 Hen. VIII. sess. 1, chap. 12, which mentions the tithe of pasturage as one accustomed in Ireland.

It was argued by the opposite party, that the clergy could not derive any title from the adoption of the common law of England into Ireland; because, 1st, as the original settlement of tithes in England may be traced to its origin, that circumstance excludes any right by common law: 2d, although the common law of England is so far adopted in Ireland, that it is become the test of our judicial resolutions, yet the ancient reasonable customs of Ireland are not altered thereby. As to the statute above quoted, they maintained that the object of it was, to strengthen the title of the clergy to whatever tithes they were possessed of before that time, not to give any others

question as to the impropriety of this interference of one branch of the legislature, whose operations were manifestly intended to silence investigation, and to impede the course of justice. This daring and unconstitutional opposition of power to right, irritated the temper of Swift to the highest pitch: he poured forth his indignation in a very vehement satire, perhaps the most sublime, but certainly the most censurable, of all his works. Those who admire him only for his talents may, perhaps, be

which they did not actually enjoy: they admitted, indeed, that tithe of agistment had been paid in some parts of Ireland, and they allowed that the clergy's title to those was confirmed by that statute.

It was likewise pleaded by the same party, that tithes were originally intended as a maintenance for the clergy; that the contribution was not always, and of necessity, a tithe, for the *quantum* often varied, being sometimes a fourth, fifth, eighth, or fourteenth part; that, when the clergy had a sufficient maintenance, a county may prescribe in *non decimando*, and in proof of this they cited several authorities. It was however pleaded, by the advocates for the clergy, that no prescription in *non decimando* was valid, unless of such sort of produce as was not *de jure* titheable; that the precedents quoted had reference only to matters of that questionable sort, such as tithe of woods, of marriage portions, &c.—It was urged on the part of the clergy, that, although a small modus might bar their claim, because it argued an ancient contract, yet, where nothing was paid, as there was no evidence of any contract, their rights should, therefore, in such cases, be considered as unimpaired. The reply to this was, that there was no difference between a modus so small as to be not worth collecting, and none at all; and that where, from time immemorial, a tithe of any particular sort was not customarily paid, prescription should be allowed as a proof of some such small modus, which the clergyman had neglected to levy, because, by reason of the diminution in the value of money, to collect it was not worth his while. It was likewise argued, that, as almost every parish had, one time or other, belonged to some religious order, and that either these communities, or the parson of the parish, possessed considerable quantities of land, to which none of them could, by common law, be entitled, such possessions might have been obtained by compact with their parishioners, and that immemorial prescription should be received as a presumptive proof of some such agreement.

Besides these reasonings upon the legal right of the clergy of Ireland to the tithe of agistment (which are extracted from the tracts, numbered II. III. IV.) there are others, which treat of the natural equity of the claim, or the political expediency of admitting it. I shall proceed to give some account of those arguments, in the form of objections and answers, as they are urged by the respective parties.

The most futile objection against the payment of this sort of tithe is that which is comprised in the third resolution of the Irish house of commons, by whom it was voted (not unanimously, however, for one third part dissented) that to enforce the payment of the tithe of dry and barren cattle would increase the migration of protestants to America. To this assertion it will not be difficult to furnish a sufficient reply; for the effect of the tax, if we suppose it to have been confirmed, would have been directly contrary to that which is attributed to it by this resolution. Migration is occasioned either by want of food or want of employment: a tithe payable out of land, in that state which gives employment and subsistence to the smallest possible number of people, could not be truly said to promote an evil which arises from want of employment or of sustenance. In truth, the chief objection to this mode of providing for the clergy takes its rise from these very resolutions, whereby the tithe of agistment was abolished, because the tax is now laid chiefly, if not entirely, upon industry, the operations of which it tends, therefore, in a great measure to discourage. Indeed the effect was so soon discovered, that we find an objection was urged against tithe in general upon this account, so early as the year 1742. A tract published in that year, entitled, "A Scheme for utterly abolishing the present heavy and vexatious Tax of Tithe, &c." has the following paragraph:—"As things are at present, the laborious and useful set of men amongst us, persons who raise our corn and our flax, the grand supports of our country, are the persons who labour under the present heavy, and I may almost say, intolerable tax of tithes; while other persons, whom some people call the depopulators of our country, persons who are almost every day laying waste towns and villages of men, to make the larger room for beasts, are exempt from this burden.—But, were this tax once laid upon lands kept under stock, it would be the most prevalent argument to make people till and improve them, because such tillage and improvements would not then be liable to the tax of tithe, which, I am persuaded, is now one of the greatest discouragements to improvements of all sorts that we labour under in this kingdom."—"I am surprised," says the author of No. III. "to hear any argument against the tithes of herbage taken from the nature of these tithes: surely they must, in their nature, have been among the first and most ancient kind of tithes, because they are the natural produce of the earth; and, if tithes of any kind had never prevailed in this island, but were now to be introduced, surely the tithes in question would be regarded as the most reasonable and equitable sort. Would not every one in such a case allow, that it would be the highest injustice to make the poor farmer, who tilled his ground with the sweat of his brow, pay a full tenth of the produce of the earth, including not only his industry and labour, but perhaps as expensive manure, while, at the same time, the rich grazier, who hath large tracts of ground under barren cattle, paid nothing at all?"

As to the distinction between protestant and popish migration, insinuated by this resolution of the house of commons, it was adopted merely for the purpose of increasing the alarm. A migration of Roman-catholics would not have been considered as a great evil: to excite serious apprehensions, it was necessary to declare it would only affect protestants; the party-zeal of those persons made them overlook the absurdity of supposing, that the payment of tithe would be felt as a grievance, only by those of the same communion with the clergy to whom they were appropriated.—Another objection was, that the tithes of herbage are not just, because they may be demanded in a bad season, when the farmer makes no profit: to this the answer is, that the same objection may be made to the landlord's rent, or any other charge; but none of them are valid, because the value of land is appreciated by ascertaining a just medium between the profit to be made in good seasons, and the loss sustained in bad ones.

As to the objection, that this tithe must, of its nature, occasion law-suits, because it cannot be taken in kind where the parties disagree about the value, it was answered; that the case was not so in England, where the right was admitted, and in Ireland, where the suits were numerous, they had been owing more to a dispute about the right, than any disagreement about the value: and as to that part of the objection which urged, that a farmer will generally pay too much for fear of a suit, it was answered; that there was greater reason to apprehend a parson would generally accept of too small a sum rather than sue. The tediousness of suits was another objection: to this the answer was, that the delay was owing, in those cases, for the most part, to the defendant; besides, it was full as great a grievance to the person demanding his right, as to those who resisted it; but, admitting the method of recovery to be tedious and expensive, that could be no reason for taking the right away.

Upon consideration of the whole matter it appears, that the clergy were entitled to what they demanded, for the courts of

gratified by the perusal of the "Legion Club;"[w] but those who look up to him with that paternal affection, with which every one of his countrymen should contemplate their first and greatest patriot, will feel inclined to throw a veil over his infirmity, and shade from the world those errors, which are to be attributed to a suspension of the reasoning faculties originating in disease, more than to any other cause that can be assigned. It has been said, that, whilst he was engaged in writing this poem, he had a violent attack of the vertigo, his old complaint; the piece was therefore left unfinished, nor did he ever afterwards attempt a composition that required much thinking, or more than one sitting to finish. The cruel acts of oppression, practised by Colonel Waller against the Rev. Roger Thorp, are alluded to in this poem; they appear to have excited, to a remarkable degree, the dean's commiseration. This

law had decided in their favour; or, if there was any doubt about the validity of their claim, the interruption which they experienced, from the arbitrary vote of one member of the legislature, and the factious combinations of individuals, were oppressive, unjust, and unconstitutional. This violent mode of rejection was moreover impolitic, and highly prejudicial to the country, inasmuch as it operated as a discouragement from industry, by taxing, exclusively, the manufactured produce of the soil. That Swift, whose patriotism and attachment to the church establishment were great beyond measure, should be urged to express a violent degree of resentment against acts so impolitic and unjust, is not to be wondered at. There are some, to whom, perhaps, the intensity of his satire and the violence of his feelings, exhibited in such a cause, may appear to demand, applause, rather than require palliation.

[w] "The Legion Club," says Mr. Walter Scott, "is one of the most animated and poignant satires that even the dean of St. Patrick's ever produced. It seems almost impossible that the poet should have sustained the extreme virulence of invective with which the description opens; yet, when the poet descends from general to individual satire, every line has the sting of an hornet."

The writer of Article I. No. LIII. of the Edinburgh Review, has given some strictures upon this satire, which exhibit a good portion of that same spirit of malignity which the author is very zealous to attribute to Swift himself. Those who have perused this article, which comprises a virulent libel upon the character and writings of our celebrated countryman, will perhaps think the writer's censure of Swift bears some degree of resemblance to that with which, according to the homely proverb, the kettle addressed the pot: my readers will perhaps think the allusion coarse, but they cannot, I apprehend, deny that it is just. "The Legion Club," says this very eloquent, but very malicious critic, "is a satire, or rather a tremendous invective, on the Irish house of commons.—It is deserving of attention, as the most thoroughly animated, fierce, and energetic, of all Swift's metrical compositions; and though the animation be, altogether, of a ferocious character, and seems occasionally to verge upon absolute insanity, there is still a force and a terror about it which redeems it from ridicule."—The writer then proceeds to describe the "demoniacal inspiration" with which the malice is vented; "the invective of Swift," he says, "appears in this, and some other pieces, like the infernal fire of Milton's rebel angels, which was launched even against the *righteous* with impetuous fury;" but, may we not reverse the picture? and liken Swift's invective to that "pernicious fire, shot forth among the *accursed*," with which the rebel angels were

"Scorch'd, and blasted, and o'erthrown?"—

The same writer is pleased to say, "that there is never the least approach to dignity or nobleness in the style of those terrible invectives." The subject is not exactly capable of such qualities as those words signify; but that there is a great portion of poetic fire in the following description will not be denied; and if we are allowed to suppose, that the extermination of a nest of fiends, not of *righteous persons*, is described; those who are less prejudiced against Swift, than this critic, will perhaps admit, that no description of that extremity of punishment, with which the rebel angels are depicted to be overwhelmed, was ever drawn, by any epic poet, in words more tremendously sublime:

"Could I, from the building's top,
Hear the rattling thunder drop,
While the devil upon the roof
(If the devil be thunder proof)
Should, with poker fiery red,
Crack the stones and melt the lead;
Drive them down on every skull,
When the den of thieves is full;
Quite destroy the harpies nest;
How might then our isle be blest!"

It may be urged, in extenuation of the great intemperance which Swift has exhibited in this poem, that, when it was written, he was actually labouring under a temporary visitation of that malady, which, in a few years after, more violently assailed him. It was moreover written in the first ardour of his zeal, and after he had received very great provocation; the house of commons having injuriously trampled upon the rights and privileges of that order to which he belonged, and of which he always professed himself the champion. I refer the reader to notes u and v, where he will find some account of the associations which were entered into, and the other acts which were done, about this time, to prejudice the clergy; they will serve, in some measure, to excuse the excessive hatred which Swift has, in this poem, manifested towards the ringleaders of those disgraceful combinations.

We learn from a tract, printed at Dublin in 1736, entitled, "Reasons for the present Clamours against the Clergy of Ireland," that there was a sort of civil war, at this time, between the clergy and laity. It is curious enough that the author attributes those dissensions to the practice, then prevalent, of promoting none but Englishmen to the episcopal bench, and the other considerable church preferments; on which account the gentry of the country felt no interest about the clerical order, because they saw no chance of their own relations being promoted in it. Here lies the grievance, he says: a church is established in this kingdom; an university and schools of good literature are in good condition; men of parts, piety, education and learning are no way wanting at home; yet we must have recourse to others from abroad, no way more eminent, to fill the dignified chairs, &c.—The gentry have taken offence for the reasons above specified; they think there are absentees too many already, to have a farther call to England, or English education, to qualify their sons to rise in the church—grievances, not unlike these amongst us, were complained of in those days when the Pope used to cram in his Italians into the Gallican church on all occasions, to the great discouragement of the natives, against which proceedings the French church made loud remonstrances, and never left of struggling till a concordat was made to moderate those matters: "and until some concordat of this nature be agreed upon, to regulate the grievances now clamoured against, in the church of Ireland, I foresee there will be nothing but struggling between the laity and clergy."

unfortunate clergyman had refused to surrender some of the most important rights attached to his benefice; he was, upon that account, harassed with so many law-suits and assaults, that his courage and health gave way, and he died of a broken heart. Robert Thorp, brother to the deceased, presented a petition to the house of commons, praying them to wave their privilege, and to allow him to proceed against the colonel by arrest. In November 1735, while this petition was pending, Swift wrote a short statement of Thorp's case, which piece has not been recovered; it occasioned an advertisement from Waller, offering a reward for discovering the author. Between the year 1730 and this period, Swift produced some very choice pieces, both in prose and verse.[x] Amongst the former, his "Examination"[y]

[x] The verses "To a Lady, who desired the Author to write some Verses upon her in the heroic style," was one of those pieces. Swift consigned this poem to Mrs. Barber, a poetess, the wife of a woollen-draper in Dublin, to whom he gave permission to sell it for her own benefit: she conveyed it to the press through the medium of the notorious Matthew Pilkington, in the year 1731. Those lines which reflect upon Sir Robert Walpole roused the indignation of that minister: he caused Mrs. Barber, Pilkington, the printer, and the bookseller, to be taken into custody; they were repeatedly examined before the privy council, but were at length discharged, without any punishment. Mr. Motte, the bookseller, communicated to Swift an account of the transaction, in a letter dated 21st July 1735.

"The Epistle to Mr. Gay," from which a passage is quoted in a subsequent page, was written in 1731. "The Beast's Confession to the Priest," is dated 1732; it is grounded upon the universal folly in mankind of mistaking their talents.

[y] "Examination of certain Abuses, Corruptions and Enormities, in the City of Dublin, 1732."—The point of this satire is directed against the Whigs, whose real or affected suspicions are the chief objects of ridicule. The effect of this humorous piece, and the service it must have rendered to the party to which Swift was attached, by making the unreasonable apprehensions of their adversaries a subject of laughter, may be easily imagined. There are few persons now living who are aware to what purposes of oppression these instruments were applied. The unhappy professors of the Roman-catholic religion were scarcely allowed the free use of a single trade: even in the exercise of those to which they were reduced by their conquerors, hewers of wood and drawers of water, they were unreasonably interrupted. We read in the journals of the Irish house of commons, (Vol. II. page 77,) of a petition being presented to the house in the year 1695, by the protestant porters in the city of Dublin, against one Darby Ryan, "a captain under the late king James, and a papist, notoriously disaffected, who bought up whole cargoes of coals, and employed those of his own persuasion and affection to carry the same to customers, by which the petitioners were debarred and hindered from their small trade and gains." The trade of driving hackney coaches, one of the lowest occupations in the community, appears to have been to their merciless persecutors a subject of envy. The petitioners in this latter case represented, "that before the late troubles they got a livelihood by driving coaches in and about the city of Dublin; but since that time, so many papists had got coaches, and drove them with such ordinary horses, that the petitioners could hardly get bread, &c. They, therefore, prayed the house, that it might be enacted, that none but protestant hackney-coach-men may have liberty to keep and drive hackney-coaches, &c." Com. Journ. Vol. II. page 60.—To these matters Swift seems to allude in the passage of this tract, where he remarks, "that, if the cries are allowed to continue, they ought to be only trusted in the hands of true protestants, who have given security to the government."

To represent their adversaries, the Tories, or high-church party, as connected with those obnoxious persons, and to prescribe both under the name of Jacobites, was the great political design of the Whigs, or low-church party; but, as this could seldom be done by direct accusations, they had recourse to the insidious methods of dark hints and doubtful insinuations, which were much more effectual, because they could rarely be disproved, and obtained credit in proportion to the fears or interests of their own party, rather than any degree of evidence of their authenticity. These groundless apprehensions are satirized with infinite humour by Swift in this pamphlet, the writer of which is feigned to be a Whig, who expresses great apprehensions at the meaning of certain cries and tavern-signs, which, politically considered, he supposes "do nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by defeating the protestant succession, and introducing the Pretender, and ought, therefore, in justice, to be laid open to the world."

The following passage will serve as a specimen of the manner Swift assumes in this humorous tract. He begins with a pretended censure of the earl of Oxford, but his meaning is all throughout directly contrary to the literal sense; for he is, in truth, sneering at the splendour of Houghton, and the supposed wealth of Sir Robert Walpole:—"Because I altogether contemn the displeasure and resentment of highflyers, tories and jacobites, whom I look upon to be worse even than professed papists, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us, in the worst of times, under the late earl of Oxford's administration, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. That wicked minister was universally known to be a papist in his heart. He was of a most avaricious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions sterling, beside his vast expense in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate that he could hardly read a paper at the council-table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, and profligate life, because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead; and, therefore, I shall observe this wise maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*.—This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several London cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected, that all places at court were sold to the highest bidder, certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry fish in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, Buy my fresh places. I must indeed own that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the secret, although they carried fish in their sieves or baskets, to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the free-masons, which the purchasers of places knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to resort, and make their purchase. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen, finely dressed, about the court end of the town, and as far as York Buildings, where the lord treasurer dwelt, calling the women who cried, Buy my fresh places, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe that any fish was bought."

of certain Abuses, Corruptions and Enormities, &c." and his "Essay on Polite Conversation," [z] deserve particularly to be distinguished; and amongst the latter, his "Rhapsody on Poetry," [a] and verses "On the Death of Dr. Swift." [b]

1737–1745—The dean's last interference in politics was, his opposition to a scheme proposed by Primate Boulter for diminishing the value of gold coin, and

In the following passage the fictitious writer expresses serious apprehensions of the meaning of certain tavern signs:—"I have not observed this wit and fancy of the town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses where punch is sold. The bowl is represented full of punch; the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture.—Now, I cannot find how any of these animals, either separate or in conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of punch. Besides, it is agreed among naturalists, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he has been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of hieroglyph, to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of punch: for, in that case, we ought to suppose that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which, however, to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a Christian, as to aiding and assisting in making the punch: for, as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them at all handy enough to fill liquor to the company. I do, therefore, vehemently suspect a plot intended against the government by these devices. For, although the spread eagle be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful protestant sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides, in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the Pretender's wife is said to be of German birth; and that many popish princes, in so vast an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch; besides, it is plain, that the spread eagle exhibits to us a perfect figure of a cross, which is a badge of popery. Then, as to the cock, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The swan, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with her wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The lion is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect jacobitism, and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes, &c."

There is a sarcastic reflection upon the Whigs, conveyed in the following ironical passage, although it seems to censure the opposite party:—"What better can be expected from an infamous set of men, who never scruple to drink, *confusion* to all true protestants, under the name of Whigs?—a most unchristian and inhuman practice; which, to our great honour and comfort, *was never charged upon us*, even by our most malicious detractors."

[z] In 1736 the dean bestowed upon Mrs. Barber the manuscript of his "Essay on Polite Conversation." It appears that, so early as the year 1708, Swift had compiled a work upon this subject, for a treatise, entitled, "An Essay on Conversation," was one of those to be included in a volume of miscellanies, the publication of which was projected at that time.—Scott's Life of Swift, page 112.

The title to this work is as follows: "A Complete Collection of genteel and ingenious Conversation, according to the most polite mode and method now used at Court, and in the best Companies of England: in Three Dialogues. By Simon Wagstaffe, Esq."—Dr. Hawkesworth considers this essay as a counterpart to the Tritical Essay on the Faculties of the Human Mind, intended to explode from society the absurd and indiscriminate use of cant phrases and catch-words, and to bring it back to the combination and expression of natural sentiment. "It is impossible," says Mr. Walter Scott, "to peruse this treatise without being astonished at the marvellous command which it exhibits of the very tropes it is meant to ridicule; and it must be admitted, that, if antiquated allusions were retrenched, Tom Neverout and Miss Notable would sustain their parts very respectably in the fashionable society of the present day." The dean himself describes it as a trial to reduce the whole politeness, wit, humour, and style of England into a short system, for the use of all persons of quality, and particularly the Maids of Honour; its object is indeed sufficiently explained in an admirable ironical introduction.

This lively *jeu d'esprit* has been admired by all writers who have had occasion to mention it, except lord Orrery. The humour of it is manifest to every capacity; and even the author of the Critique upon Swift, in the Edinburgh Review, although he appears to have scarcely attained to a knowledge of the grammar of the art of ridicule, and is quite insensible to the effect of all the finer touches of Swift's pencil, thinks this treatise "admirable in its sort, and excessively entertaining." The earl of Orrery, on the other hand, places this, and such like pieces, amongst the *minutissimæ* of Swift's performances, which would scarcely have been published but for the decay of his understanding. His lordship, upon these occasions, affects a sort of solemn gravity, which has a very ludicrous effect. Mr. Walter Scott suspects, "that his lordship had either traced some resemblance to his own conversation in that of my lord Smart or my lord Sparkish, or," what is, I think, more likely, because more congenial to his aristocratical notions, "that he considered the bon-ton society as sacred by their privileges from the lash of satire."—Although the conversation of the times is ridiculed in this satire, we must consider it as a sort of caricature resemblance, more like what was aimed at, than ever actually accomplished. As Mr. Scott remarks, "those who frequent society, must often have partaken in dialogues much more tiresome than those of Miss Notable and Tom Neverout."

Besides committing these witty phrases to memory, in such a manner as to apply them, upon all occasions, "without study or hesitation," Swift humorously recommends, that those who aim at being completely witty, smart, humorous, and polite, should learn, moreover, the true management of every feature, and almost every limb:—"There is hardly a sentence," he says, "in those dialogues, which does not absolutely require some peculiar graceful motion in the eyes, or nose, or mouth, or forehead, or chin, or suitable toss of the head, with certain offices assigned to each hand; and, in ladies, the whole exercise of the fan, fitted to the energy of every word they deliver.—For these reasons," he adds, "I have often wished, that certain male and female instructors, perfectly versed in this science, would set up schools, for the instruction of young ladies and gentlemen therein.—I remember, about thirty years ago, there was a Bohemian woman, of that species commonly known by the name of gypsies, who came over hither from France, and generally attended Isaac the dancing-master, when he was teaching his art to misses of quality; and, while the young ladies were thus employed, the Bohemian, standing at some distance, but full in their sight, acted before them all proper airs, and heavings of the head, and motions of the hands, and twistings of the body; whereof you may still observe the good effects in some of our elder ladies."

thereby increasing the quantity of silver currency, of which a great want was then experienced, owing to the perpetual drain from export to the East Indies: his objection to this measure arose from the effect this change had in raising the rent of land, and thereby increasing the income of absentees. [c] The cause of Swift was so identified with that of his country, that his exertions excited a pretty general ferment, which resembled the opposition to Wood's scheme, only that it subsided sooner, and was ineffectual in producing any change of measures. On the day of proclamation he practised a curious mode of revenge: he displayed a black flag from the steeple of St. Patrick's cathedral, and caused the bells to ring a muffled peal, as a signal of national disaster. At an entertainment of the lord mayor's the primate charged the dean with inflaming the minds of the populace against him;—"I inflame them!" replied Swift, "had I lifted my finger they would have torn you to pieces." This retort he afterwards expressed in poetry; it is the subject of a *jeu d'esprit*, entitled, "Ay and No, a Tale from Dublin." [d]

[a] The Rhapsody on poetry is dated 1733. "It contains," says Mr. Scott, "a more sustained flight of poetical expression than any of Swift's other compositions."—Although this piece merits praise as a poetical composition, it does not deserve to be so eminently distinguished; it is excelled by some, and equalled by many others of Swift's poems. Two passages have been quoted from the Rhapsody on Poetry in pages 231 and 384.

A parody on this poem, entitled, "A Rhapsody on the Army," was printed at Dublin in the year 1736, 8vo: although it speaks the sentiments of Swift as to that profession, in poetical merit it rates very low.

[b] The verses "On the Death of Dr. Swift," are said to have been written in November 1731; they were occasioned by reading the following maxim of Rochefoucault: "Dans l'adversité de nos meilleurs amis, nous trouvons toujours quelque chose, qui ne nous deplait pas."

In April 1733 a spurious poem was published, entitled, "The Life and genuine Character of the Rev. Dr. S.....t, D. S. P. D. written by himself." It contains 202 lines, and is dedicated to Pope, by a person who signs himself L. M.—Swift, in a letter to Pope, dated 1st May 1733, complains of this publication:—"Some weeks ago came over a poem, called, 'The Life and Character of Dr. Swift, written by himself.' It was re-printed here, and is dedicated to you. It is grounded upon a maxim in Rochefoucault, and the dedication, after a formal story, says, that my manner of writing is to be found in every line. I believe I have told you that I writ, a year or two ago, near five hundred lines upon the same maxim in Rochefoucault, and was a long time about it, as that imposter says in his dedication, with many circumstances, all pure invention. I desire you to believe, and to tell my friends, that in this spurious piece there is not a single line, or bit of a line, or thought, any way resembling the genuine copy, any more than it does Virgil's Æneis; for I never gave a copy of mine, nor lent it out of my sight. And, although I shewed it to all common acquaintance indifferently, and some of them, (especially one or two females,) had got many lines by heart, here and there, and repeated them often, yet it happens that not one single line or thought is contained in this imposture, although it appears that they who counterfeited me had heard of the true one. But even this trick shall not provoke me to print the true one, which indeed is not proper to be seen till I can be seen no more. I therefore desire you will undeceive my friends; and I will order an advertisement to be printed here, and transmit it to England, that every body may know the delusion, and acquit me, as I am sure you must have done yourself, if you have read any part of it, which is mean and trivial, and full of that cant that I most despise. I would sink to be a vicar in Norfolk rather than be charged with such a performance."

Swift, however, altered his opinion afterwards, as to the publication of this poem. In January 1738-9, the true copy was put to press in London, by Dr. William King, of Oxford, to whom it had been transmitted for that purpose. The poem was published in a mutilated condition, Dr. King having omitted some passages which he apprehended might be construed into a libel. On the 23d January 1738-9, he notifies to Swift, at one and the same time, the publication of this poem and its success.—"As I interest myself most heartily in every thing that concerns your character as an author, so I take great pleasure in telling you, that none of your works have been better received by the public than this poem."—He then proceeds to inform the dean, that he had omitted "the story of the medals," and that part "which mentions the death of queen Anne, and describes the designs of the ministry which succeeded upon the accession of Geo. I."—"These," he says, "he would willingly have published, if he could have done it with safety." The dean was not, however, pleased with this caution. A full and genuine copy, with notes explanatory of the allusions, was published by Faulkner, in which the verses were restored, and the story of the promised medals inserted.

[c] In his letter to Dr. Sheridan, dated 22d May 1737, Swift writes. "I battled in vain with the duke and his clan against lowering of gold, which is just a kind of settlement upon England of 25,000*l.* a year for ever: yet some of my friends differ from me, though all agree that the absentees will be just so much gainers.

Before the year 1687 the exchange between England and Ireland was at par; but in that year King James issued a proclamation, whereby the English shilling was made to pass for 13 pence, and the guinea for 24 shillings. Some time about the year 1701, the guinea became current for 23 shillings; but, by this proclamation of Primate Boulter's, issued 29th Sept. 1737, it was reduced to 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* which is the value at this present.—I apprehend that the advantage which Swift supposes the absentees would obtain, arose from the circumstance of the reserved rents being expressed in the imaginary coin called a pound, but actually paid in guineas; therefore, when the value of guineas was lowered, it required a proportionably greater number to make up a specific sum. The value of foreign gold coins was lowered, in similar proportions, by the same proclamation.

We learn from Primate Boulter's letters, that Swift made, likewise, some opposition to the introduction of the copper money which was sent over to Ireland in April 1737: no such matter is, however, to be traced in his works; the objection probably arose from the coin being struck in England; for the Irish nation have always thought it a hardship, against which they frequently exclaim in their pamphlets upon the subject, written at this period of time, that they were not allowed a mint of their own, nor permitted to regulate the standard of their current coin.

[d] "At Dublin's high feast sat primate and dean,
Both dress'd like divines, with band and face clean:

Although Swift had ceased to concern himself, actively, about the politics of the day, his mind reverted to those earlier scenes in which he had once played a busy part. He became desirous about this time to publish the "History of the Peace of Utrecht," [e] which he had written in 1714; and even transmitted the manuscript to Dr. King of Oxford, that it might be printed in London. The report of his intention having transpired, it roused the apprehensions of the earl of Oxford, son to the celebrated statesman, and of Mr. Lewis, who had been his under-secretary during the last years of Queen Anne: they feared the ill consequences that might perhaps arise from reviving the controversy, and dreaded lest, from Swift's dauntless and uncompromising spirit, he might not be inclined to treat the subject with that temperance and delicacy, which their superior prudence suggested to them was expedient and necessary. Mr. Lewis, [f] accordingly, wrote to the dean, that he might be permitted to see the manuscript; his request was complied with, and the history was perused by the earl of Oxford, Mr. Lewis, and some others of their friends. On the 8th of June 1738, Lewis communicated their remarks to Swift; besides objections against certain passages, he expresses great apprehensions of danger from the publication, and declares that, if the characters should be published as they stood, nothing could save the author's printer and publisher from some grievous punishment. The dean, it appears, acquiesced in this opinion of his early friend, and the publication was suspended; but, as the suggestions of this letter produced none of the alterations it recommended, it is probable that the decaying state of Swift's health rendered him unequal to the task of revision. Swift seems, also, to have meditated the publication of his

Quoth Hugh of Armagh, 'the mob is grown bold.'
'Ay, ay,' quoth the dean, 'the cause is old gold.'
'No, no,' quoth the primate, 'if causes we sift,
The mischief arises from witty dean Swift.'
The smart one replied, 'there's no wit in the case;
And nothing of that ever troubled your grace.
Though with your state sive your own notions you split,
A Boulter by name is no bolter of wit.
It's matter of weight, and a mere money job;
But the lower the coin, the higher the mob.
Go tell your friend Bob and the other great folk,
That sinking the coin is a dangerous joke.
That Irish dear joys have enough common sense,
To treat gold reduced like Wood's copper pence.
It is pity a prelate should die without law;
But if I say the word—take care of Armagh!"

Swift held this primate's abilities in no great degree of estimation; he has satirized him in the following epigram:

"Friend Rundle fell, with grievous bump,
Upon his reverential rump.
Poor rump! thou hadst been better sped
Hadst thou been join'd to Boulter's head;
A head, so weighty and profound,
Would needs have kept thee from the ground."

A ballad upon lowering the coin is printed in the last edition of Swift's Works, Vol. X. page 564, and is said, but without sufficient authority, to have been written by the dean: moreover, the last line is nonsense, for "mollighart" does not signify simply "curses," but "curses on thee."

[e] In page 283, note w, the reader will find an account of this work, which was not published until the year 1758.

[f] Mr. Lewis, in his letter dated 30th June 1737, expresses an anxious desire to see the piece before it should be published. "Is it not possible," he writes, "that I may suggest some things that you may have omitted, and give you reasons for leaving out others?—I do not conceive your compliment to Lord Oxford to be so perfect as it might be, unless you lay the manuscript before him, that it may be considered here."—To this letter Swift replied on the 23d July. In his answer he states, that his desire to publish the history arose from a wish to defend the earl of Oxford from any insinuations that might be contained in the work lord Bolingbroke was then engaged in writing.—"I believe you know that lord Bolingbroke is now busy in France, writing the History of his own Time: and how much he grew to hate the treasurer you know too well; and I know how much lord Bolingbroke hates his very memory. This is what the present lord Oxford should be in most pain at, not about me." Swift in this letter mentions some difficulties about submitting the pamphlet to the perusal of those friends; it appears, however, that they were afterwards over-ruled. Mr. Lewis in his letter to Swift, dated 8th of April 1738, communicated some remarks upon certain passages, and suggested several alterations. Upon the subject of the characters given of the persons then at the head of affairs, he says, "if those you have drawn should be published as they now stand, nothing could save the author's printer from some grievous punishment."—And again he writes—"From the bottom of my heart I conjure you, as you value your own fame as an author, and the honour of those who were actors in those important affairs that make the subject of your history, and as you would preserve the liberty of your person, and enjoyment of your fortune, you will not suffer this work to go to the press without making some, or all the amendments proposed.—I must add, that if you would so far yield to the opinion of your friends, as to publish what you have writ concerning the peace, and leave out every thing that savours of acrimony and resentment, it would, even now, be of great service to this nation in general, and to them in particular, nothing having been yet published on the peace of Utrecht in such a beautiful and strong manner as you have done it."—Dr. King's sentiments, it appears, coincided with those of Mr. Lewis. On the 25th of April 1738, he wrote to Mr. Deane Swift as follows. "The publication of this work, as excellent as it is, would involve the printer, publisher, author and every one concerned, in the greatest difficulties, if not in a certain ruin; and, therefore, it will be necessary to omit some of the characters."

"Instructions to Servants,"[g] of which a fragment only remains; he had intended a more regular work, but his labours in this, as well as the former, were interrupted, probably, by indisposition: this tract was not published until after his death; as Mr. Scott remarks, "it was the last literary object in which Swift seems to have been interested."

The latter part of Swift's life was chequered with two evils which are the usual concomitants of age; loss of friends,[h] and decay of health.—The sudden death of the lively and affectionate Gay, in 1732, was the first severe shock to his feelings after that of Mrs. Johnson. Pope's letter announcing this event is endorsed by Swift, "received December 15th, but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune." The death of Arbuthnot followed in 1734-5; to these losses Swift feelingly adverts in his letter to Pope, dated 12th May, in the same year.—"The death of Mr. Gay and the doctor have been terrible wounds near my heart: their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them; like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest."—Lady Masham's decease happened about the same time with Dr. Arbuthnot's, and the earl of Peterborow's followed in 1735. In 1734 lord Bolingbroke retired to France, and his residence in a distant country occasioned a suspension of their intercourse. Alexander Pope alone remained, and in him the ardour of all Swift's formerly divided affections seem to have been concentrated; of this, his letter, dated 11th May 1735, furnishes ample proof; amongst other tokens of affection it contains the following passage, exhibiting an expression of superlative warmth: "The old Duke of Ormond said, 'he would not change his dead son for

[g] "Swift's Directions to Servants," says Lord Orrery, "is imperfect and unfinished. The editor tells us, that a preface and a dedication were to have been added to it.—To say the most that can be offered in its favour, the tract is written in so facetious a kind of low humour, that it must please many readers: nor is it without some degree of merit, by pointing out, with an amazing exactness, (and what, in a less trivial case, must have been called judgment,) the faults, blunders, tricks, lies, and various knaveries of domestic servants. How much time must have been employed in putting together such a work! What an intenseness of thought must have been bestowed upon the lowest, and most slavish scenes of life! It is one of those compositions, that the utmost strength of wit can scarce sustain from sinking. A man of Swift's exalted genius ought constantly to have soared into higher regions. He ought to have looked upon persons of inferior abilities as children, whom nature had appointed him to instruct, encourage, and improve. Superior talents seem to have been intended by Providence as public benefits, and the person, who possesses such blessings, is certainly answerable to Heaven for those endowments, which he enjoys above the rest of mankind. Let him jest with dignity, and let him to be ironical upon useful subjects; leaving poor slaves to heat their porridge, or drink their small-beer, in such vessels as they shall find proper. The dean, it seems, had not this way of thinking; and, having long indulged his passions, at last, perhaps, mistook them for his duty." Orrery's Remarks. Letter xxii.

"Such is the opinion," says Mr. Walter Scott, "which Swift's aristocratic biographer has formed of one of his most humorous productions; a commentary expressive of the noble lord's feelings of dignity, which deemed nothing worthy of attention that was unconnected with the higher orders of society. An editor of less exalted station may be permitted to entertain different sentiments. Although domestic happiness rests upon the kindly and virtuous qualities of the superior members of a family as its essential basis, it is peculiarly liable to be ruffled, if not broken, by the irregularities of that inferior class.—Let it be remembered, of the class for whose reformation these directions are designed, that, through the whole course of our lives their services are almost as essential as if they were actually limbs of our own bodies; that they are the guardians of our childhood, the attendants of our sickness, the sharers of our toils, the nurses of our old age and decrepitude, and that, in a free country, an individual's happiness is more immediately connected with the personal character of his valet, than with that of the monarch himself." This ingenious editor might even have gone farther in his defence, for, independent of any benefit to be derived to the higher orders, the improvement of the morals of so large a class of the human race, would be cheaply purchased at the rate of a higher sacrifice than the whole time of a greater genius than even Swift himself. The dean did not, therefore, "mistake his duty," as Lord Orrery maliciously insinuates: he doubtless thought, with Mr. Scott, that "any attempt, either by satire or serious admonition, to introduce order or good morals among those who are deprived of the advantages of education enjoyed by their superiors, and are at the same time too much exposed to the contagion of their worst vices, cannot justly be termed, a degrading exercise of superior faculties."

Even the Edinburgh Reviewers had some conception of the merit of this piece, which, they say, "contains as much of Swift's peculiar, vigorous, and racy humour as any one of his productions." I am glad to find," says a modern apologist, "that there are some species of his humour, though of a very low degree, of which they are susceptible."—Defence of Dr. Jonathan Swift, &c. London. 1819, 8vo.

[h] Some account of those persons whom Swift selected for his friends and companions, upon his retreat to Ireland in 1714, has been already given, in page 294, note w; but there is another class of intimates about whom he interested himself, although they should be considered rather in the light of humble dependants, than of friends and associates. Of these latter I shall proceed to give some account in this place.

The dean's anxious desire to serve the cause of literature, and that principle he had early adopted, of helping persons of genius forward in the world, seems to have rendered him more subject to be duped by pretenders, than we could suppose was

the best living son in Europe:' neither would I change you, my absent friend, for the best present friend round the globe."—Pope's letters to lord Orrery prove that their affections were mutual, and likewise, that they remained sincere and perfect, until terminated by death. The following passage from a letter addressed by him to the earl, dated 7th Nov. 1738, will serve at once as a memorial of their friendship,

possible for one so well skilled in the knowledge of mankind. Amongst the persons so favoured by Swift, the Rev. Matthew Pilkington and his wife were the most remarkable. Pilkington had been introduced to his notice by Dr. Delany, and having expressed an anxious desire to visit England, the dean gave him a warm recommendation to his friend Barber, lord mayor of London, who made him his chaplain: he likewise introduced him to Pope, Bolingbroke and others, but they were soon disgusted by his impudence and profligacy, insomuch that both lord Bolingbroke and Barber expostulated with Swift upon the too great readiness with which he granted recommendations.—"Pray, Mr. Dean," writes lord Bolingbroke, on the 12th April 1734, "be a little more cautious in your recommendations. I took care, a year ago, to remove some obstacles that might have hindered the success of one of your recommendations, and I have heartily repented of it since. The fellow wants morals, and, as I hear, decency, sometimes."—Mrs. Pilkington was a person of even worse description than her husband, "she had," as Mr. Walter Scott says, "some cleverness, much petulance, and a plentiful lack both of virtue and discretion."—From her slight intimacy with Swift she picked up some knowledge of his peculiar habits, and learned likewise a few anecdotes concerning him, which latter she took care to embellish, copiously, and moreover to represent them as having all taken place in her presence. If it was worth while, it would not be difficult to prove the falsity of several of these narratives. Swift became soon after convinced of the demerits of this profligate couple; he notified the discovery to his friend Barber, on the 9th March 1737-8, in the following words:—"Dr. Delany, the most eminent preacher we have, is a very unlucky recommender; for he forced me to countenance Pilkington; introduced him to me, and praised the wit, virtue, and humour of him and his wife; whereas he proved the falsest rogue, and she the most profligate whore in either kingdom."

About the same time, and also by the intercession of Dr. Delany, the dean was persuaded to interest himself about Mrs. Barber, the wife of a woollen-draper in Dublin; and, with his characteristic warmth, he exerted himself in promoting a subscription for her poems. Swift's acquaintance with this lady gave occasion to a circumstance of his life which deserves to be particularly related.

When Mrs. Barber went to London in 1731, to get her work printed, Swift recommended her to almost every one of his English friends: about the same time three letters, written in a feigned hand, but signed with the dean's signature, were presented to Queen Caroline. The only one that is extant begins with an impertinent exposition of national grievances, expressed in very unbecoming language, and then proceeds to recommend Mrs. Barber in the most extravagant terms, and to extol her outrageously, as an honour to her country and her sex. The queen was extremely incensed at these letters, but to Swift an opportunity was given of vindicating himself, by the countess of Suffolk, who was convinced that they were a forgery, and had them transmitted through Pope to the dean. Swift wrote to Pope, and to the countess of Suffolk, and from his answers it appears, that he felt extremely indignant at it being supposed he was the writer; he seems even to have been offended with Pope for his suspicions; "the apprehensions," he writes, "one may be apt to have of a friend's doing a foolish thing, is an effect of kindness; and God knows who is free from playing the fool some time or other. But, in such a degree as to write to the queen, who has used me ill without any cause, and to write in such a manner as the letter you sent me, and in such a style, and to have so much zeal for one almost a stranger, and to make such a description of a woman as to prefer her before all mankind; and to instance it as one of the greatest grievances of Ireland, that her majesty has not encouraged Mrs. Barber, a woollen-draper's wife declined in the world, because she has a knack at versifying; was to suppose, or fear, a folly so transcendent, that no man could be guilty of, who was not fit for bedlam. You know the letter you sent enclosed is not my hand; and why should I disguise, and yet sign my name, should be unaccountable."—From other passages it appears, that Swift's displeasure against the queen arose from her having condemned him upon those slight grounds, and without having investigated the truth.—"The first time I saw the queen," he writes, "I took occasion, upon the subject of Mr. Gay, to complain of that very treatment which innocent people often receive from princes and great ministers, that they too easily receive bad impressions; and although they are demonstrably convinced that those impressions had no grounds yet they will never shake them off. This I said upon Sir Robert Walpole's treatment of Mr. Gay about a libel; and the queen fell entirely in with me, yet now falls into the same error."—Swift has more than once expressed his disapprobation of this sort of conduct in persons of rank, and we have seen (page 265) that his apprehension of Mr. Secretary St. John having admitted too easily an unfavorable impression concerning himself, went near to dissolving their friendship: "I told him," says Swift, "that I expected every great minister who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or saw any thing to my disadvantage, would let me know in plain terms, and not put me in pain to guess, by the change or coldness of his countenance or behaviour; for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned head, and I thought no subject's favour was worth it."—Indeed it was Swift's opinion, that the queen had a previous inclination to think ill of him; in page li of the notes at the end of this volume it is related, that she had taken offence at his erecting a monument to the duke of Schonberg, which Swift considered to be a whiggish action, because that general had been very instrumental in the revolution; and a good part of the correspondence between the parties turn upon that subject, for which I refer the reader to the page above mentioned. Moreover, the queen had neglected to send the dean a present of some medals, which she had promised him in return for a web of Irish manufactured silk, which he had presented to her majesty; this omission was interpreted by Swift to be a token of disregard, and it served to widen the breach which had been already made between him and the court.

The countess of Suffolk had, likewise, upon her side, given the dean some offence, to this he adverts in the above-mentioned letter to Pope; "I am pushed," he says, "to write next post to Lady Suffolk—although I have as much reason to complain of her, as of her majesty, upon the score of her pride and negligence, which make her fitter to be an Irish lady than an English one. You told me 'she complained that I did not write to her;' and when I did, upon your advice, and a letter that required an answer, she wanted the civility to acquit herself."—Accordingly Swift's letter, to the countess, breathes the same spirit of resentment, which displayed itself in that which I have just quoted.—"I find, from several instances," he writes, "that I am under the queen's displeasure; and as it is usual among princes, without any manner of reason. I am told, there were three letters sent to her majesty in relation to one Mrs. Barber, who is now in London, and soliciting for a subscription to her poems. It seems, the queen thinks that these letters were written by me: and I scorn to defend myself even to her majesty, grounding my scorn upon the opinion I had of her justice, her taste, and good sense; especially when the last of those letters, whereof I have just received the original

and a testimony of the high degree of estimation in which the virtues and talents of Swift were held by the celebrated bard of Twickenham:—"When you get to Dublin, pray put the dean in mind of me—tell him how dearly I love him, and how greatly I honour him; how greatly I reflect on every testimony of his friendship; how much I resolved to give the best I can of my esteem for him to posterity; and

from Mr. Pope, was signed with my name; and why I should disguise my hand, and write my name is both ridiculous and unaccountable."—In this letter Swift rated her upon the change which her being a countess had made, and refers her to the predictions contained in the character he had drawn of her, (see page 352, note b.) In a subsequent letter of the 26th Oct. 1731, he refers to these matters:—"It would be an injury to you or Mr. Pope, to give thanks to either of you for justifying me about those letters sent to the queen, because to think me guilty would disgrace your understandings; and, as he is my best friend, so your ladyship owes me no malice, except that of raillery; and good raillery is always sincere. And if her majesty were deceived, it would lessen my opinion of her judgment; which would no otherwise affect me, than by making me sorry upon her own account." Their common friend, Lady Betty Germain, laboured afterwards to cement this breach, but the idea of Lady Suffolk's insincerity was too deeply impressed upon the dean's mind. He wrote to Lady Betty Germain, on the 8th Jan. 1732-3, a full account of his transactions with the court; but he exhibits therein no sort of inclination to renew his acquaintance with the countess.

Dr. Johnson records this incident with his accustomed partiality: he says, that Swift, when he was charged with writing the letter, "urged the improbability of the accusation, but never denied it; he shuffles between cowardice and veracity, and talks big when he says nothing."—"It is unpleasant," says Mr. Scott, "to observe one man of genius pass such harsh and undeserved censures upon another.—Surely the pointing out the utter absurdity of an accusation is the strongest mode, not only of denying, but disproving it." We have not far to seek for a motive for Dr. Johnson's giving credit to this story, we find that his hatred to Swift, or his love of novelty, were at all times sufficient to over-balance his love of truth. If Dr. Johnson really believed Swift was the writer of the letter, his credulity in this instance, can be equalled only by his scepticism in discrediting that he was the author of the Tale of a Tub; the doctor was singular in both opinions; but I confess I have not charity enough to believe, that in either case he spoke his real sentiments.

"The reader may be disposed to ask," says Mr. Walter Scott, "who could have taken it upon them to forge letters addressed to the queen by such a person? The only letter preserved is in a large female hand, bearing no resemblance whatever to that of the dean, any more than the outrageous compliments to Mrs. Barber correspond with his taste and style, who, even in praising his dearest friends, usually conveyed his eulogy under the mask of irony, and whose taste was too just to bestow such extravagant commendations on verses which scarce reach mediocrity. It is therefore probable they were forged by Mrs. Barber, or some of her friends, which is the more likely, as scandal reputed to her an intrigue with an Irish literary character of some distinction."—Swift, however, continued to extend some degree of patronage towards Mrs. Barber; he had given her the poem entitled, "A Letter to a Lady, &c.;" so late as 1736, he bestowed upon her the manuscript of his "Essay on Polite Conversation," which he allowed her to print for her own benefit.

William Dunkin was another of those persons about whom Swift interested himself. On the 9th of March 1737-8, the dean wrote warmly in his favour to his friend alderman Barber, that he might be presented, by the London company for the plantation of Ulster, to the living of Coleraine, which it was expected would soon fall vacant. In this letter Swift gives the following account of Dunkin:—"He is a man of genius, and the best poet we have; and, you know, that is a trade wherein I have meddled too much for my quiet, as well as my fortune; but I find it is generally agreed that he is a thorough churchman in all regards. His aunt, to whom he was legal heir, bequeathed her whole estate to this university, only leaving him an allowance of 70*l.* per annum, to support him till he was better provided for; but I prevailed on the provost and fellows to make it 100*l.* a year."—Swift had, in a previous letter, dated 17th Jan. transmitted the following character of Mr. Dunkin to the alderman:—"Mr. William Dunkin is a clergyman, upon whose character I have lately taken him into my favour. He is a gentleman of much wit, and the best English, as well as Latin, poet in this kingdom.—He is a pious, regular man, highly esteemed; but our bishops, like yours, have little regard for such accomplishments, while they have any dunces of nephews or cousins."—It appears, from subsequent letters published in Swift's correspondence, that this recommendation, though warmly urged, proved ineffectual. Dunkin was, however, in 1746, promoted by Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, at that time lord lieutenant, to the free-school of Enniskillen, which is richly endowed.

Dunkin took a warm interest in the dispute between Bettesworth and the dean: he wrote upon that occasion a poem, entitled, "Bettesworth's Exultations." For this defence he was assailed by the author of "The Case truly stated between Swift and Bettesworth." He was likewise engaged in a controversy with Charles Carthy, and some other poetasters of the day. Carthy was a schoolmaster in Dublin, who published a translation of the second book of Horace's Epistles, (Dublin, 1731, 4to.) in which the Latin was printed at one side, and the English at the other; whence he obtained the name of Mezentius, alluding to the practise of that tyrant, mentioned in Virgil, who chained the dead to the living. Dunkin published a satire upon this piece, entitled, "Mezentius on the Rack," Dublin, 1734, 12mo: and, at the end of the satire a number of epigrams, &c. entitled, "Reliquiæ Carthianæ." From Dunkin's advertisement, printed on the last page of this pamphlet, it appears, that Carthy had attacked him, and particularly in some remarks upon a poem of Dunkin's, entitled, "The Lover's Web."—Carthy published, in the same year a poetical reply, ridiculing some of Dunkin's pieces, and particularly his "Lover's Web," and the advertisement above-mentioned; this piece is entitled, "A Proclamation from Parnassus, being the substance of a Second Advertisement lately published in Prose, but now turned into Metre, and considerably improved by me, William Dunkin; Chevalier de St. Patrick, Knight of the most illustrious Order of the Goose-quill, Master of the noble Science of Offence, and Professor of all Languages." 1734, 12mo. In this title-page Dunkin's intimacy with Swift is alluded to. Another small poetical tract, published in the same year, is intended as a defence of Dunkin; it is entitled, "A Libel upon the Dublin Dunces, in an Epistle to Mr. W. Dunkin." 1734, 12mo.

Dunkin translated into English verse Swift's poem, entitled, "Carberiæ Rupes;" which piece, together with "Bettesworth's Exultations," has been published in Swift's works. Mr. W. Scott has likewise printed several of the epigrams, from the "Reliquiæ Carthianæ:" whether any of them were written by Swift or not is a mere matter of conjecture.

Dunkin's works were printed after his death, in two volumes, quarto; this publication has the following title:—"Select Poetical Works of the late William Dunkin, D. D." Dublin, 1769. There are several pieces, which are noticed in the above-mentioned tracts, that do not appear in this edition

assure him, the world has nothing I admire so much; nothing the loss of which I should regret so much, as his genius and his virtues."[i]

In the year 1735 the dean's health was much impaired;[k] and in October the chapter meetings were, by reason of his infirmities, required to be held at the deanery-house; after that month he seldom ventured to preside at any assembly convened in the chapter-room, their usual place of meeting. On the 28th June 1737, Dr. Delany was nominated to represent him as sub-dean, the dean himself being, by reason of his ill state of health, disabled from personal attendance. On the 11th of January following, John Wynne, precentor, was appointed to the same office, the duty of which he continued to discharge during the remainder of Swift's life. Upon some occasions, however, the dean took the chair, and for the purpose

[i] Pope's letter to the earl, dated March 1736, contains the following remarkable passage:—"My sincere love for this valuable, indeed, incomparable man, will accompany him through life, and pursue his memory, were I to live an hundred lives, as many of his works will live; which are absolutely original, unequalled, unexampled. His humanity, his charity, his condescension, his candour, are equal to his wit; and require as good and true a taste to be equally valued."

Pope had it once in contemplation to accept the dean's invitation to visit Dublin, but the fear of the probable consequence of a sea voyage deterred him. On the 1st September 1733, he writes, "I would go a thousand miles by land to see you, but the sea I dread; my ailments are such, that I really believe a sea sickness, (considering the oppression of colical pains, and the great weakness of my breast,) would kill me: and if I did not die of that, I must of the excessive eating and drinking of your hospitable town, and the excessive flattery of your poetical country."—And afterwards, in his letter to the earl of Orrery, of the 12th July 1727, he makes the same excuse, and says, that nothing less than a probability of dying at sea would have hindered him from making this visit.

[k] From the correspondence between Swift and his friends, the nature and progress of his disease may be easily traced. On the 1st Nov. 1734, he writes to Pope:—"For some weeks after your letter of the 15th Sept. I was very ill with my two inveterate disorders, giddiness and deafness. The latter is pretty well off, but the other makes me totter towards evenings, and much dispirits me."—In December following he meditated a journey to Wicklow to the Rev. Mr. Blachford's, to whom he wrote a humorous letter, and proposed, after his own peculiar manner, by contributing towards the expense to make the visit as little burthensome to his host as possible; and yet the suggestion is conveyed in so playful a way as to avoid giving offence. In this visit to his friend, Swift proposed the improvement of his health, by frequent riding on the plain of Wicklow called the Murrough; but, before an answer had arrived, he experienced an attack which deterred him from removing so far from his own home: he was obliged, accordingly, to excuse himself; and his second letter to Mr. Blachford describes the sudden and very frightful manner of those occasional attacks.—"The weather yesterday being very fine, I rode to Howth-house, and as I was getting on horse-back to return, I was seized with so cruel a fit of that gidddiness, which at times hath pursued me from my youth, that I was forced to lie down on a bed in the empty house for two hours, before I was in a condition to ride. However I got home safe, but am this morning very weak, as I always have been for many days after such fits, and in pain for fear of another this day, which makes me write to you while I am able, although it be morning."—The frequent recurrence of this malady confined him to the neighbourhood of Dublin. In his letter to Alderman Barber, of the 12th July 1735, he writes:—"I long excessively to be in England, but am afraid of being surprized by my old disorder in my head, far from help, or at least conveniency; and I dare not so much as travel here without being near enough to come back in the evening to lie in my own bed. These are the effects of living too long: and the public miseries of this kingdom add to my disease."—Nevertheless, in his letter to the Rev. Mr. Towers, prebendary of Stagonil, written about the same time, he makes his disorder a subject of jest.—"It is one good sign that giddiness is peculiar to youth, and I find I grow giddier as I grow older, and therefore, consequently, I grow younger. If you will remove six miles nearer, I shall be content to come spunge upon you as poor as you are, for I cannot venture to be half a days journey from Dublin, because there is no sufficient medium of flesh between my skin and my bones, particularly in the parts that lie upon the saddle. Therefore, be pleased to send me three dozen ounces of flesh before I attempt such an adventure, or get me a six-mile inn between this town and your house."—His letter to Pope, of 21st October, is written in the same humorous strain:—"I often ride a dozen miles, but I come home to my own bed at night: my best way would be to marry, for in that case any bed would be better than my own."—However, notwithstanding his infirmities, Swift ventured, in the next month, to the town of Cavan, to visit his friend Sheridan; the following chronicle of his progress, extracted from a letter to Mrs. Whiteway, represents, in the shortness of his daily journeys, the debilitated state of his body.—"Nov. 3, to Dunshaughlin, twelve long miles, very weary; November 4, to Kells, sixteen miles, ten times wearier; the 5th, to Cross-keys, seventeen long miles, fifty times wearier; the 6th, to Cavan, five miles, weariest of all: yet I baited every day, and dined where I lay."—This was the dean's last journey, and, after a short stay of about two months, he returned to Dublin.—In December 1736, he writes to Pope—"I think you owe me a letter, but whether you do or not I have not been in a condition to write. Years and infirmities have quite broke me; I mean that odious continual disorder in my head. I neither read, nor write, nor remember, nor converse.—What Horace says, *singula de nobis anni prædantur*, I feel every month at farthest; and by this computation, if I hold out two years, I shall think it a miracle."—His letter to Mr. Lewis, of 23d July 1737, has the following paragraph:—"I have been long in a very bad condition; my deafness, which used to be occasional, and for a short time, has stuck by me now several months without remission; so that I am unfit for any conversation, except one or two Stentors of either sex; and my old giddiness is likewise become chronical, although not in equal violence with my former short fits."—Many of his other letters contain such like passages: the last two of the series are addressed to Mrs. Whiteway; that dated 26th July 1740, is written in the following melancholy strain.

"I have been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, That I am not in torture; but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be."

"If I do not blunder, it is Saturday.—If I live till Monday I shall hope to see you, perhaps for the last time."

that he might be present, their meetings were sometimes adjourned from the chapter-room to the deanery-house. The last adjournment of this sort, and probably the last time that Swift met this venerable body in public, was on the anniversary of the patron saint of this cathedral, in 1741-2.[l]

The final dissolution of Swift was, like some other great events, ushered in by dreadful forewarnings. That deafness by which he had been often visited was now become permanent, and destroyed all the comfort he might derive from the company and conversation of his friends. About 1739 his memory began likewise to fail, and the fits of giddiness to which he was occasionally subject became, latterly, through the force of severe bodily sufferings, so frequent and intense, that they occasioned temporary suspensions of his mental faculties: his judgment, however, acquired its usual tone during the intervals of his disorder;[m] but these intervals cannot be accounted

On one of these letters Mr. Bowles, the editor of Pope's Works, has made the following very just and beautiful remark. "These letters, that almost *set us* among the very persons who wrote them, create, with all their faults, a melancholy interest. We hear of their acquaintances, friends, pursuits, as if we knew them; we see the progress of years and infirmities, and follow them through the gradations from youth to age, from hope to disappointment; and partake of their feelings, their partialities, aversions, hopes, and sorrows, till all is dust and silence."

l During the period that his health was in a declining state, the dean did not remit his usual attention to the concerns of his cathedral. A resolution of chapter, relative to their right of conferring degrees, passed the 17th March 1736-7, has been noticed in Book I. Chap. XIV.; it serves to shew that Swift was at that time engaged in exploring the antiquities of his cathedral. Several grants of money were, moreover, voted to Dr. John Lyon and Mr. Isaac Butler, for their researches in this way, as there were likewise to Mr. Blamyre for his drawings of the church and its monuments. The chapter also defrayed the expense of a copper-plate representation of the cathedral, to embellish Mr. Walter Harris's edition of Ware's History of the Irish Bishops.

Between the years 1738 and 1743, large sums of money were expended upon the cathedral, in repairs. They testify with what anxious attention Swift regarded this venerable edifice. It is much to be regretted that those measures of improvement should have been rendered ineffectual; the frequency of floods in the Poddle-river, and the insufficiency of sewers to carry off the superabundant water, was the occasion of much injury to the building, and, moreover, rendered it, on account of damps, unsafe to assemble in; accordingly, in 1744, the chapter were obliged to solicit the use of the sister cathedral. An order to the following effect appears upon the book of Chapter-minutes of Christ-church:

25th Feb. 1744, "Leave given to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's to assemble and use the church on Ash-Wednesday, and the other Wednesdays in lent, their church being dangerous to assemble in, from the late floods; and that on those days they may appear in their choral habits."

In the year 1738 the chapter manifested their affection and respect for the dean, by requiring that his portrait, at full length, should be painted by Mr. Bindon, who was the most considerable artist at that time in Dublin; the expenses to be defrayed out of the oeconomy fund. The chapter minute which records the order for payment, serves to mark the period of Swift's life when this representation of the great original was made; it is dated 17th March 1738. To the order the following note is subjoined:—"That the said picture and frame are the property of the chapter; and that they are placed, at the instance of the chapter, in the deanery-house, to save them from the damage they might suffer by dampness in the chapter-house, wherein they were first designed to be placed."—From the proctor's account of the same year we learn, that the sum paid to Mr. Bindon for the portrait was 36*l.* 16*s.* and to Mr. Haughton for the frame, 18*l.* 3*s.*

[m] The learned Dr. Hawkesworth has given an interesting account of Swift's last illness: he has taken his information chiefly from two letters published in lord Orrery remarks; the first from Mrs. Whiteway to the earl of Orrery, dated 22d November 1742, and the second from Mr. Deane Swift to the same nobleman, dated 4th April 1744. Mr. Walter Scott says that this account was written by Delany; but I have not been able to discover it in his "Observations on Lord Orrery's remarks."

Dr. Lyon, in his manuscript remarks upon Hawkesworth's Memoir, has amended several passages in this narrative, and from his corrections it appears, that Mr. Deane Swift and Mrs. Whiteway's accounts were exaggerated. As it must be allowed that Dr. Lyon's testimony is preferable to that of either of those persons, I have thought fit to print his remarks along with the account itself. Whatever words of Hawkesworth's narrative have been altered or erased by Lyon, are printed in the Italic character; whatever amendments he has made are included within crotchets.

"*In the beginning* [About the end] of the year 1741, his understanding was so much impared, and his passions so much increased, that he was utterly incapable of conversation. Strangers were not permitted to approach him; and his friends found it necessary to have guardians appointed of his person and estate. Early in the year 1742 his reason was wholly subverted, and his rage became absolute madness. The last person whom he knew was Mrs. Whiteway; and the sight of her, when he knew *her no more, threw him into fits of rage so violent and dreadful*, [not her name, affected him so,] that she was forced to leave him; and the only act of kindness that remained in her power was, to call once or twice a week at the deanery, inquire after his health, and see that proper care was taken of him. Sometimes she would steal a look at him when his back was towards her, but did not dare to venture into his sight. He would neither eat nor drink while the servant who brought him his provisions staid in the room. His meat, which was served up ready cut, he would sometimes suffer to stand an hour on the table before he would touch it; and at last he would eat it walking; for, during this deplorable state of his mind, it was his constant custom to walk *ten* [several] hours a day.

"In October 1742, after this frenzy had continued several months, his left eye *swelled to the size of an egg*, [was inflamed,] and the lid appeared so much *inflamed and* discoloured, that the surgeon expected it to mortify: several *large* boils also broke out on his arms and his body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month; and, during one week, it was with difficulty that *five* [three] persons kept him, by mere force, from tearing *out his eyes*, [off the bandage.]—Just before the tumour perfectly subsided, and the pain left him, he knew Mrs. Whiteway, took her by the hand, and spoke to her with his former kindness. That day and the following he knew his physician and surgeon, and all his family, and appeared to have so far recovered his understanding and temper, that the surgeon was not without hopes he

happy; a settled melancholy, increased by the strength of his imagination brooding over that scene of misery, which he well knew, and clearly foresaw, would be his lot,[n] destroyed the balance of his mind—

> "It puddled his clear spirit: and, in such cases,
> Men's natures wrangle with inferior things,
> Though great ones are their object."—

His temper, in truth, encreased in irritability, and upon slight provocation be broke out often into violent and frantic fits of passion.[o] During part of the year 1742 he was in the state of an outrageous maniac; but a discharge from a tumour which collected over his left eye removed his pain, and likewise restored him to his senses. He recovered for a time his understanding and temper, and his physicians indulged themselves in hopes that his disorder would subside; but these hopes were soon blasted. About the end of October 1742, he sunk into a state of almost total insen-

might once more enjoy society, and be amused by the company of his old friends. This hope, however, was but of short duration, for, a few days afterwards he sunk into a state of *total* insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed upon to walk across the room. This was the effect of another bodily disease; *his brain*, [the sinus of his brain,] being loaded with water. Mr. Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of the diocess of Dublin, pronounced this to be his case, during his illness; and upon opening his head it appeared that he was not mistaken: but, though he often intreated the dean's friends and physicians that his head might be trepanned, and the water discharged, no regard was paid to his opinion or his intreaty.

"After the dean had continued silent a whole year in this state of helpless idiotcy, his house-keeper went into his room, on the 30th of November, in the morning, and told him that it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual. To this he immediately replied—'It is all folly; they had better let it alone.'

"Some other instances of short intervals of sensibility and reason, after his madness had ended in stupor, seem to prove that his disorder, whatever it was, had not destroyed, but only suspended the powers of his mind.

"He was sometimes visited by Mr. Deane Swift, a relation; and about Christmas, 1743, he seemed desirous to speak to him. Mr. Swift then told him he came to dine with him; and Mrs. Ridgeway, the housekeeper, immediately said, 'Wont you give Mr. Swift a glass of wine, sir?' To this he made no answer; but shewed that he understood the question, by shrugging up his shoulders, as he had been used to do, when he had a mind a friend should spend the evening with him, and which was as much as to say, 'you will ruin me in wine.'* Soon after he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words; but, at last, after many efforts, not being able, he fetched a deep sigh, and was afterwards silent. A few months afterwards, upon his housekeeper removing a knife, as he was going to catch at it, he shrugged up his shoulders, and said, 'I am what I am;' and, in about six minutes, repeated the same words two or three times.†

"In the year 1744, he now and then called his servant by his name; and once attempting to speak to him, but not being able to express his meaning, he shewed signs of much uneasiness, and at last said, 'I am a fool.' Once afterwards, as his servant was taking away his watch, he said, 'bring it here:' and when the same servant was breaking a large hard coal, he said, 'that is a stone, you blockhead.'

"From this time he was perfectly silent, till the latter end of October 1745, and then died, without the least pang or convulsion, in the seventy-eighth year of his age."

It has been generally imagined that the latter state of Swift was that of lunacy, which terminated, finally, in idiotism; but it appears from this account, chastened as it is by Dr. Lyon, that the frenzy with which he was visited was only temporary, the consequence of acute bodily pain; and that his senses returned when the corporeal malady was removed. Viewed in this light, it appears to have differed very little, either in its nature or duration, from the ravings of a person in a fever. Neither does it appear that the state to which Swift was finally reduced was one of actual idiotcy; many instances, besides those above quoted, are given by Mr. Deane Swift, which prove that he was not always insensible; and there is in his letter to lord Orrery above referred to, the following remarkable passage:—"Sometimes he will not utter a syllable; at other times he will utter incoherent words: but *he never yet*, as far as I could hear, *talked nonsense*, or said a *foolish thing*."—Dr. Lyon, in his emendations, stiles Swift's malady, "a loss of all recollection;" and in another place he says, "the memory of all things were effaced from his mind for near three years before he expired."

Mr. Walter Harris, in his "History of the Writers of Ireland," slightly mentions Swift: he excuses himself from giving any account of his life or writings, because they were too numerous to be included within the compass of his work: moreover, a part of the sheet wherein his name occurs was, as he informs us, sent to the press on the day of his death, "which happened," he adds, "after a long illness, *and total deprivation of memory*."

* Swift's manner, Dr. Delany informs us, was, "instead of pressing or courting, rather to affect a kind of reluctance and fear of being devoured by eating or drinking with him."

† The coincidence may be, perhaps, accidental, but one would almost think that Swift was applying to his own situation the last sentence of the following quotation. I allude to the conversation between Ludovico and Iago about the change they had observed in Othello. Ludovico says,

> ——"Is this the noble nature
> Whom passion could not shake? whose solid virtue
> The shot of accident, or dart of chance,
> Could neither graze, nor pierce?
> Iago— He is much chang'd.
> Lod.—Are his wits safe? is he not light of brain?
> Iago—*He is that he is.*"—

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[n] Such of Swift's biographers as are enemies to his fame, are fond of tracing the original of his disorder "to his brooding over former disappointments;" or, "his disposition to aggravate every injury that he had suffered;" and Mr. Walter Scott has fallen very much into this way: but it is an act of great injustice to his memory to attribute it to such like causes; for Swift never suffered either injuries or disappointments sufficiently severe to occasion any such effects. Dr. Lyon accounts for it in a much more satisfactory way.—"It is owing," he says,

sibility, [p] spending a great portion of his time in sleep; at some periods, however, he appeared not unpossessed of reason, and attempted more than once to find words to express his meaning, but finding he could not, he sighed bitterly, and shewed other signs of great uneasiness. After languishing in this state for three years, a melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness, he expired on Saturday, the 19th of Oct. 1745. In his last moments he did not exhibit any symptoms of considerable pain, his attendants who were in the room with him were scarcely sensible of that awful event.

Thus died, in the 78th year of his age, Dr. Jonathan Swift, [q] whose virtues and talents were an honour to his fellow creatures, but to his fellow citizens, a blessing. The news of his decease roused the dormant zeal of his countrymen; "It was

"to his melancholy, increased by the strength of his imagination, brooding over the unhappy scene of misery which he foresaw was his lot; he was often heard to offer up his prayers to Almighty God, to take him away from the evil to come.—The prospect of this calamity, which he was daily lamenting, contributed very much, as his passions were violent, to pervert his understanding."—It was not, therefore, remembrance of the past, but forebodings of the future, that worked this dreadful effect: that a man, who knew so well how to value the great prerogative of superior understanding should shudder at the prospect of being deprived of that noblest faculty, is a matter that will not excite surprize: it is, in truth, a calamity to which no system of philosophy can ever perfectly reconcile us. It is hard to determine which state was most pitiable; that to which he was finally reduced, or that previous one of dismal apprehensions and forebodings; for he saw his fate, says Dr. Lyon, "as plainly as a coming shower;" and in another place he says, that Swift "called often upon his friends to have a watchful care of him during his infirmity."—MS. Additions to Hawkesworth's Life.—The dean's knowledge of this dreadful catastrophe he probably derived from what he had formerly witnessed in his uncle, Godwin Swift, who became, first insane, and afterwards lethargically insensible, before his final dissolution. See Deane Swift's Essay, page 40, Dublin edition.

[o] Swift's situation at this time exposed him occasionally to imposition. It is related that Francis Wilson, prebendary of Kilmactalway, who had been nominated one of his executors, availing himself of the state of the dean's intellects, seduced him to a visit to his house at Newlands, where he endeavoured to intoxicate him, and used measures of intimidation and personal violence to obtain, that he might be nominated Sub-dean of St. Patrick's, in the place of Dr. John Wynne, precentor. The story is related by Mr. Scott, (Vol. I. page 455, and Vol. XIX. page 334, &c.) upon the authority of Faulkner, and a worse he could scarcely have cited; moreover, the tale does not hang well together; there is, apparently, more truth in Wilson's own account, who verified it upon oath before a magistrate: he relates their proceeding together to Newlands, to dinner, during all which time the dean treated Wilson with remarkable civility and love, but, on their return, broke out suddenly into a desperate fit of rage, struck Wilson violently several times, which conduct, he acknowledges, notwithstanding his pity for the dean's infirmities, and love for his person, he could not tolerate; he says he left the coach, but denied that he ever used any violence to the dean's person. Considering the state of Swift's mind at that time, this narrative is not improbable. The same person was, however, accused of some acts of peculation while a guest at the deanery; the servants told Mrs. Whiteway that they observed Wilson usually brought with him an empty portmanteau, which, when carried away, was filled with books: to this incident Dunkin probably alludes in the following lines, (Dunkin's Works, Vol. II. page 218.)

> Like.....that robber and scoundrel in grain,
> Who borrowed and stole half the books of the dean."

Perhaps these stories might have had some foundation in truth; they appear, however, to have been violently exaggerated by Mrs. Whiteway, who, as it seems, was very desirous to gain an influence over the dean, to the exclusion of those other friends, who were not related to him by blood. See Scott's Life of Swift, pages 455 and 456.

[p] His estate was, about this time, put under the management of trustees. I have seen a deed, whereby part of the deanery tithes were demised, signed by the names of the following persons: Alexander M'Aulay, barrister at law, John Rochfort of Newpark, and Rev. Francis Corbet. It appears from hence, that they were of the number of those appointed to take charge of the dean's property, during his state of mental imbecility. Mr. Scott informs us, that his person was confided to the care of Dr. John Lyon; who was not, however, as Mr. Scott observes, curate to Dr. King, Preb. of Dunlavin, but a minor canon of this cathedral; he was made Preb. of Rathmichael in 1751, of Tassagard in 1771, of Mallahidert in 1787: elected curate of St. Bride's 1764. See note A, page lxiii.

[q] The will of Dean Swift is dated the 3d May 1740.—The following abstract comprises every article of its contents. Such clauses as are in themselves important, or characteristic of his humour, or expressive of his peculiar sentiments, are given in the words of the original.

He desires that his body may be buried in the great aisle of the cathedral, on the south side, under the pillar next to the monument of primate Narcissus Marsh; three days after his decease, as privately as possible, and at twelve o'clock at night; and that a black marble may be fixed to the wall, seven feet from the ground, with the inscription (viz. that printed in page 411) in large letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded.

He bequeaths to his executors, all his wordly substance, (except such part as is herein after particularly devised,) for the purpose, and to the intent that they shall, as soon as conveniently may be after his death, "turn it all into ready money, and lay out the same in purchasing lands of inheritance in fee simple, situate in any province of Ireland, except Connaught, but as near to the city of Dublin as conveniently can be found, and not incumbered with, or subject to any leases for lives renewable, or any term for years longer than thirty-one."—Out of the annual income, or profits, he bequeaths to Mrs. Dingley an annuity of 20*l.* per annum.—The residue of the yearly income or profits "to be laid out in purchasing a piece of land situate near Dr. Stevens's hospital, or if it cannot be there had, somewhere in or near the city of Dublin," for the purpose of building thereon an hospital, large enough for the reception of as many idiots and lunatics as the annual income of the lands, purchased by his wordly substance, shall be sufficient to maintain. He desires "that the said hospital may be called St. Patrick's Hospital, and may be built in such a manner, that another building may be added unto it, in case the endowment thereof shall be enlarged, so that the additional building may make the whole edifice regular and complete." He further wills, that, when the said hospital shall be built, the whole yearly income from his lands and estate "shall, for ever after, be laid out in providing victuals, clothing, medicines, attendance, and all other necessaries, for such idiots and lunatics as shall be received into the same; and in repairing and enlarging the building from time to time, as there may be occasion." And, if a sufficient number of idiots and lunatics cannot readily be found, he desires, "that incurables may be taken into the said

then," says Mr. Scott, "that the gratitude of the Irish shewed itself in the full glow of national enthusiasm. The interval was forgotten during which their great patriot had been dead to the world, and he was wept and mourned, as if he had been called away in the full career of his public services. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the house, to pay the last tribute of sorrow and affection. Locks of his hair were so eagerly sought after, that Mr. Sheridan happily applies to the enthusiasm of the citizens of Dublin the lines of Shakspeare,

"Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
Unto their issue————."[r]

hospital to supply such deficiency; but, that no person shall be admitted into it that labours under any infectious disease; and that all such idiots, lunatics, and incurables, as shall be received into the said hospital, shall constantly live and reside therein, as well in the night as in the day: and that the salaries of agents, receivers, officers, servants, and attendants, to be employed in the business of the said hospital, shall not, in the whole, exceed one-fifth part of the clear yearly income or revenue thereof." He farther desires, that his executors, or the survivors of them, or their heirs, "shall not have power to demise any part of the said lands so to be purchased, as aforesaid, but with consent of the lord primate, the lord high chancellor, the lord archbishop of Dublin, the dean of Christ-church, the dean of St. Patrick's, the physician to the state, and the surgeon-general, all for the time being, or the greater part of them, under their hands in writing; and that no leases of any part of the lands shall ever be made, other than leases for years, not exceeding thirty-one, in possession, and not in reversion or remainder, and not dispunishable for waste; whereon shall be reserved the best and most improved rents, that can, reasonably and moderately, without racking the tenants, be gotten for the same, without fine."—No lease of any part of the said lands "to be made to, or in trust for, any person any way concerned in the execution of this trust, or to, or in trust for, any person any way related or allied, either by consanguinity or affinity, to any of the persons who shall, at that time, be concerned in the execution of this trust; and that, if any leases shall happen to be made contrary to his intention, above expressed, the same shall be utterly void, and of no effect." He desires that, until the charter herein after mentioned be obtained, his executors "shall not act in the execution of this trust, but with the consent and approbation of the said seven additional trustees, or the greater part of them, under their hands in writing; and shall, with such consent and approbation as aforesaid, have power, from time to time, to make rules, orders, and regulations, for the government and direction of the said hospital."—He makes it his request to his executors, "that they may, in convenient time, apply to his majesty for a charter to incorporate them, or such of them as shall be then living, and the said additional trustees, for the better management and conduct of this charity; with a power to purchase lands, and to supply, by elections, such vacancies happening in the corporation as shall not be supplied by succession, and such other powers as may be thought expedient for the due execution of this trust, according to his intentions herein before expressed." And when such charter shall be obtained, he desires that his executors "may convey to the use of such corporation, in fee simple, for the purposes aforesaid, all such lands and tenements as shall be purchased in manner above mentioned."—His executors, until the said charter shall be obtained, and afterwards the corporation, to have power to reimburse themselves, out of his yearly income or profits, for all such sums of their own money, as they shall necessarily expend in the execution of this trust; "and that, until the said charter be obtained, all acts which shall at any time be done in the execution of this trust, by the greater part of his executors then living, with the consent of the greater part of the said additional trustees, under their hands in writing, shall be as valid and effectual as if all his executors had concurred in the same."

"*Item*, Whereas I purchased the inheritance of the tithes of the parish of Effernock, near Trim, in the county of Meath, for two hundred and sixty pounds sterling, I bequeath the said tithes to the vicars of Laracor, for the time being; that is to say, so long as the present episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith and profession in this kingdom; but, whenever any other form of Christian religion shall become the established faith in this kingdom, I leave the said tithes of Effernock to be bestowed, as the profits come in, to the poor of the said parish of Laracor, by a weekly proportion, and by such other officers as may then have the power of distributing charities to the poor of the said parish, while Christianity, under any shape, shall be tolerated among us; still excepting professed Jews, atheists, and infidels."

He bequeaths his leases of houses in Kevin-street, near the deanery-house, built on the dean's ground, and the house inhabited by Henry Land in Mitre-alley, some of which were leased for 40 or 41 years, to Mrs. Martha Whiteway; and likewise his lease of Goodman's holding, for which he received 10*l.* per annum; and likewise 300*l.* in money, and his repeating gold watch, his yellow tortoise-shell snuff-box, and her choice of four gold rings, out of seven, which he possessed.—To her daughter, Mary Swift, alias Harrison, his plain gold watch, made by Quare; his japan writing-desk, bestowed on him by Lady Worseley; his square tortoise-shell snuff-box, richly lined and inlaid with gold, given to him by Henrietta, countess of Oxford, and the seal with a Pegasus, given to him by the countess of Granville.—To Mr. Ffoliott Whiteway, eldest son to Mrs. Whiteway, who is to be bred an attorney, 60*l.* and likewise 5*l.* to be laid out in law-books for him.—To Mr. John Whiteway, her youngest son, who is to be bred a surgeon, 100*l.* in order to qualify him, and also 5*l.* to be laid out in chirurgical books for him.—To Mrs. Anne Ridgeway the profits of the leases of two houses let to John Cownly, for forty years, which paid him 9*l.* yearly; and likewise 100*l.* to be paid by his executors six weeks after his decease; and likewise three gold rings, the remainder of the seven above-mentioned, and all his small pieces of plate, not exceeding in weight one ounce and third part of an ounce.

"*Item*, I bequeath to my dearest friend, Alexander Pope, of Twickenham, Esq. my picture in miniature, drawn by Zinck, of Robert, late earl of Oxford."—To Edward, then earl of Oxford, he leaves his seal of Julius Cæsar, also another seal, supposed to be a young Hercules, "both very choice antiques, and set in gold; both which I choose to bestow to the said earl, because they belonged to her late most excellent majesty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, immortal, and truly pious memory, the real nursing-mother of her kingdoms."—To the Rev. James Stopford, vicar of Finglas, his picture of Charles I. drawn by Vandyck, which was given to him by said James; also his large picture of birds, which was given to him by Thomas, earl of Pembroke.

"*Item*, I bequeath to the reverend Mr. Robert Grattan, prebendary of St. Audoen's, my gold bottle-screw, which he

His remains were privately interred, agreeable to his own directions, on the 22d of October, at the foot of the 2d column from the west gate, on the south side of the nave of his cathedral. A black marble slab is fixed in the column, which records, in his own words, his hatred of oppression and his exertions for liberty.

Hic depositum est corpus
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. D.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
Decani,
Ubi sæva Indignatio
Ulterius
Cor lacerare nequit.
Abi Viator
Et imitare, si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili
Libertatis Vindicatorem.
Obiit 19° die mensis Octobris,
A. D. 1745, Anno Ætatis 78°.[s]

gave me, and my strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother, Dr. James Grattan, during the life of the said doctor, who hath more occasion for it, and the second best beaver hat I shall die possessed of."

"*Item*, I bequeath to Mr. John Grattan, prebendary of Clonmethan, my silver box in which the freedom of the city of Cork was presented to me; in which I desire the said John to keep the tobacco he usually cheweth, called pigtail."—He bequeaths to the reverend John Jackson, vicar of Santry, all his horses and mares, and all his horse furniture; "lamenting," he adds, "that I had not credit enough with any chief governor (since the change of times) to get some additional church preferment for so virtuous and worthy a gentleman. I also leave him my third-best beaver hat."—To the Rev. Dr. Francis Wilson he bequeaths the Works of Plato, in three folio volumes, the Earl of Clarendon's History, in three folio volumes, and his best Bible; thirteen small Persian pictures in his drawing-room, and the small silver tankard given to him by the contribution of some friends, whose names were engraved at the bottom.—To the earl of Oxford, the enamelled silver plates to distinguish bottles by, given to him by the countess of Oxford, and the half-length picture of the late countess of Orkney in his drawing-room.

"*Item*, I bequeath to Alexander M'Aulay, Esq. the gold box in which the freedom of the city of Dublin was presented to me, as a testimony of the esteem and love I have for him, on account of his great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence of the legal rights of the clergy, in opposition to all their unprovoked oppressors."—To Deane Swift, Esq. he bequeaths his large silver standish, consisting of a large silver plate, an ink-pot, a sand-box, and bell of the same metal.—To Mrs. Mary Barber, the medal of Queen Anne and Prince George, which she had formerly given him.—To the reverend Mr. John Worrall, "his best beaver hat."—To the reverend Dr. Patrick Delany, "his medal of Queen Anne in silver, and on the reverse the bishops of England kneeling before her most sacred majesty."—To the reverend Mr. James King, prebendary of Tipper, his large gilded medal of King Charles I. and on the reverse, a crown of martyrdom, and other devices.

"My will, nevertheless, is, that if any of the above-mentioned legatees should die before me, that then, and in that case, the respective legacies to them bequeathed, to revert to myself, and to become again subject to my disposal."

"*Item*, Whereas I have the lease of a field in trust for me, commonly called the Vineyard, let to the reverend Dr. Francis Corbet, and the trust declared by the said doctor; the said field, with some land on this side the road, making in all about three acres, for which I pay yearly to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's * * *; whereas I have built a strong wall round the said piece of ground, eight or nine feet high, faced on the south aspect with brick, which cost me above six hundred pounds sterling: and, likewise, another piece of ground, as aforesaid, of half an acre, adjoining the burial place called the Cabbage-garden, now tenanted by William White, gardener: my will is, that the ground inclosed by the great wall may be sold for the remainder of the lease, at the highest price my executors can get for it, in belief and hopes, that the said price will exceed three hundred pounds at the lowest value; for which my successor in the deanery shall have the first refusal: and it is my earnest desire, that the succeeding deans and chapters may preserve the said Vineyard, and piece of land adjoining, where said White now liveth, so as to be always in the hands of the succeeding deans, during their office, by each dean lessening one-fourth of the purchase money to each succeeding dean, and for no more than the present rent."

He nominates for his executors, the Hon. Robert Lindsay, one of the judges of the common-pleas; Henry Singleton, Esq. prime-sergeant; Rev. Patrick Delany, chancellor of St. Patrick's; Rev. Francis Wilson, prebendary of Kilmactalway; Eaton Stannard, Esq. recorder of the city of Dublin; Rev. Rob. Grattan, prebendary of St. Audoens; Rev. John Grattan, prebendary of Clonmethan; Rev. James Stopford, vicar of Finglas; Rev. James King, prebendary of Tipper; and Alexander M'Aulay, Esq.

The above will is written on vellum, in the dean's own hand-writing; there is, likewise, a codicil on paper, which latter is dated the 5th of May 1740, whereby he bequeaths to three trustees therein named, an annuity of twenty pounds a year, (which had been granted to Anne Ridgeway, by Theophilus, lord Newtown, but had been purchased by Swift from Anthony Ridgeway, cabinet-maker, and Anne his wife, which Ridgeway was since deceased,) to the intent that they should pay the same to the said Anne, yearly, during her life.

The will and codicil are deposited in the prerogative-office: they were printed at Dublin in the year 1746, 8vo. and are re-printed in Mr. W. Scott's edition of Swift's Works, Vol. I. Appendix, page cxxviii.

[r] A person who resides in my family is one of the few persons, perhaps the only one, now living, who witnessed this melancholy spectacle.—"She remembers him as well as if it was but yesterday; he was laid out in his own hall, and great crowds

Character of Dean Swift.

In person Swift was tall, well made, and in his youth esteemed handsome ;[a] his eyes were blue, nose aquiline, mouth small, although his lips were rather fleshy ; he had large black bushy eye-brows ; his countenance had something noble in it, which impressed awe upon beholders, it seemed to command that respect to which his superior understanding gave him undoubted right.[b] His features were often illuminated with a smile ;[c] mirth could be read in his countenance, although never expressed by violent contorsions of laughter. In society his manners were free and engaging, polite, but not without peculiarity :[d] his powers of conversation were unrivaled ; like his writings, his colloquial style was clear, forcible and concise ; he

went to see him.—His coffin was open ; he had on his head neither cap or wig ; there was not much hair on the front or very top, but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow.—Mrs. Barnard, his nurse-tender, sat at his head, but, having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some person cut a lock of hair from his head, which she missed upon her return ; and after that day no person was admitted to see him."

[a] Over his monumental tablet there was placed, in 1776, a bust of Swift, which was given to the chapter by Mr. Faulkner, the printer of his works. The artists name was Cunningham. In No. 3816 of his Journal, Faulkner declares his intention of placing it on the outside of his new house in Essex-street.

We find from some advertisements in Faulkner's Journal for 1753, that it was a matter then in contemplation to erect a monument to the memory of Swift.

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[a] Dr. Johnson says, " he had a kind of muddy complexion, which, though he washed himself with oriental scrupulosity, did not look clear." Did Dr. Johnson seriously believe that ablution could produce any such effect? If he did, it would not be difficult to persuade him that a blackamoor might be washed white.

The following peculiarities in Swift's private character have been noticed by the writer of his life in the Biog. Brit.

Swift was " cleanly even to superstition, his nails were always paired to the quick, to prevent the least gathering of dirt under them, and he never dressed without a bason of water by him, with which he carefully cleansed his feet. Among his singularities were, his resolution never to wear spectacles, and his obstinate perseverance in the use of too much exercise ; regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the greatest trifles. His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him on the table, that he seldom deviated many minutes in the daily revolutions of his exercises and employments." Article, Swift, in Biog. Brit.

[b] In his dress and appearance he was remarkably attentive to the rules of decorum ; whether he went abroad or not he put on his gown early in the morning, and never appeared without it (Lyon MS.). His dress and demeanour is characterized in the following lines of the poem, entitled, " A Panegyric on the Dean, &c." Swift's Works, Vol. XV. page 162.

" And then a parson so genteel,
So nicely clad from head to heel ;
So fine a gown, and band so clean,
As well become St. Patrick's dean,
Such reverential awe express,
That cow-boys know you by your dress !
Then, if our neighbouring friends come here,
How proud are we when you appear,
With such address and graceful port,
As clearly shews you bred at court."

[c] Mr. Walter Scott, very injudiciously, applies Shakspeare's description of Cassius to Swift, (Life of Swift, page 463,) but, if we has no other proof that he has mistaken the dean's character, this comparison would alone suffice ; they differed *toto cælo* ; Democritus and Heraclitus were not more unlike : Swift gleaned mirth and amusement from every occurrence, no incident could give pleasure to the gloomy Cassius.

Of himself Swift says, in his poem to a lady who desired him to write some verses on her in the heroic style,

" From the planet of my birth,
I encounter vice with mirth."

In truth, the seriousness of Swift's countenance and manner were assumed, that they might give full effect to his humorous sallies ; as Cowper says,

" With droll sobriety he rais'd a smile
At folly's cost, himself unmoved the while."

When I wrote the above I had not discovered that Mr. Walter Scott had taken this sentiment from Mrs. Pilkington ; indeed it was not to be imagined that Mr. Scott would have thought her a subject worthy of imitation.

[d] His manner, Mr. Deane Swift tells us, was without ceremony, but not rustic ; for he had a perfect knowledge of all the modes and variations of politeness and complaisance, which he practised in a manner peculiar to himself ; and the respect that was due to him by these rules he took care to exact, without the least abatement.

His " Hints towards an Essay on Conversation," published in the ninth volume of the last edition of his works, shew how sensibly alive Swift was to the delicacies of conversation ; his remarks upon raillery, comprised in pages 382 and 383, do infinite credit to his head and his heart. I shall quote from them the following passage—" Surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid ; nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves."

Besides the amusing incident of the flapper, Swift has, more than once in his works, made absence of the mind when in company the subject of his censure ; this failing, and that other of uncommunicativeness, which are commonly defects in the sociable qualifications of learned persons only, he beautifully satirizes in the following lines of the poem, entitled, " The Dean's Reasons for not building at Drapier's-hill."

" Thus, when the learned and the wise
Conceal their talents from their eyes,
And from deserving friends withhold
Their gifts, as misers do their gold ;
Their knowledge to themselves confin'd
Is the same avarice of mind.

Such is the fate of Gosford's knight,
Who keeps his wisdom out of sight ;

remarkably excelled in his manner of telling a story.[e]—Although his companions would glady have allowed him more than his share of conversation, although they,

—"With ravish'd list'ning, could not find
His hour of speech a minute,"————

yet he made it a rule, not to speak more than others. Fond of merriment, he seldom missed any matter of a pun;[f] a talent, which he said no man affected to despise, but those that were without it.—His conversation, however, abounded with turns of

Whose uncommunicative heart
Will scarce one precious word impart.
Still rapt in speculations deep,
His outward senses fast asleep;
Who, while I talk, a song will hum,
Or, with his fingers beat the drum;
Beyond the skies transports his mind,
And leaves a lifeless corpse behind.

What intercourse of minds can be
Betwixt the knight sublime and me,
If when I talk, as talk I must,
It is but prating to a bust?"

[e] The thirteenth number of the Intelligencer, which was probably written by Sheridan, describes, with much humour, the different sorts of story-tellers;—"There is one kind of conversation, which every one aims at, and every one almost fails in, it is that of story-telling. I know not any thing which engages our attention with more delight, when a person has sufficient stock of talents necessary for it, such as *good sense, true humour, a clear head, a ready command of language, and a variety of proper gestures*, to give life and spirit to what he says." In this passage he manifestly alludes to Swift; the description of a "Delightful Story-teller," is meant to represent the dean, and the example which follows, is taken from the Preface to the Tale of a Tub. The passage itself will, therefore, serve both the purposes, of a description, and an illustration.

"The Delightful Story-teller is one, who speaks not a word too much, or too little, who can, in a very careless manner, give a great deal of pleasure to others, and desires rather to divert, than be applauded; who shews good understanding, and a delicate turn of wit in every thing which comes from him; who can entertain his company better with the history of a child and its hobby-horse, than one of the soporificks can with an account of Alexander and Bucephalus.—I cannot describe the Delightful Story-teller by any words so well as his own, and therefore take the following story to shew him in the most agreeable light.—'A mountebank, in Leicester fields, had drawn a huge assembly about him; among the rest, a fat unwieldy fellow, half stifled in the press, would be every fit crying out, Lord! what a filthy crowd is here! pray, good people, give way a little! bless me! what a devil has raked this rabble together: z—ds, what squeezing is this! honest friend, remove your elbow. At last a weaver, that stood next him, could hold no longer. A plague confound you, said he, for an overgrown sloven; and who, in the devil's name, helps to make up the crowd half so much as yourself? Don't you consider (with a pox) that you take up more room with that carcass, than any five here? is not the place as free for us, as for you? bring your own guts to a reasonable compass (and be damn'd) and then I'll engage we shall have room enough for us all."

[f] The application of a line from Virgil to the lady who threw down a Cremona violin with her mantua, is perhaps the best ever was made:

"Mantua, væ miseræ, nimium vicina Cremonæ!"

The comfort which he gave to an elderly gentleman, who had lost his spectacles, was more grotesque. "If this rain continues all night, you will recover them in the morning."

"Nocte pluit totâ——redeunt spectacula manè."

Once, at a dinner in the castle, a physician was haranguing the lord lieutenant upon the nature and qualities of bees, whom he was perpetually calling "a nation and a common-wealth;" "yes my Lord," says Swift, "they are a nation, and of great antiquity; you know, my Lord, Moses takes notice of them; he numbers the Hivites among the nations that Joshua was appointed to conquer."

There are others of which the effect was, at the time, more brilliant, but they will scarcely bear to be related, because their excellence and efficacy depend much upon the occasions on which they were spoken, and on other circumstances which are either not now understood, or forgotten. As many of the humorous sayings attributed to Swift are of this sort, and, when related, are considered as dull, because not understood, and as his character often suffers, undeservedly, upon account of such misapprehensions of their meaning, I shall relate one of these *bon-mots*, and endeavour to explain all the circumstances which gave it effect.—At a sheriff's feast, "The Trade of Ireland," was given as a toast; when the dean was required to fill his glass, he refused, humorously adding, "I drink no memories." That the reader should be enabled to comprehend the full effect of this remark, it is necessary he should know, that the favourite toast of the whigs, and one which was drunk with applause upon almost every public occasion, was "The glorious memory of King William;" to Swift, who was of the opposite party in politics, such a toast could not be agreeable, but, by giving this humorous turn to the subject, he converted into a matter of mirth, what, upon those occasions, becomes often a source of party squabbles; a great part of its effect arose from its contrast to the political principles of the speaker: moreover, the practice of drinking to the memory of the dead, had been frequently, about that time, declared, from the pulpit, to be an impious custom; Peter Browne, bishop of Cork, had just before published two sermons against it, which, being answered by several pamphleteers and defended by others, gave rise to a furious paper war, maintained chiefly between the whigs on the one side and the tories on the other; some of the less polite sort amongst the former party, whose mental capacities were not of magnitude sufficient to enable them to enter, seriously or learnedly, into the controversy, shewed their contempt for the prelate's arguments, by adding to their favourite toast a sentence, comprising no very decent allusion to the bishop; which continued to be annexed long after the cause of such addition had ceased to be known.

In the poem, entitled, "A Panegyric on the Dean, in the person of a lady in the North," written 1730, Swift's manner of jesting is characterized, in the following passage:

"Now, as a jester, I accost you;
Which never yet one friend has lost you.
You judge so nicely to a hair,
How far to go, and when to spare;
By long experience grown so wise,
Of every taste to know the size;
There's none so ignorant or weak
To take offence at what you speak.
Whene'er you joke, 'tis all a case
Whether with Dermot, or his grace;
With Teague O'Murphy, or an earl;
A duchess, or a kitchen girl.

wit of a higher kind,[g] and was graced with another commendable quality, unusual among the witty or the humorous, it was in the highest degree chaste, and wholly free from the least tincture of indecency or irreligion; it was a fondness to preserve

With such dexterity you fit
Their several talents with your wit,
That Moll the chamber-maid can smoke,
And Gahagan take every joke."——

[g] "We see it every day practised," says Mr. Sheridan, "that witty sayings, blunders, and things of humour, are constantly fathered upon the most remarkable wit, blunderer, or humorist of the times, whether they belong to them or not." Life of Swift, page 433.

This has been eminently the case with Swift.

——— "Thousand 'scapes of wit
Make him the father of their idle dream,
And rack him in their fancies!"

It seems a difficult task, after so long an interval of time, to distinguish between what is genuine and what is surreptitious among those *jeux d' esprit*, yet it is not, I apprehend, impossible; there is a peculiar character in Swift's own effusions, which no reader of taste can be insensible of, if he be well acquainted with his genuine works; on the other hand, the stories or jests attributed to him by his latter biographers, besides their dissimilitude from the original, have a sort of mutual resemblance, one to another, when they issue from the pen of the same narrator. Thus we easily detect Mr. Theop. Swift in the farcical jests of the Swiftiana, and in his "liberal communications" to Mr. Walter Scott, into whose edition they have been admitted *for the first time*, and it is to be hoped *for the last time* also. That gentleman's mode of embellishing is so coarse and tasteless, and likewise so peculiar to himself, that they may easily be distinguished; moreover, a great number of them are mere modern stories, which Swift never could have heard, and which are, upon good authority, attributed to other persons: several of them are stupid emanations from his own brain: of this latter sort the story of the porter supplying a rhyme for Bettesworth is an example, (see Scott's Life of Swift, page 418); the concurrence of such circumstances is surely matter of greater improbability, than that Swift should hit upon the rhyme without the porter's aid.—A third sort are founded upon incidents which may have had some foundation in truth, but they are taudrily embellished with unnatural and impossible circumstances; a jest is sometimes made to last for several days, the humour of which could not serve to entertain for as many minutes. I mention as an instance, the filthy, indecent story of a mock trial of Sheridan, related in a note on p. 478 of Mr. Walter Scott's Memoir.—The concluding paragraph of this precious narrative is wrought up to the highest pitch of extravagant exaggeration. That the reader may know Mr. Theophilus Swift, upon these occasions, from the dean, I will give that passage at length.

"In a day or two the judges arrive; and, hearing the contempt that Swift had put upon them, send an express with an account of it to the lord lieutenant, who *very wisely* laughed at the frolic. Not finding the redress they expected, they make a formal complaint to the bishops, who had *nearly resolved* to take up the matter *seriously*; but one more prudent than the rest recommended that the whole should be hushed up."

Other stories are related, so impossible in point of fact, so opposite to the known character of the man, that it must excite our surprise, their having gained admission into any volume above the rank of a common jest book. Who can believe such an incident really took place, as that Swift, who well knew that popular respect was only to be maintained by a dignified appearance when in public, and therefore, never appeared abroad but in his gown, should descend to assume the character of a *spalpeen* or Irish clown, and proceed, thus clad, to a public prison? Moreover, Is it not monstrous to suppose that such a person should gain admission, or, if admitted should overhear a conference, which, from its very nature, must have been held in secret; such disguises, however frequently they may be used by knights and squires in romance, are rare occurrences in common life. See Walter Scott's Life of Swift, page 299.

The anecdotes related of Swift by Mrs. Pilkington have the same fault, an inconsistency with his character, which must destroy their credit, if any they ever had; for instance, she describes him as distributing charity in an offensive ostentatious way, which is quite contrarious to a well known feature of his character, hatred of hypocrisy.

Sheridan is not undeserving of censure for introducing stage-trick upon such like occasions; indeed the seventh section of his book has a striking resemblance to the after-piece, or farcical entertainment, which usually succeeds a drama of the more serious sort; no Thespian, after laying aside the buskin and assuming the sock, could be more unlike his former self than Swift, whom, after his decease in the fifth act of Mr. Sheridan's drama, he afterwards raises to life' that he may act the most ludicrous part possible. By the way he shews much of paternal extravagance in some of these stories; to elevate the soil of an island, and deepen the waters of a lake, would take a good share of his father's income; and after all, a dull jest it is to have cost so much as it necessarily must have done, if it ever took place in fact.—See the incident related in Scott's Life of Swift, p. 313.—Swift's conference with lord Carteret, related as it is by Sheridan, is a good instance of his manner of embellishing a story; it has been already taken notice of in page 353 of this volume, to which I refer the reader.

The stories above mentioned have been introduced without any worse intention than that of amusing the reader; the embellishments, it is true, are suited to the gross conceptions of the writers, but they are harmless, and to say the worst, merely injudicious. Some, however, are of a blacker cast, and invented for the purpose of traducing his character; that of his beginning the service with the words, "dearly beloved Roger, &c." is of this sort, it is attributed to him by lord Orrery; Mr. Theop. Swift says, he read it in a jest book, printed between 1550 and 1560; he says also, that neither Mrs. Whiteway or his father had heard of it, till lord Orrery's book appeared: tho' they allowed it was like him, they believed it to be an invention of lord Orrery's to discredit the dean's respect for religion.—The story of his running into church, and beginning the service before Dr. Raymond is less likely, and being given on the same authority, and for the same purpose, is doubtless untrue.

Mr. Walter Scott exhibits, in his edition of Swift's Works, no great power of discrimination with respect to these matters; I have already noticed a defect in his judgment, manifested by his admitting the silly jests of Mr. Theophilus Swift; the same editor is not unfrequently guilty of another transgression, that of introducing a *bon-mot* in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as to weaken, if not entirely destroy, its effect: although not altogether insensible of Swift's humour he does not seem perfectly to comprehend it, and often interprets its variegated effusions otherwise than they are meant.

However seemingly capricious, there were in Swift's sallies, generally speaking, some object beyond mere amusement, which was often better, and more judiciously effected by that means, than by any other that could be devised; the force of this remark, and the peculiar character of his humour will be best illustrated by the following anecdote, told by Pope, and related as follows, by Spence.

"Doctor Swift has an odd, blunt way, that is mistaken by strangers for ill nature,—'Tis so odd that there is no describing it but by facts. I'll tell you one that first comes into my head. One evening Gay and I went to see him: you know how intimately we were all acquainted. On our coming in, 'Hey-day,

the delicacies of conversation that made him much prefer the company of ladies.[h] "If the conversation turned upon serious subjects, he was neither petulant in the debate, nor negligent of the issue. He would listen with great attention to the arguments of others, and whether he was or was not engaged as a disputant himself, he would recapitulate what had been said, state the question with great clearness and precision, point out the controverted particular, and appeal to the opinion, either of some neutral person, or of the majority."[1]—In public he spoke with facility, and in a clear, energetic style; was well calculated for political debate, being ready of reply.—Among his friends he was more open to admonition than flattery,[i] provided it was delivered without arrogance, and that he was satisfied of the honesty, and ability of the person.—A remarkable instance is recorded of the patience with which he would submit to criticism. In the poem of Baucis and Philemon, which consists of less than 200 lines, Addison made him blot out four-

[1] Life of Swift, in Biog. Brit.

gentlemen (says the doctor) what's the meaning of this visit! How came you to leave all the great lords that you are so fond of, to come hither to see a poor dean?'—'Because we would rather see you than any of them.'—'Ay, any one that did not know so well as I do, might believe you, But since you are come, I must get some supper for you, I suppose.'—'No, doctor, we have supped already.'—'Supped already, that's impossible! why it is not eight o'clock yet.—That's very strange! but if you had not supped, I must have got something for you.—Let me see, what should I have had? A couple of lobsters; ay, that would have done very well; two shillings; tarts a shilling: but you will drink a glass of wine with me, though you supped so much before your usual time only to spare my pocket.'—'No, we had rather talk with you than drink with you.'—'But if you had supped with me, as in all reason you ought to have done, you must then have drank with me.—A bottle of wine, two shillings,—two and two is four, and one is five; just two and six pence a piece. There, Pope, there's half-a-crown for you, and there's another for you, sir; for I won't save any thing by you I am determined.'—This was all said and done with his usual seriousness on such occasions; and, in spite of every thing we could say to the contrary, he actually obliged us to take the money."—Swift, it is manifest, perceived that the motive these friends had for not supping with him, arose from their fear of putting him to expense; he therefore suspected, that they gave credit to the report of his covetousness: the way in which he punished them was admirably well chosen: to rate them seriously would have destroyed good fellowship, and would have given a disagreeable turn to their conversation; his method was equally effectual, and much more judicious; it corrected their ill opinion, whilst it created merriment: to dispense, in this manner, reward and punishment was a characteristic feature of Swift's humour.—But, notwithstanding that his meaning was so clear and evident, it does not appear that Mr. Walter Scott was at all sensible of it; he relates it, as "an instance of the ridiculous accuracy with which he was obliged, during all his life, to compound matters, when they happened to occasion a struggle between the rigour of his habitual oeconomy, and his sense of justice."—Scott's Life of Swift, page 268.—This solemn remark of the ingenious editor is to the full as amusing as the story itself.

Swift was fond of throwing useful rules into familiar rhymes, a practice which he has, himself, upon some occasions, humorously burlesqued; these he would repeat as a "Saying of his dear grandmother," or as an "Old Saying and true."—The humour consisted as much, or more, in the application, than in the subject matter: to illustrate this by an example; a person had fallen from his horse in a very dirty road, and was lamenting the calamity of his clothes being much soiled; Swift consoled him, by humorously observing, that "'twas an old saying, and true,

"The more dirt
The less hurt."

At another time, observing that a genleman, in whose garden he walked with some of his friends, seemed to have no intention of offering them any of the fruit, Swift helped himself, remarking at the same time, that it was "a saying of his dear grandmother,

"Always pull a peach
When 'tis within your reach."

The Journal to Stella furnishes numerous instances of those, *newly invented old sayings*. During the Oxford administration he often objected to the impolicy of permitting the duke and duchess of Somerset to hold places of high trust, although they were inimical to the ministry; he, upon this occasion, framed the "old saying," as he called it,

"We cannot be stout
Till Somerset's out."

Others of this sort were written to raise a transient smile; and although the rhymes are, generally speaking, correct, they seem to be, sometimes, intentionally otherwise.

I imagine that I perceive in Swift's humour a peculiar character; it was, after a sort, practical, being seldom employed except for some useful purpose, or to produce some good effect; upon these occasions he may be supposed to say, with Othello,

"Good, good: the justice of it pleases; very good."

The learned Dr. Johnson will not allow Swift had wit; but he denies that Edmund Burke had any portion of that talent; what Dr. Johnson means by wit, as a thing different from that brilliant quality with which these two persons were so eminently gifted, is not easy to imagine; to argue the point would be to dispute about the meaning of words; but I apprehend, although it be no definition, it is no very improper description of what the world calls Wit, to say, it is that talent for which Swift and Burke were eminently distinguished, but of which Dr. Samuel Johnson possessed no visible portion; or, in other words; what the Travels of Gulliver are most remarkable for, but the History of Rasselas most deficient in.

[h] In his "Proposal for Correcting the English tongue."—"Since women have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation has very much degenerated."—The same sentiments are more fully expressed in his "Hints toward an Essay on Conversation." Swift's Works, Vol. IX. page 386.

[i] Lord Orrery remarks, that "Swift was open to adulation and could not, or would not distinguish, between low flattery and just applause."—Dr. Delany's opinion is somewhat at variance with that of the noble peer; "he hated flattery," says the doctor, "but was not insensible to delicate praise:" and again he observes, "that no man that ever he knew of, if he were so disposed, would yet dare to flatter him."

score, add fourscore, and alter fourscore.[k] Even in the last period of his life, upon the suggestions of his friends, he abandoned the favourite scheme of publishing his "History of the four last years of Queen Anne." We shall be better able to appreciate how great was the value of this sacrifice, when we have considered how dearly old age delights in recording the tales of youth, and how ardently Swift desired the title of an historian.

Born and educated in a state of indigence, the practice of oeconomy,[1] at first necessary, became at length habitual, but he never suffered it to encroach upon his

[k] Dr. Will. King remarks, in his letter to Mrs. Whiteway, of 6th March 1728-9, that Swift was the most patient of criticism of all men he ever knew; "which, perhaps," he adds," is not the least sign of a great genius."—"When Pope was busied with the projected Miscellanies, nothing could exceed the generous and good humoured frankness with which Swift abandoned his verses to his friend's criticism, intreating him to correct, to burn, and to blot without favour."—Walter Scott's Life of Swift, page 347.

[1] Much has been written on the subject of Swift's avarice; but this, like other vices which have been imputed to him, has not been substantiated. To those habits of oeconomy, which, from the narrowness of his circumstances, he was obliged to observe in the early part of his life, and afterwards to persevere in, whilst he was living in the most expensive society upon equal terms, so odious a term cannot, with any shadow of reason, be applied. Until Swift obtained the deanery his net yearly income never exceeded 200*l*. (See page 241, note k.) After he had acquired that promotion, he was many years before he had cleared off the expenses of induction. At so late a period of his life as the year 1725, he had accumulated but 1,250*l*. he nearly lost that sum by the bankruptcy of Mr. Pratt. Our knowledge of these facts is derived from his letter to Mr. Worrall, dated 11th June—"your letter has informed me of what I did not expect, that I am just even with the world; for, if my debts were paid, I think I should not have 50*l*. besides my goods. I have not railed, nor fretted, nor lost my sleep, nor stomach, I thank God. My greatest trouble is, that some friends whom I intended to make easy during their lives, and the public, to whom I bequeathed the reversion, will be disappointed.

The truth of the statement which this letter contains is remarkably confirmed by a document, which was communicated to me by the late Mr. Thomas Steele, of Cullane castle, in the county of Clare; not the nephew of Dr. Lyon, as Mr. Scott calls him, but, as he himself informed me, "his nephew by law." The paper to which I allude is in the hand-writing of Swift, and indorsed by him, "A state of my affairs, Sept^{ber} 8th 1718."—The items of this account are as follow:

	£.	s.	d.
"Bonds and securities in the hands of Mr. Tho. Staunton for 1000*l*. of which belongs to me	500	0	0
Due to me from Mrs. Benson by Mich^{mas} next	315	0	0
Due to me by bond from Ld. Bp. of Down	150	0	0
Due to me by John Beaumont, for which I have a mortgage of his house in Trim .	100	0	0
Due to me from Dr. Raymond 150*l*. on Effernock, whereof belongs to me only . .	50	0	0
Three houses in Trim, which cost me . .	205	0	0
Due to me from ..... 50*l*. Engl. . .	54	0	0
Due to me from Jo. Beaumont, for which I have securities with the Ld. Bp. of Clogher	60	0	0
Lent in Trim to several persons, for encouragement of industry, about . . .	80	0	0
	1514	0	0
From whence deduct to be laid out for building at Neilstown	200	0	0
All other debts I hope to pay out of my accruing rents.			
By a bond from Mr. Proudfoot . .	15	0	0

Setting aside Swift's extensive acts of charity and benevolence, which, as they are made the subject of another note, need not be here mentioned, except to remark how amply they bear testimony against the imputation of such a crime, other facts might be adduced to prove how absolutely unfounded this charge of avarice is. I shall mention only two: he never would receive the full interest for any money which he lent, but always one per cent. less; and he renounced entirely the profits arising from the sale of his works.

But, however frequently the charge of parsimony, or excess of frugality, may have been urged, the avaricious thirst of accumulation has never, that I have heard, been, at any time, objected against Swift. To renounce a large fine upon the renewal of a lease, that an increase of rent might be thereby obtained for his successor, was an act of beneficence often practised by Swift, but never once by any of his successors, and seldom by any person of the episcopal order in this kingdom.

If Swift's œconomical habits degenerated in parsimony, if he was at length inflicted with the infirmity, he remained, to the last moment of his life, clear of the vice of avarice; however he might have lessened his expenses, he never did contract his bounty: all the evil of excessive frugality he turned upon himself alone. His avarice was not even then gratified at the expense of the poor, nor of his successors. Even in advanced age, when the feelings of charity become abated if not extinguished, it continued to be practised by Swift, to as great an extent as at any preceeding period of his life. However predominant his love of money, it must be allowed that it never triumphed over his virtue. It is true, he denied himself indulgence in expensive pleasures, but it is equally true, that it was to have more to give to good and useful purposes.—"After all," says Dr. Johnson, "it appears, that he only liked one expense better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give;"—and again he writes,—"after all this talk of his covetousness and generosity, it should be remembered, that he never was rich."

But many of those unjust imputations arise from the mistakes or the ignorance of his biographers. Dr. Hawkesworth says, "he banished his best friends, *merely* to save the expense of entertaining them, and *would sometimes refuse them a single bottle of wine*."—This observation arises from the doctor's misapprehension of the meaning of a passage in Delany's account of his last illness, which has been explained elsewhere. The passage has been amended by Dr. Lyon, in his copy with MS. notes. The word *merely* he has erased, and substituted the words, "*as some of them thought*."—The last sentence, printed above in the Italic character, he has likewise rejected, and added in lieu of it the following:—"The truth is, his spirits did daily sink with the growth of his infirmities, especially his deafness."

It appears indeed, that until Swift had resolved upon that last and great act of benevolence, which crowned his earthly labours, the establishment of an hospital for lunatics and idiots, he never busied himself very diligently in accumulating money. It was the magnitude of this undertaking that urged him to make such vigorous exertions. How contrary it was to his nature to accumulate wealth, merely for the sake of possessing it, the following sublimely energetic lines of his Epistle to Gay sufficiently indicate.

virtue, he regularly sacrificed his pleasures to that frugality which he made subservient to his charities; liberal by principle, he saved only that he might have wherewithal to bestow.[m]—Neither was popularity the motive of his charity; "He aimed at a better reward than popular applause:" what he gave was to the uttermost of his power, but given without tenderness or civility, and according to the severe

"Not love of beauty less the heart inflames
Of guardian eunuchs to the sultan's dames,
Their passions not more impotent and cold,
Than those of poets to the lust of gold.
With Pæan's purest fire his favourites glow,
The dregs will serve to ripen ore below;
His meanest work: for, had he thought it fit,
That wealth should be the appanage of wit,
The god of light could ne'er have been so blind
To deal it to the worst of human kind."

In his verses upon his own death Swift has told us, that "wealth he valued not a groat;" and in a letter to Lord Bolingbroke, dated 5th April, 1729, he says, "I have made a maxim, that should be writ in letters of diamonds, That a wise man should have money in his head, but not in his heart."

[m] To recount all the instances of Swift's charity, and every act of benevolence would be impossible; besides some of them have been mentioned in other parts of this work. I shall, however, notice here a few of the most considerable.

With the first considerable sum he possessed he established a fund for charitable loans to the industrious poor, to be repaid in small sums. In this first measure we are at a loss which to admire most, the magnificence of the donation (500*l.*) or the admirable choice of a subject for its application. This, and the ultimate appropriation of his fortune by will, are, without doubt, the acts which most redound to the honour of the dean. They place his moral character in a high point of view, and scarcely reflect less credit upon his judgment.

The sum which I have above mentioned was lent out in small portions, from 5*l.* to 10*l.* each. Very wise and prudent precautions were taken to prevent any diminution of the fund, which, therefore, continued unimpaired, till he was deprived of the use of his understanding. The precaution usually taken was that of a richer person securing the amount, should he, for whose benefit it was advanced, fail to perform his engagement. Mr. Sheridan informs us that many persons, then living in a creditable way, originally owed their establishment to this fund. What Dr. Johnson asserts, relative to this act of Swift, is quite without foundation. The sums lent out were not, as he states, from 5*s.* to 5*l.* but from 5*l.* to 10*l.*; nor were they advanced, indiscriminately, to persons of extreme poverty, or without prudent consideration whether the loan would benefit the borrower; but to persons from whom punctuality in payment might reasonably be expected. It is quite untrue, that the parties were ever sued for the amount; on the contrary, the sum was, as Dr. Lyon asserts, lent for a second, nay a third year. It is likewise untrue that Swift was obliged to drop the scheme. Dr. Johnson, who envied Swift even his virtues, concludes his uncharitable objections with the following injurious remark:—"A severe creditor has no popular character; what then was likely to be said of him who employs the catch-poll, under the appearance of charity? The clamour against him was loud, and the resentment of the populace outrageous."—This insinuation, notwithstanding the appearance it exhibits of fine feeling, is really nothing but pure malice; and, being so confidently opposed to facts of public notoriety, must, on account of its bold assurance, excite extreme indignation; but this is not the only instance where Dr. Johnson has attempted to put down truth by authority. The loud clamour which the learned doctor speaks of, was certainly not heard in Dublin; and, if popularity was *lost* by this measure, it is somewhat strange that Swift's enemies should have objected against him, that to *acquire* popularity was his chief, if not his sole inducement. In truth, the dean's influence with the manufacturing classes became, through these means, quite unbounded.—The utility of the measure appears manifest from the following passage in a pamphlet of the times: "Remarks, &c. setting forth the advantages of a Bank in Ireland," Dublin, 1721, 8vo. The author, speaking of the advantages of a bank, says, "but the manufacturers, and the poorer sorts of tradesmen will reap in proportion much greater benefit from it than others: for, as their necessities are always most pressing, they generally deal (when they are forced to borrow) with persons of very low degrees, and who are so sordidly covetous, that it is frequent for those poor wretches, for the loan of 20*s.* to give 12*d.* per month, and very often 2*s.* per month. At the first rate it is 60 per cent. per annum, and the second amounts to 120 per cent. per annum." Dr. Johnson's memory, therefore, labours under the charge of having attempted, in this instance, to deprive a good man of the credit he had justly earned by an act of extraordinary beneficence: it is the business of his friends and advocates, not those of Swift, to consider how they may acquit him of the imputation.

The establishment of an hospital for idiots and lunatics, which he founded, is a matter of too great magnitude to be worthily described within the limits of this note. The consideration of it is necessarily postponed, and will, in part, supply the subject matter of a future volume of this work; it will, however, I trust, be allowed, that, had he performed no other act but this last, he would not have lived altogether to no purpose.

To increase the annual income of the deanery was a favourite object of Swift; this he performed by renouncing a considerable portion of the fines tendered to him for the renewal of the leases. Thus, during his incumbency, he increased the annual rent of Deansrath from 36*l.* to 90*l.* and that of the dean's estate in Kildare from 120*l.* to 200*l.* per annum; so that, during that short space of time, he nearly doubled the dean's income from his estates. The rents of those estates have not since his time been raised, notwithstanding the vast increase that has taken place in the price of land, and the great diminution in the value of money. On his garden, called Naboth's Vineyard, he expended 600*l.* which he bequeathed in such manner, that his successor should have it for one-half that sum. From this account it may be imagined how different was the condition of this dignity, when it was vacated by Swift, from that in which he first received it.

His benefice at Laracor he greatly improved, both by adding to the land and improving the glebe-house. He purchased likewise from the impropriator the rectorial tithes of Effernock for the sum of 260*l.* which he bequeathed to his successors for ever. An account of his improvements on this benefice, so far as they had advanced in December 1716, are communicated to the archbishop of Dublin in a letter of that date, (Vol. XVI. page 299.) He calls himself therein an humble imitator of his grace, *longo intervallo*.

But these are not the only advantages which were derived to society from Swift's oeconomical habits. He retrieved almost instantaneously the revenues of his church. Before his appointment the ordinary repairs were usually paid for by forestalling the annual income; a practice which he so effectually remedied, that, in 1716, they had 200*l.* to lend at interest; and, although very considerable sums were expended in improvements and repairs, during his incumbency, they were never, at any time, without a large sum of superfluous money in their hands. Neither would he suffer a shilling of the oeconomy estate, or of any other appropriated fund, to be applied to any use, not even to the purpose of charity, unless the person claiming was, by office or otherwise, some way

test of merit.[n] His charities were remarkably judicious, and proportionably effectual; conducted with that nice discrimination, and regulated by that knowledge of mankind, which he so eminently possessed, they were calculated to relieve indigence without encouraging idleness:[o] poverty, that sanction of the divine law whereby the vices of extravagance and idleness are punished, was not prevented by him from effecting the purposes for which it was so wisely ordained;[p] the scheme of Providence was not perverted; of its wisdom and utility he was fully sensible; he seemed convinced of the truth of what the sublimest British poet has so well expressed,

"Virtue is not itself, that oft looks so;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe."

Although he practised charity as a duty, he was remarkably sensible to the feelings of pity;[q] the sufferings of virtue in distress, or the misfortunes of his friends,

connected therewith: thus, a poor labourer, who was maimed by a fall from the scaffolding, when the roof of the church was repairing in 1732, he consented should receive a yearly stipend from that fund during his life.

In every instance, truth, justice, and charity went hand in hand; nor did the exercise of any one of those virtues interrupt that of another.

[n] "Swift was naturally temperate and chaste, it was, therefore, easy for him to be frugal; but he was also naturally high spirited, and, therefore, as wealth is the pledge of independence, it is not strange his frugality should verge to excess. However, as he acted upon christian principles of general virtue, he did not deliver himself up to natural propensions, when contrary to his duty; and, therefore, his love of money did not contract his charity to the poor, or defraud his successors to enrich himself. The same spirit which secured his integrity by disdaining the meanness of a lie, produced the dread of hypocricy which concealed his piety, and betrayed him into appearance of evil; and the same want of natural tenderness which made him obdurate and austere, transferred the distribution of his liberality from instinct to religion."—Article, Swift, in Biog. Brit.

It is a remark of the earl of Orrery, that Swift "was a mixture of avarice and generosity;" he says, that "the former was frequently prevalent, but the latter seldom appeared unless excited by compassion." This remark of the peer has been corrected by Delany, who says that his lordship knew him only in the decline of life, a period in which avarice prevails, more or less, in the minds of the best men: "his true character," he adds, "prior to this period, was, a mixture of a regular, exact, and well judged oeconomy and frugality, with a *very distinguished generosity*."—And again he observes, "If by compassion you mean that sensibility of nature which makes us feel for others, and urges us, by relieving their distresses, to relieve our own; by all that ever I could learn of Swift, he had as little of this sort of compassion as any man living; and therefore, his generosity had perhaps more merit in it—he has frequently been known to give 5 or 10 pounds to charity with more ease than many richer men, under equal engagements with him, could be prevailed upon to give so many shillings.—He laid himself out to do more charities in a greater variety of ways, and with a better-judging discernment, than perhaps any other man of his fortune in the world."

The learned Dr. Hawkesworth, who drew his information chiefly from Delany, seems to have coincided with him in his opinion of Swift's motives; but Dr. Lyon, in his corrections of Hawkesworth's text, exhibits very different notions. Dr. Hawkesworth says, "*The same want of natural tenderness which* made him appear obdurate and austere, transferred the distribution of his liberality from instinct to religion, and made that which is in others an exercise of self-love, in him an act of obedience to God." Dr. Lyon erases the words above printed in Italics, and inserts in lieu of them the following—"The same backwardness in shewing tenderness and natural affection, which *he really felt most sensibly* for the poor and miserable, but *seemed to hide*, and which made him appear obdurate and austere, &c."—From hence it appears that Dr. Lyon imagined Swift's austerity was not real, but assumed; and it is not improbable that he was right in his conjectures, for his opinion is not only conformable to the other features of Swift's character, but his authority is important on account of his intimate acquaintance with the dean. He acted for a long time as Swift's almoner, and particularly in a period of unexampled distress, during the severe winter of 1739-40.

"We dwell with great pleasure," says a contributor to the Monthly Review of Nov. 1779, "on this truly excellent and distinguished part of the dean's character: and for the sake of his charity, we can overlook his oddities, and almost forgive his faults. He was a very peculiar man in every respect. Some have said, 'What a man he would have been, had he been without those whims and infirmities which shaded both his genius and his character!' But perhaps the peculiarities complained of were inseparable from his genius. The vigour and fertility of the root could not fail now and then of throwing out superfluous suckers. What produced these, produced also the more beautiful branches, and gave the fruit all its richness."

[o] When an unknown object of charity presented itself, Swift was remarkably keen in his investigations as to the real character of the person; few could impose upon his sagacity: as for his regular pensioners they were distinguished by different names, according to their occupations, or their bodily infirmities.—He called one, who sold posies, Flora; another without arms or legs, Stumpa-Nympha; another without legs, who pulled at passengers when she prayed for alms, Pullagonna; another much deformed in her face by a cancer, Cancerella; these he used humorously to call his mistresses.—Lyon, MS.—Dr. Delany, in his lines upon a silver standish, presented by him to the dean, marks the characteristic features of Swift's charity in the two following lines:

"Not strolling idleness to aid,
But honest industry decayed."

Somewhat of the character of Swift's charities may be learned from his "Proposal for giving Badges to Beggars;" the last work he ever printed, and which he has distinguished in an unusual way, that of annexing to it his name.

[p] Swift seems to have instinctively discovered what sort of charitable establishments were of public utility; his practice went before theory in that respect. The objections urged by Malthus, and other modern political oeconomists, against some public charitable endowments, apply neither to his private donations, nor the public establishment of which he was a founder. Swift's *private virtues* were indeed *public benefits*.

[q] Mr. Walter Scott talks something of "excuses for that general misanthropy which never prevented a single deed of individual benevolence." He might as well have told us that a man should be acquitted of murder who had never committed

afflicted deeply the mind of Swift, he was not desirous, however, to attain the character of sensibility.[r]

As Swift hated no vice so much, so he dreaded no imputation more than hypocrisy;[s] to avoid this he was rather content to seem worse than better than he was.[t] When in London he went always to early prayers, that he might not be seen regularly attending church. When in Ireland he read prayers every night to his servants, with such secrecy, that Dr. Delany was six months in his house before he knew it.[u] Concious of his integrity, he was little solicitous about appearances; nevertheless, where his example was necessary he was not inattentive to form. He was diligent in discharge of his duty as dean: he restored the primitive practice of weekly com-

the crime. It is truly unaccountable how this writer should be so blind as not to observe, that the character of a misanthrope is assumed by Swift *in his writings only*, and that for a purpose confessedly beneficial to mankind. It is a remark of Dr. Hawkesworth, that, "whatever misanthropy may be found in his writings, there does not appear to be any in his life."—Those who have since imposed that odious name upon Swift, either wilfully misrepresent his meaning, or ignorantly mistake it.

Another vice has of late years been added to the catalogue of those attributed to Swift; I mean CAPRICE. Mr. Walter Scott is, in a great measure, entitled to the credit of having discovered this, hitherto occult, quality, and truly it is a very useful one to a biographer; for, if it be convenient to attribute any action to the hero of a memoir which is not reconcileable with the other passages of his life, or is at variance with his known character, it is only setting it down to *caprice*. The minor actions of mankind have been always allowed to be occasionally influenced by this passion, or whatever it may be called; but that it should have so powerful, nay permanent, an influence in the mental system, was a discovery of the present age, and that in a subject deceased more than three-fourths of a century ago.

There is indeed no other way of accounting for the marriage of Swift, or rather, if he did marry, why he never would live with his wife; for affection and mutual convenience urged them to do so, and nothing but this odd quality, caprice, prevented it; it is plain, therefore, that their living asunder can no other way be accounted for, but by the supposition of some such occult quality. How else could we account for his perpetually acting, speaking, and writing, during a space of twenty-five years, as if he never had married, or intended to marry? Indeed, though all-powerful, it fails in one respect—it is incompatible with the other good qualities which the biographer is willing still to attribute to the hero of his tale. Who will believe any virtue could flourish in so base a soil as the heart of that man who could without pity sacrifice the peace and comfort of his earliest, best, and tenderest friend to his *caprice!* could bear to see her linger in torture through a long series of years, and ultimately perish; nay did torture her himself, to gratify, what? his caprice. The reader must see the many absurd consequences of this hypothesis; but if he has a taste for a simple solution of the paradox, I have one to offer him more intelligible than this of caprice, to wit, they were not married. If his biographer has occasion for the employment of this hypothesis further than to account for this one phenomenon, I am content that he should use it; but I appprehend that there never did exist a man whose actions were seldomer governed by caprice than Swift's; the words "justum et tenacem propositi virum" were in every sense applicable to him; and of his firmness and intrepidity we might say,

> "Si fractus illabatur orbis,
> Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

What he says of himself is strictly true.

> "He kept the tenor of his mind,
> To merit well of human kind."

[r] His manner of conferring favours will be best illustrated by relating a circumstance which was accidently discovered after his memory had failed, (but for that event it would, perhaps, never have been known,) that he allowed *52l.* a year to Mrs. Dingley. Instead of doing this with the parade of a benefactor, or gratifying his pride by making her feel her dependence, he pretended that the money was the produce of a certain sum she had in the funds. The better to keep up this appearance he always required her receipt, which he wrote himself, and would sometimes, with seeming vexation, complain that she drew upon him before he had received the money. What precautions he took to conceal this fact will appear from perusal of one of the receipts, which I give from a copy taken by Dr. Lyon.

"June 25th, 1737.

"Mem. Received from Dr. Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, the sum of thirteen pounds, sterling, in full for one quarter's receipt of payments out of the funds in England, by advance of what will be due to me at M^mas^ next, in the year 1737, the said dean always paying me one quarter in advance.

I say, received by me,
Re. Dingly."

Dr. Lyon, upon whose authority the above story is given, relates another equally characteristic.—"It happened that James Bailly, a gentleman of his choir, had lost two fingers by the discharge of a fowling-piece: when the dean heard it, he expressed great concern, and having paused a little, 'Well,' said he, 'this will be a good time to reward merit and alleviate distress; I will make him a vicar:' which he accordingly did."

[s] In his letter to Stella, dated 5th March 1711-12, he writes, "I wish you a *merry* lent; I hate different diets, and furmity and butter, and herb porridge; and sour devout faces of people who only put on religion for seven weeks."

[t] Lord Orrery, who shews prodigious anxiety to impress the world with an idea, that Swift was void of all religious sentiments, and for this purpose framed the story of his beginning the service with the words, "Dearly beloved Roger," and that of his running a race with Dr. Raymond into church, makes the following remark upon his Project for the Advancement of Religion.—"He appears in earnest, throughout the whole treatise,"—but, as the "pamphlet is of the satirical kind, I am apt to imagine that my friend, the dean, put a violence upon himself in chusing to appear candidly serious, rather than to laugh silently under his usual mask of gravity;" and he adds for his reason, "methinks, upon these occasions, I perceive him writing in shackles." Upon this Dr. Delany observes, "My Lord, I dont pretend to the penetration of many others, *I thank God I have it not*;" and, in another passage, he seems almost to have shaken off the apprehension with which the noble lord's dignity appears to have possessed him, and to have summoned sufficient courage to treat the malicious detractor as he deserved. "I assure you, my lord, that if I had had the honour of being concerned in forming the character and ensigns of the Goddess of Wisdom among the ancients, the basilisk should not have been in the number of her emblems. I should have been contented to have furnished her with eyes that could pierce without poisoning."

[u] Lord Bolingbroke sums up this part of Swift's character in two words; he calls him "a hypocrite reversed."

munion [v] at his cathedral, and distributed the sacramental elements in the most devout and impressive manner with his own hands; he attended church every morning and evening, and preached always in his turn; [w] "he read the service rather with a strong, nervous voice, than in a graceful manner.—His voice was sharp and high toned rather than harmonious." [x]

"As a church-man Swift was rationally zealous; he desired the prosperity, and maintained the honour of the clergy.—In politics he continued throughout his life to retain the disposition which he assigns to the Church of England Man, of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the state and with the Tories of the church." [y]

[v] In that transient act of devotion which is called "saying grace," Swift always used "the fewest words that could be uttered on such an occasion; but he pronounced them with an emphasis and fervour, which every one around him saw and felt, and with his hands clasped in each other, and lifted to his breast, but never higher." Dr. Delany's Remarks.

Dr. Lyon, in his MS. notes, gives the following account. "While he had good health he read prayers to his family; and, when his deafness increased, his friends retired about 10 o'clock, after which he spent some time in private devotion, and made use of the liturgy of the church as his pattern for prayer, turning such parts thereof to his own private occasions as he thought proper: his prayer-book, which I have, being fouled with the use of his fingers, shews the parts he most approved of."

Mrs. Pilkington describes Swift's manner of performing the divine offices; she says that he bowed at the table, which behaviour was censured as savouring of popery.

A prayer of Swift's is published in the last edition of his Works, (Vol. I. page 396;) the first sentence is expressive of his feelings on the subject of hypocrisy, it is as follows: "Oh! Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, and from whom no secrets are hid, who hast declared that all such as shall draw nigh unto thee with their lips, when their hearts are far from thee, are an abomination unto thee, &c."

[w] The dean often regretted that he had given his mind so much up to politics that he found it impracticable to excel as a preacher, which was, at all times, an object of his ambition.—He was, however, attended by a crowded audience every fifth Sunday at his cathedral; upon those days it became his turn to preach; a matter which was well known in Dublin. He went to prayers every morning at 9 o'clock, and often at 3 in the afternoon. Lyon, MS.

[x] It is a singular fact that Swift had not the least taste for music: when he read prayers his tone of voice was harsh: he was also a bad reader of poetry; nevertheless, his verses are remarkably harmonious, and his rhymes uniformly correct.—Dr. Delany makes an excellent remark upon this subject; he says, Swift had an ear for harmony of numbers, but not for harmony of sounds.

But, though he was quite ignorant of music, though he "thought it strange that sheep's guts should hale souls out of men's bodies," yet he did not neglect that part of his duty which related to his choir, nor did he ever advance any person, however well recommended, if he was not qualified. When lady Carteret urged very importunately the nomination of a person to the station of a vicar, he replied, that, if it was in his power, he would not refuse to make the gentleman a dean, or a bishop, to oblige her ladyship, because those were preferments in which merit had no concern, but that the merit of a vicar would be brought to test every day.

A custom existed in his time of celebrating St. Cecilia's day in the cathedral with a concert of music. I am not able to determine how long this practice continued. It was acquiesced in by Swift, who alludes to it in the following lines:

"Grave dean of St. Patrick's, how comes it to pass,
That you, who know music no more than an ass;
That you, who so lately were writing of Drapiers,
Should lend your cathedral to players and scrapers?
To act such an opera once in a year,
So offensive to every true protestant ear."

In the last line he manifestly alludes to the objections which had been urged by the dissenters against the use of instrumental music in churches. I have a sermon which was preached by Sheridan upon one of those occasions; printed, Dublin, 1731, 8vo. it is dedicated to the Musical Society; the text, Psalm xxxiii. vers. 1, 2, 3, 4. Sheridan, who was himself a musician, defends, *con amore*, the use of music in church service. In the following passage, of page 20, he alludes to the dissenters. "Some Christian Thracians among us are for breaking the strings of David's harp, and pulling down our organ, although, at the same time, they keep up psalm-singing in their conventicles, for no other visible reason but because the one is an appointment of the church, and the other is a creature of their own; preferring their own untuned voices to the regular methods of a decent choir." Again, at page 29, he introduces, apparently for the same purpose of reviling the dissenters, a declamation against voluntaries, which he defines to be "what the organist pleases to run off his fingers, without any regard whether melody or harmony be in it; nothing but a discomposed rhapsody of his own raving imagination, which must be highly offensive to any person who has judgment enough to be tormented with its faults.—It is too like extempore prayer," he adds, "and that is saying enough."—A Reply to the arguments comprised in this sermon was published in the same year, by a member of that church which he treated so indignantly; it is entitled "A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Sheridan, occasioned by a sermon preached at St. Patrick's Church on St. Cecilia's Day. To which is added, The History of St. Cecilia." Dublin, 1731, 8vo.—The arguments of this latter writer are directed generally against the use of instrumental music in the church service, and, particularly, against the celebrating of any day in honour of St. Cecilia. It appears, however, that the reasoning of the answerer failed to produce any effect: we find St. Cecilia's day was celebrated on the 22d November in the same year in this cathedral, with greater ceremony than ever.—"Mr. Purcel's *Te Deum* and Corelli's Concerto were performed, and a sermon suitable was preached by Mr. Sheridan. The same night the Rt. Hon. Visc. Mountjoy gave a ball to several ladies at Taylor's-hall."—Carson's Weekly Journal.

Although deaf to the charms of music, Swift was not blind to the absurdities of musicians; to expose these latter he composed his celebrated "Cantata," which was set to music by Dr. Echlin. See page 292, note v. "The satire of this piece is levelled," says Dr. Beattie, "not at absurd imitations only, but also at some other musical improprieties; such as the idle repetition of the same words; the running of long extravagant divisions upon one syllable, and the setting of words to music that have no meaning." Essay on Poetry and Music, by Dr. James Beattie.

[y] "These," says Mr. Walter Scott, "were the leading principles which governed him through life; nor will it be difficult to shew that he uniformly acted up to them, unless in addressing those who confound principle with party, and deem that consistence can only be claimed by such as, with blindness and indiscriminating attachment, follow the banners and leaders of a particular denomination of politicians. Swift, on the con-

It is hard to say which was most admirable, the steadiness of his friendships, or the promptness with which he discharged the duties they imposed; however his political connexions might, sometimes, have estranged him from his early associates, he, in most instances, renewed the friendships they had suspended, and, in all, lamented

trary, as he carried into the ranks of the whigs, the opinions and scruples of a high-church clergyman, joined in like manner the standard of Harley with those sentiments of liberty, and that hatred of arbitrary power, which became the pupil of Sir William Temple.—In the conclusion of his verses to Ardelia, he has recorded himself, as 'a Whig, and one who wears a gown;' a memorable line, expressive that the principles which then ruled his mind, were an attachment to the liberties of his country in state politics, and to the rights of his order in those of the church. These points, however reconcileable in themselves, were, in general estimation, usually regarded as in opposition to each other; a high-church Whig was a political character, of which all parties refused to recognize the existence."

Swift, who saw and felt the difficulty of preserving consistency in the eyes of the public, published, in 1708, a defence of his peculiar principles, in his memorable tract, entitled, "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to religion and government," wherein the political principles of the revolution are strongly advocated, and the church establishment firmly maintained; the final conclusion from this pamphlet is, that, "in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both, would be sure to avoid the extremes of Whig, for the sake of the former, and the extremes of Tory, on account of the latter." This treatise, "which," as Dr. Warton remarks, "is replete with strong sense, sound principles, and clear reasoning," sufficiently displays the political principles of Swift; large extracts from this pamphlet have been given in page 247, note y; the tenets of the Dean's political creed are, moreover, amply unfolded in his letter to Pope, written the 20th Jan. 1720, which letter has likewise been published in page 318, note c.—"When these articles of his political tenets are examined," says lord Orrery, "they will leave no room for any one particular party to assume the honour of having had him in their alliance.—He was neither Whig or Tory, neither Jacobite or Republican, he was DOCTOR SWIFT."—See Life of Swift, by Walter Scott, pages 76, 94, 95; and Lord Orrery's Remarks, &c. Letter xx.

But notwithstanding this distinct avowal, previously declared and subsequently maintained, it has pleased a popular declaimer of the present day to object against Swift, that by deserting the party of Somers and Godolphin, and attaching himself to that of Harley and St. John, he was guilty of a dereliction from public principle, and a violation of private friendship; "without the pretext of any public motive," says this intemperate writer, "but on the avowed ground of not having been sufficiently rewarded for his former services, he went over in the most violent and decided manner to the prevailing party, for whose gratification he abused his former friends and benefactors, with a degree of virulence and rancour, to which it would not be too much to apply the term of brutality.—He took up the cudgels with the ferocity of an hireling, and the rancour of a renegade,—and not only made the most furious and unmeasured attacks upon the body of the party to which it had formerly been his boast that he belonged, but singled out, with a sort of savage discourtesy, a variety of his former friends and benefactors, and made them, by name and description, the objects of the most malignant abuse." Edinburgh Review, No. LIII. Art. I. pages 10, 13.

It will appear however, upon investigation, that this inhuman charge is altogether founded in falsehood and misrepresentation.—The imputation implies, first, a charge of private perfidy and ingratitude, and secondly, a charge of public delinquency.—I shall consider each of them apart from the other.

First. It is a falsehood to say, that Swift singled out his former friends and benefactors, to make them the subjects of violent personal abuse.—We learn, from his "Memoirs relating to the change in the Queen's Ministry," that he was intimately acquainted with but four persons of that party, who may be deemed of ministerial rank; "My Lords Somers and Halifax," he writes, "as well as the bishop (of Salisbury) desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem, and professions of kindness—not to mention the earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance.—I soon grew domestic with lord Halifax, and was as often with lord Somers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me."—Of these persons Swift attacked only lord Somers in what may be called, a personal way; his aversion to that nobleman appears to have been very great indeed, but the particular circumstances which occasioned this enmity not being before the public, they cannot judge whether the provocation was sufficient or not: we know that a general charge of breach of promise was urged by Swift, and if we trace back to the probable period when such promises were made, we shall be led to that in which they were so decidedly earned, by the publication of his tract, entitled, "An Account of the Contests between the Nobles of Athens and Rome," which was at least ten years before: the service rendered to the lord president by the publication of this tract was doubtless very considerable; and when we consider the high rank and dignity he held, and the power he possessed of making good his promise, had he thought fit so to do, we may easily imagine it possible, knowing its inefficacy, that he might have merited the ignominious censure passed on him by Swift, that of being "a false and deceitful rascal." It appears too, that this character was not sketched in anger, but was the consequence of patient examination; In Swift's remarks upon Mackay's characters, written a great many years after lord Somers' death, he writes, "I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications, except virtue; he had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence;" and in his letter to Lady Betty Germain, dated 8th June 1735, he writes, "I burnt all my Lord ****'s (Somers') letters, upon receiving one where he had used these words to me, "all I pretend to is a great deal of sincerity:" which, indeed, was the chief virtue he wanted. Of those from my Lord Halifax, I burnt all but one; which I keep as a most admirable original of court promises and professions." See this letter in Vol XV. page 315. The transition appears therefore to have been something very different from what it is represented by the reviewer: the instance is, moreover, a solitary one, and Swift's having a difference with lord Somers will not justify that his character should be branded with such opprobious epithets as are heaped upon him by this writer.

As to the other chiefs of this faction, against whom Swift was most remarkably severe, viz, Godolphin, Wharton, Cowper, Marlborough, &c. there is no evidence that he had any degree of familiar acquaintance with them; neither do we find that he ever censured lord Halifax, who was the only one with whom he says "he was domesticated," nor lord Sunderland, whom he calls "his old friend;" and it is remarkable that they are the only members of the opposition (whose leaders, he stiles, "the Heptarchy,") that Swift passes over without censure. Swift's treatment of bishop Burnet, it must be allowed, was harsh and disrespectful, but by no means personal; moreover, it should be considered, the bishop was the aggressor, his attack upon the ministers was unprovoked, and instituted too in an hypocritical canting way; an introduction to an ecclesiastical history being made the vehicle of political satire, a sort of attack which could not be successfully parried but by exposing the fallacy, and humbling the pride of the wilful aggressor. It appears, from hence, that those leaders of the whigs whom Swift singled out as objects for his satire, were not "his former friends," or if they were, they had made themselves his enemies.—That they were not "his benefactors" is too manifest to require proof.

the occasion of such differences. Even when in power he held out the hand of reconciliation to some friends, whose narrow minds attributed to other motives those actions, which we, from perusal of his familiar letters, are enabled more justly to appreciate.—An expression he uses in a letter to Pope shews the exalted notions

To defend Swift from the charge of having deserted his literary friends, (the persons who should, properly, be called his intimates,) will be no very difficult task; with these it can scarcely be said he ever had any difference, if, indeed, we except Steele; and I think it has been satisfactorily proved, in page 272, note a, that this quarrel was a matter not to be avoided, for Steele was determined to force the dissolution of all former ties of friendship. The services which Swift rendered to the wits of the Whig party having been noticed already in pages 259 and 260, I shall be content with quoting, in this place, the following words from his letter to Pope, dated 10th Jan. 1720-1, which are particularly illustrative of what has been here advanced.—"I have conversed in some freedom with more ministers of state of all parties, than usually happens to men of my level; and I confess, in their capacity as ministers, I look upon them as a race of people, whose acquaintance no man would court, otherwise than upon the score of vanity and ambition. The first quickly wears off (and is the vice of low minds, for a man of spirits is too proud to be vain) and the other was not my case. Besides, having never received more than one small favour, I was under no necessity of being a slave to men in power, but chose my friends by their personal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politics then in vogue. I frequently conversed with Mr. Addison, and the others I named (except Mr. Steele) during all my Lord Oxford's ministry: and Mr. Addison's friendship to me continued inviolable, with as much kindness as when we used to meet at my Lord Somers or Halifax, who were leaders of the opposite party."

The Reviewer is not satisfied with accusing Swift of having deserted his Whig friends, for the Tories, but he makes an attempt to prove, that he actually meditated to desert his Tory friend, Oxford, for Bolingbroke: I shall take notice of this charge by and by, when I come to make some remarks upon the nature and tendency of this critique, to which I refer the reader.

It remains now to consider the second part of this charge; Whether Swift was guilty of political delinquency, by seceding, in 1710, from the party of Somers and Godolphin, and joining the administration of Harley and St. John. It will appear, I think, when the matter is considered, that this proceeding implied no change of principles; for, although the two conflicting parties were denominated Whig and Tory, yet the political opinions designated by those words were not those of the respective parties. They represented, in this instance, as Swift says, rather two separate sets of persons, than two separate sets of principles.

When the names Whig and Tory were first imposed, they served to designate two parties whose sentiments, political and religious, were as opposite to each other as can well be imagined. However, the monstrous opinions of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistence, which formed the chief tenets in the creed of the latter faction, were soon abandoned, being found, if not contrary to common sense, at least subversive of every principle of civil liberty.

We find, therefore, that the Tories of the latter part of Queen Anne's reign had renounced those extravagant principles; at least they were disclaimed by Swift and his friends, as appears from the 33d paper of the Examiner; for the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, &c. as they are there explained, are quite conformable to the genuine principles of civil liberty. They had likewise adopted some principles which had been exclusively those of the Whigs. In proof of what is here advanced, I shall quote the words—The Tories conceive, "that wherever is intrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds—and may justly demand universal obedience, and non-resistance.—But they do not conceive the same absolute passive obedience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he has consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But if he interpose royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a case of necessity; and then, I suppose, a free people may assert their rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. As to the succession," he adds, "the Tories think an hereditary right to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet, at the same time, they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament; and so is Magna-Charta too, if the legislature think fit."—Mr. Walter Scott, in his note upon this passage, calls this, "lowering their peculiar doctrines to the tone of common sense," and objects, that, by endeavouring to do so, "they are obliged to vary materially from the authorities on which they are founded."—He gives bishop Saunderson's, and archbishop Sharpe's statement of the doctrines of non-resistance, "which will," he says, "be found fully to warrant the charge of the Whigs." But, What is this to the purpose?—Or how do any charges against such doctrines become objectionable to Swift or his friends, who never maintained them?—Bishop Saunderson's statement is curious, and worth inserting:—"For a man to take up arms (offensive or defensive) against a lawful sovereign, being a thing in its nature unlawful, may not be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretence whatsoever; not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others; nor for the defence of religion, nor for the preservation of a church or state; no nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul; no not for the redemption of the whole word."—The good bishop has, during this passage, being rapidly ascending the ladder of absurdity, and has got, at last, to such an extreme height, as to become lightheaded.—Swift, in his 39th Examiner, disclaims these principles:—"Some writers," he says, "did carry the tenet of passive obedience to a height which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted or repealed, without the consent of the whole people."

"About this time" (1710) says Swift, in his "History of the four last years of Queen Anne," "all disputes about those principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped: and those fantastic words ought, in justice, to have been so too." They were continued, however, and were used to designate the two great political parties, those who were in office, and those who were out, although they had ceased to represent any real difference between their political sentiments.—"From a barrenness of invention," says Swift, "they have been pressed into the service of many successions of party, with very different ideas fastened to them, having been applied to very different kinds of principles and persons." Of these different applications he gives a very full account in the 43d paper of the Examiner; and, moreover, clearly proves that the principles of the former Whigs and the present Tories were easily reconcileable—"It must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of Whig and Tory, have, at present, very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the revolution, to be against the pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an

he had of friendship,—"I have often wished that God Almighty would be so easy to the weakness of mankind, as to let old friends be acquainted in another state; and if I were to write a Utopia for Heaven, that would be one of my schemes." [z]

indulgence to scrupulous consciences; such man was conten to be called a Whig.—On the other side, whoever asserted the queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous; that schism was a great evil, both in itself and its consequences; that the ruin of the church would probably be attended with that of the state; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion; such a man was usually called a Tory,—Now, although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom; yet, according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the pretender and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other enemies to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first, or second set of these opinions, I have mentioned: and they are consequently stiled either Whigs or Tories. Which is as if two brothers apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place whence they thought the robbers would come, and therefore would go to different sides to defend it."—This attempt to reconcile Whig and Tory principles is quite conformable to Swift's plan, displayed in his "Sentiments of a Church of England Man." Upon the subject of the great point of difference, that of passive obedience, he expresses himself in the following manner to Lord Peterborow, in his letter dated February 1710-11.—"The dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write on each side, would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country; for, I dare swear, nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the prince alone; and I hardly ever saw a Whig and Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves."—In his letter to a Whig lord, he says, "I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with, did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my opinion, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped." Indeed Swift never failed to declare his attachment to the principles of the revolution Whigs: this is amply proved by the quotations from his Sentiments of a Church of England Man, given in page 246, note z; by the extract from his letter to Pope, dated 10th Jan. 1720-1, in page 318, note c; and might be further confirmed by numberless other passages in his works. If it should be asked, Why he did not join them, upon the accession of the Hanover family? the answer is furnished by himself, in his letter to Mr. Tickell, dated 7th July 1726; Because the ministers of that day were, "rank Tories in goverment, and worse than Whigs in church, whereas I was the first man who taught and practised the direct opposite principle."

These frequent changes Swift has made the subject of his satire, in his "Remarks on the various denominations of places in Ireland;" alluding to the name Whigborough, he says—"The zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion and loyalty to future ages, within five miles round him, thought fit to use this expedient; wherein he seems to have mistaken his account; for this distinguishing term Whig had a most infamous original, denoting a person who favoured the fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till this idea was a little softened, some years after the Revolution, and during a part of her late majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the queen's death, since which time it has indeed flourished with a witness; but how long it will continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer; and, therefore, he should have set a date to the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of a creature a Whig was in that year of our Lord."

But, if the names of Whig and Tory changed frequently, the individuals of each of those factions changed sides much oftener; insomuch that there was scarce a considerable person living in Swift's time, who had not fought under both of those political banners. "I would be glad," says Swift in his 15th Eaminer, "to ask a question about two great men of the late ministry, (the duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin,) How they came to be Whigs? and by what figure of speech, half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called Tories? I doubt, whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the Revolution."—The duchess of Marlborough likewise tells us, that neither Marlborough, or Godolphin, "would have had so great a share in the queen's favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories."—Account of her Conduct, &c.—And Swift, in his "History of the four last years of Queen Anne," says of the duke, "that he has bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle; and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give." And of Lord Godolphin he says, "his alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert by a perfect trifle; taking fire at a niename (Volpone,) delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself."—Another considerable person among the Whigs was the duke of Somerset, who, as Swift informs us in his "History of the four last years of Queen Anne," had been, for some years after the revolution, looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; but, from the time he came into employment, he became a constant and zealous member of the opposite party.—On the other hand, a large party of the Whigs joined the side of Harley, who was himself bred a presbyterian. The dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the earls of Peterborow and Rivers, says Swift, in his "Inquiry into the behaviour, &c." certainly came into the queen's ministry upon other motives than that of party. In February 1707-8, Swift writes to Archbishop King; "it is a perfect jest to see my Lord Peterborow, reputed as a great Whig as any in England, abhorred by his own party, and caressed by the Tories." To these might be added, the earl of Nottingham, who, though a prodigious high-churchman, joined the Whigs; and Mr. St. John, who, though no churchman at all, became a chief leader of the Tories.

Amidst these perpetual changes, How does it happen that we hear the charge of apostacy urged against Swift alone? If he was guilty, were not all those persons above-mentioned equally so?—I apprehend, however, as he himself says, the principles of Whig and Tory were in this matter no more concerned, than in the length or colour of their periwigs. In truth, flexibility was no vice of Swift; pertinacity, even to stubbornness, was more like his character; and those who attribute to him a change of principle upon the account of his joining the administration of Harley, shew their ignorance, as well of his character, as of the political history of England. Even Dr. Johnson has done him justice in this particular, he says that Swift, "by his political education was associated with the Whigs, but he deserted them, when they deserted their principles, yet without running into the contrary extreme: he continued, *throughout all his life*, to retain the disposition which he assigns to the Church of England Man, 'of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the state, and the Tories of the church."

A striking feature of Swift's character was his pure, disinterested patriotism; an individual of that nation, against which he so strenuously opposed the claims of his own, has, with an able pen, sketched this part of his character.

"It was from the time when he first began to patronize the Irish, that they may date their riches and prosperity. He taught them first to know their own interest, their weight, and their strength, and gave them a spirit to assert that equality with their fellow-subjects, to which they have ever since been making vigorous advances, and to claim those rights which they have at last established.

The charge of apostacy, from the principles of a revolutionist to those of an advocate for despotism, is moreover attempted, by this reviewer, to be proved against Swift, by a quotation from his "Free thoughts on the state of affairs &c.;" the critic will have it, that he meant to make "the monarch substantially absolute, by the establishment of a military force;" he tries to make good this charge by the most contemptible of all artifices, misquotation. The purport of Swift's advice will however be found to be, by any one who will take the trouble of turning to the passage, that the military should be put under such controul, as to prevent any danger to the constitution, through their means. It is well known that their attachment to their general, was, at that time, greater than their allegiance to their prince. See page 282 of this volume not n.

z "No part of Swift's character is more admirable," says Mr. Scott, "than his zeal in assisting and bringing forward all who seemed to cultivate literature with success. He relieved the necessitous, he supported the dependent, and insisted that more distinguished genius should receive from his powerful friends that kindness and distinction to which it is so well intitled."—Life of Swift, page 157. Many instances of this have been adduced in a former note, and many more might be cited to prove the extensive exercise of Swift's benevolence, during the short period his power lasted. There are several facts already recorded which demonstrate, that his ardent desire to serve his literary friends was not extinguished by that event which contracted the sphere of exertion. Mr. Lewis having, in 1717, communicated to Swift an account of Prior's distressing situation, and his project of publishing his works by subscription, the dean exhibited an alacrity which showed what his feelings were; he transmitted so numerous a list of subscribers that Prior was astonished; the quick succession of his letters Prior acknowleges in his, of July 30th, 1717; "I have the favour of four letters from you, of the 9th, 13th, 16th, and 20th;" he adds, "pray give my service to all friends in general; as you have ordered the matter, you have made the greater part of Ireland list themselves under the number. Sheridan's Life of Swift, page 215.

Swift's insensibility is a subject whereupon writers have dilated much; but speculative opinions and theories are, in general, more conformable to the taste of those persons, than the investigation of truth; his own letters, and those of his learned friends, represent him as a light very different, and show how sorely the death of his acquaintances afflicted him; in truth the constitutional good nature of Swift was, as it ordinarily is in other persons, the parent stock from whence his friendships grew; some of his adversaries have thought fit to deny the existance of such qualities in him; but his cotemporaries, who knew him better than his calumniators, have borne such ample testimony, as cannot reasonably be questioned. "I am sure," says Addison in one of his letters, "a zealous, friendly behaviour, distinguishes you as much as your many more shining talents; and as I have received particular instances of it, you must have a very bad opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love and respect you;" again he writes to Swift, "I always honoured you for your good nature, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man, who has talents so much more shining in the eyes of the world." Lady Betty Germain, writing to him about the countess of Suffolk, uses the words following: "though you are a proud person, yet to give the devil your due, you are a sincere, good-natured, honest one." The words of captain C. Charlton, are remarkably to the purpose, he writes, "you have an unlucky quality, which exposes you to the forwardness of those that love you, I mean good-nature, from which, though I did not always suspect you guilty of it, I now promise myself an easy pardon." To support these testimonies many of his acts might be produced in evidence, but, as they are mentioned in other places, they are already before the reader. I entreat permission to cite the testimony of one other person, it is that of Dr. Arbuthnot, who appears to have had a lively sense of this estimable quality in his distinguished friend; "that hearty, sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I can never find in any other man; I shall want often a faithful monitor, one that would vindicate me behind my back, and tell me my faults to my face."

Upon the whole matter it appears, that Swift has been very unjustly treated by the greater number of those, who have attempted to draw his private character. Because he was candid and sincere, he has been reported to be ill-natured: his hatred of hypocrisy, has been construed into impiety: because he lived on one-third of his income, that he might apply the other two to the purposes of the most judicious charities, he has been accused of avarice: he has been accused of caprice, although, through every action of a long life he adhered strictly to the same principles, nor ever lost sight of any great object, of which he at any time proposed to himself the completion: he has been stiled a misanthrope, although he sacrifised his pleasures, and his fortune, and dedicated his talents, to the general improvement of morals, to the liberation of his country, to the defence of his religion, and to the alleviation of the sufferings of his fellow creatures. In truth, neither his actions or his writings will justify the application of any of those reproachful epithets, for which he is indebted, partly to the rancorous hatred of avowed enemies, partly to the crafty malice of pretended friends; the number of both these, on account of his daring and uncomprising character, were very numerous; for Swift was one, who

——— "would not stint
His necessary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers."—

The following passage, from the 44th Number of the Examiner, shews how much he despised the attempts of his adversaries, "For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show."

His character has moreover suffered much, from the ill-imagined apologies of injudicious advocates, and the impertinent conceits of disregarded relatives, and pretended intimates.

To his servants Swift was a most indulgent master, and although he allowed a weekly stipend to each member of his family for their board, yet, as he almost always dined at home, they were chiefly fed at his expense; he still, however, continued to each their allowance, and many of them were by these means enabled to save a great portion of their wages; this circumstance gave him great pleasure, and he was always sure to encrease their fund. If he employed them about any thing out

Nor can they be charged with ingratitude to their benefactor; for they reverenced him as a guardian, and obeyed him as a dictator." [a a]

There are few of Swift's actions or writings which do not testify his remarkable love of truth; [b] this quality was so inherent in his nature that it may be termed constitutional.—His hatred of hypocrisy, his love of justice, and the intrepidity of his conduct, were all the consequences of this ruling principle. Even his charities were, as I have said, regulated by the severe rules of truth and justice; nor did he allow his feelings to regulate his conduct in the distribution of eleemosynary donations. His humour, too, had something of this character in it, it was what Ulysses calls, "Derision med'cinable."—His style of writing, likewise, is strongly indicative of this peculiar tendency of his mind—this is manifest from its simplicity; all he aims at is to be understood, he pays no court to the passions, neither does he admit any superfluous ornament.—Nothing but extraordinary powers of mind could elevate a style which thus disdained to use the ordinary embellishments of art.

But that quality of Swift, which most redounds to his immortal honour, is, his zeal in asserting the superiority of talents and virtue over titles and wealth; [c] he was the first person of genius and letters who went beyond vain speculation in this respect, boldly demanding, and actually receiving, the homage due to that which constitutes the true superiority of man; it was with indignation that he beheld the mean condescensions and homage usually paid by persons of genius to men of title or power, to see, "the learned pate duck to the golden fool." [d]—His cotemporaries

[a] Johnson's Life of Swift.

of the ordinary course of their office, he always paid them to the full value of the work. Dr. Johnson says Swift was rough in his behaviour to his domestics, "he was a master that few could bear;" he adds, "it was no great mitigation that, upon important occasions, he was disposed to do his servants good; benefactions can be but rare, and tyrannic peevishness is perpetual.—Whatever might have been the doctor's opinion, it is a well known fact that his servants themselves thought otherwise. Instances of Swift's tenderness to Mrs. Brent, his house-keeper, (who, by the way, was a presbyterian,) may be traced in various parts of his works. See Vol. XIV. page 504, XVII. page 237. To her daughter and successor, Mrs. Ridgeway, he was generous to a degree of excess. See page 305 of this volume, note y; See also Swift's will, page 410 and page 411; note q.

"In hiring servants," say the Edinburgh Reviewers, "he always chose to insult them, by inquiring into their qualifications for some filthy degrading office." This representation is over-charged; he tried their humility it is true by some test, because he knew that the faults of Irish servants at that time were, what they still continue to be, idleness and pride; they would not perform the necessary drudgery of their office so long as they could secretly bring in others, lower than themselves, to do it for them. Swift was sensible of this failing; he meditated its reform, and his attempts were, doubtless, crowned with success.

[a] "Fair LIBERTY was all his cry;
For her he stood prepar'd to die;
For her he boldly stood alone;
For her he oft expos'd his own."

Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift.

"His conduct," says lord Orrery, "was so uniform and constant in the cause of Ireland, that he not only gained the praise, but the confidence of that whole nation, who are a people seldom, if ever, inclined to study and pursue their own interest, and who are always exceeding apt to suspect any advice that is contrary, or in defiance to a ministerial direction."

[b] The discerning among Swift's friends were sensibly alive to this part of his character; no one of them appears to have been so forcibly struck with it as Arbuthnot; in one of his letters he uses the following words:—"I had a great deal of discoursewith your friend, Her Royal Highness; she insisted upon your wit and good conversation; I told her Royal Highness, that was not what I valued you for, but being a sincere honest man, and speaking the truth when others were afraid of speaking it."

[c] Unjustly has he been represented as overturning the barriers between one order of society and another; this imputation has grown out of the exaggerated way in which his manner of introducing Parnell to the lord-treasurer has been told by Dr. Delany. Swift himself relates the incident in his Journal to Stella, (31st January 1712,) in the following works:—"I contrived it so that the lord treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me) whether that was Dr. Parnell? and spoke to him with great kindness." Dr. Delany makes Swift desire lord Oxford "in the height of his glory, to walk with his treasurer's staff, from room to room, through his own levee, enquiring which was Dr. Parnell." "The intention was," as Mr. Scott remarks (page 158) "in the real case, simple and delicate; in the other it would have been affected and ostentatious." But it is thus that all the events of Swift's life have been related; every common action is stretched to the marvellous: if we believe some writers, he did nothing like any other person; all is overstrained and unnatural, and like what would be said of some giant in romance, or "being not of mortal mould;" which, by the way, shews the high conceptions they had formed of his truly surprising genius.

[d] The sublime poet from whom this sentence is quoted, has, in his usual energetic way, expressed the like sentiment in half a dozen words:

"A beggar's book
Out-worths a noble's blood."

It is curious to read Dr. Johnson's remark on this passage: "This," he says, "is a contemptuous exclamation very naturally put into the mouth of one of the ancient, unlettered, martial nobility." How Dr. Johnson could imagine that a sentence so very energetic and forcible, was meant for a contemptuous exclamation, is rather surprising; one would suppose he wrote,

received much benefit from his example in this respect, and Pope expressly acknowleges his obligation in a letter to Swift, where he says, "the top pleasure of my life is one I learned from you, both how to gain, and how to use the freedom of friendship with men much my superiors."

Nothing but extraordinary talents and uncommon merit could have perfected such a revolution, as to make the great in the eyes of the world descend so far as to pay that homage to him, which they themselves had ever before exclusively enjoyed. "Neither was this conduct," says Dr. Hawkesworth, "the effect of pride and self-sufficiency, but of true dignity of mind, for he exacted nothing which, in his turn, he did not pay, nor asked more for himself than for others, whose pretensions or circumstances were the same." [e]

Swift, in truth, felt that "the proper honour of man did not arise from mere dignity or rank of office;" external distinctions, however they might require outward homage, he was sensible could not demand inward esteem and respect. The man great in the eyes of the vulgar, often appeared little to his organs. As the astronomer, when he views the splendid orb of a fixed star through a telescope, observes only a diminished disk, so the enlightened mind of Swift enabled him to ascertain the true magnitude of solid excellence, by freeing the object from all those sparkling qualities which, though borrowed from the adventitious circumstances of fortune, enlarge to the vulgar eye its magnitude and splendour. Station and rank he regarded as those shining exhalations, innate worth as an intrinsic quality which he observed was more considerable in a Grattan than a Boyle. [f]

his comment before he read through the play; a few scenes after, King Henry VIII. gives the following character of Buckingham, into whose mouth Shakspeare had put those words,

> "The gentleman is learn'd, and a most rare speaker,
> To nature none more bound; his training such,
> That he may furnish and instruct great teachers,
> And never seek for aid out of himself."

[e] Although Swift was, to a considerable degree, ambitious, he was remarkably free from the passion of envy. Dr. Hawkesworth judiciously defines envy to be "a desire of equality gratified by degrading others;" and emulation, "a desire of equality gratified by advancing ourselves;" the natural equity of Swift's mind, he remarks, secured him from the former vice, which indeed is incompatible with that readiness to assist the endeavours of his cotemporaries which he displays upon almost every occasion, sometimes even to his own hindrance. Lord Orrery himself, who is not over-prodigal of praise, acknowledges that "Swift's abilities rendered him superior to envy." Dr. Delany appears not satisfied with the noble lord's manner of expressing what he could not indeed deny. "That he was superior to envy," says the doctor, "cannot be denied: the question is, whether he was so from the rectitude or generosity of his mind, or from the pride of superior talents."—He proves, very satisfactorily, that it could not be ascribed to the latter principle, for Swift continued throughout the whole of his life attached most to those persons who equalled, nay sometimes surpassed him, in the very qualities in which it was his ambition to excel: although poetry, politics, and humour were the peculiar talents upon which he most prided himself, nevertheless, Pope, the earl of Oxford, and Gay, who may be considered to have been his rivals, each in one of these respective ways, were always distinguished by tokens of his most lively affection.

If Swift was free from envy, he was still less capable of resentment: there is no well authenticated fact upon record to prove that he ever retained the emembrance of an ancient grudge.—"The demon of malice," as Mr. Deane Swift says, "was a stranger to Swift's mind; if at any time he was attacked with injurious treatment, he never smothered his resentment like a way-laying coward, but, like a brave and generous spirit, knocked down his adversary directly on the spot."—Essay on the Life and Writings of Swift, page 383.—See also page 293 of this volume, note v.

[f] There are many passages in Swift's works that are illustrative of those sentiments. In his letter to lord Carteret, dated 9th June 1724, he writes as follows:—"I never was so humble as to be vain upon my acquaintance with men in power, and always rather chose to avoid it when I was not called; neither were their power or titles sufficient, without merit, to make me cultivate them."—In his poem upon his own death are the following lines:

> "He never thought an honour done him,
> Because a duke was proud to own him;
> Would rather slip aside, and choose
> To talk with wits in dirty shoes;
> Despis'd the fools with stars and garters,
> So often seen caressing Charters.
> He never courted men in station,
> Nor persons held in admiration;
> Of no man's greatness was afraid,
> Because he sought for no man's aid."

The following lines from his poem entitled "The Puppet-show," remind us of a print of Hogarth's, representing figures humorously pretended to have been discovered in the moon:

> "Some draw our eyes by being great,
> False pomp conceals mere wood within;
> And legislators rang'd in state,
> Are oft but wisdom in machine.
>
> A stock may chance to wear a crown,
> And timber as a lord take place;
> A statue may put on a frown,
> And cheat us with a thinking face."

Apprehension lest his poverty, or want of official distinction, should cause him to be thought slightly of, might possibly have occasioned his indulging in this peculiarity to a greater

Of learning Swift possessed an ample share :[g] of modern languages he understood Italian, and wrote French with facility; his Latin verses prove that he had no great command of that language, although he was well acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, which he had attentively read. With the ancient literature of his own country he was not well acquainted,[h] the works of the earliest English writers were not the study of his time.[i]

excess than he otherwise would have practised: in his Journal to Stella, of 29th September, 1711, he writes, "I am so proud that I make all the lords come up to me:" for this manner of reversing the usual ceremonials of society, he has been satirized in the preface to a work written by one of the adverse party, entitled, "A Treatise upon the Modes, or a Farewell to French Kicks." Lond. 1715. Swift is therein described "as making rules of his own, to distinguish his company, which shewed that he was greater than any of them himself; for, if a lord in place came to his levee, he would say, 'prithy, lord, take away that damn'd chamber-pot and sit down;' but if it were a commoner only, or an Irish lord, he would remove the implement himself, and perhaps ask pardon for the disorder of the room, &c." This censure seems to be authorised by a passage in his Journal, of 12th December 1712, where he says, "I make no figure but at court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintance."

[g] It was the opinion of Dr. Johnson that Swift was deficient in learning, and Mr. Boswell, in his Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, records a saying of his, that "Swift was clear, but shallow:" the doctor concludes the speech wherein this remark occurs with the following words: "I doubt if the Tale of a Tub was his; it has so much more thinking, more knowledge, more power, more colour, than any of the works which are indisputably his. If it was his, I shall only say, he was *impar sibi*."—In this passage Dr. Johnson is not however *impar sibi*; the mode of argument he uses, (if an *ipse dixit* can be called an argument,) may be thus described: Swift had no learning, says the doctor, for his writings do not display any. When, however, the Tale of a Tub is cited as an example to the contrary, the doctor immediately changes sides, and replies, the Tale of a Tub cannot, therefore, be his, because it displays learning.

The Tale of a Tub being, however, the undoubted work of Swift, he possessed, even at the early period of his life in which that piece was written, an ample share of learning, of which there is likewise a good deal displayed in the "Account of the Contests in Athens and Rome," the "Sentiments of a Church of England Man," and other tracts published about that time; if in his subsequent works there is less display of learning, we must attribute it to his experience of the superior effect from the simple manner which he afterwards adopted. The truth is, Swift possessed as much learning as he pretended to, or he needed to have had: he never appears deficient; and perhaps had he possessed more he would not have exhibited it. The following is the remark of lord Orrery upon this subject: "The sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet; and although he industriously avoided an ostentation of learning, and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store, yet his knowledge in the ancient authors evidently appears from the strength of his sentiments and the classic correctness of his style."

It is curious enough that Swift, who has been accused of ignorance and shallowness by Dr. Johnson, should be arraigned for the opposite by another writer. "I know one," says Daniel Defoe, alluding to Swift, "that is an orator in satire, a walking index of books, has all the libraries of Europe in his head, from the Vatican at Rome to the learned collection of Dr. Salmon at Fleet-ditch."

I do not pretend to say that honest Daniel was so profound a judge of learning as Dr. Johnson, but he was full as likely to speak, with truth, his own sentiments, and those of his cotemporaries.

"It is a fact in literary history worth remarking," says Dr Warton, "and which deserves to be more attended to than I think it usually is, that the chief of those who have excelled in exquisite works of art and humour, have, at the same time, been men of extensive learning. We may instance in Lucian, Cervantes, Quevedo, Rabelais, Arbuthnot, Fielding, and Butler above all, for no work in our language contains more learning than Hudibras."

[h] Dr. Warton makes the following remark upon a passage of Swift's letter to Pope, dated 30th August 1716, (where he quotes a passage from Milton:) "This is the *only time* Swift ever alludes to Milton, who was of an order of writers very different from what Swift admired or imitated." This assertion, and the sarcastic insinuation with which it is followed up, are both quite unfounded; Swift not only alludes to Milton *very frequently*, but, in his letter to Sir Charles Wogan, dated July 1732, he mentions him in two different passages, and with great commendation; in the first he professes himself to be "an admirer of Milton," in the second he uses the following words: "as to your blank verse, it has too often fallen into vile hands of late; one Thompson, a Scotchman, has succeeded the best in that way, yet I am not over-fond of them, because they are all description, and nothing is doing; whereas Milton engages me in actions of the highest importance: *modo me Romæ, modo ponit Athenis*." In his "Advice to a young Poet," Swift commends Milton in his usual ironical way, and ridicules a projected attempt of turning his Paradise Lost into rhyme; "our celebrated Milton has done these nations great prejudice, having spoiled as many reverend rhymers, by his example, as he has made real poets; for which reason I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing rhyme upon Milton's Paradise Lost, which will make the poem, in that only defective, more heroic and sonorous than it hitherto has been." In this passage the meaning is exactly contrary to the literal sense. I have noticed in page 371, note b, a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost with marginal notes by Swift.

Mr. Walter Scott has followed this example of Dr. Warton, which may be called "hazarding an observation." "Swift," says Mr. Scott, "never mentions the romances and plays of the period in which he lived without expressing the most emphatic contempt. To the drama, particularly, he was so indifferent, that he *never once* alludes to the writings of Shakspeare, nor, wonderful to be told, does he appear to have possessed a copy of his works." Life of Swift, page 471.

I do not recollect that Swift any where mentions, with contempt, the plays of his own period: in his Advice to a young Poet, written in 1720, he speaks slightingly of the play-house, and uses words from whence we may argue that he condemned it as a place of public resort; but this is very different from censuring the dramatic productions of his own time, which is what the first part of the sentence above quoted implies; this is so far from being the fact, that he employs one whole paper of the Intelligencer upon the subject of the Beggar's Opera. Swift, it is true, in his proposal for ascertaining the English tongue, treats with contempt the dramatic productions of the reign of Charles II. which were those that chiefly occupied the public attention during the early part of his life; but in this respect he displays neither deficiency of judgment, nor singularity of opinion.

The next assertion of Mr. Scott, "that Swift *never once* alludes to the writings of Shakspeare," is best replied to by

"When Swift is considered as an author," says Dr. Johnson, "it is just to estimate his powers by their effects.[k] In the reign of Queen Anne he turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation. In the succeeding reign he delivered Ireland from plunder and oppression; and shewed that wit confederated with truth, had such force as authority was unable to resist."[3]

"As a poet," says Mr. Walter Scott, "Swift's post is pre-eminent in the sort of poetry which he cultivated. He never attempted any species of composition in which either the sublime or the pathetic were required of him. But in every department of poetry where wit is necessary, he displayed, as the subject chanced to require, either the blasting lightning of satire, or the lambent and meteor-like coruscations of frolicsome humour. His powers of versification are admirably adapted to his favourite subjects. Rhyme, which is a handcuff to an inferior poet, he who is master of his art wears as a bracelet. Swift was of the latter description;[l] his lines fall as easily into the best grammatical arrangement, and the most simple and forcible expression, as if he had been writing in prose. The numbers and the coincidence of the rhymes, always correct and natural, though often unexpected, distinguish the current of his poetical composition, which exhibits, otherwise, no mark of the difficulty with which these graces are attained."[4]

[3] Johnson's Life of Swift.

[4] Life of Swift, page 489.

stating facts. I have noticed, since I read the remark just quoted, the following places where Swift refers to Shakspeare, and I make no doubt but that there are many others.— In Vol. III. page 11, he alludes to Henry VIII.—In Vol. VII. page 233, to Julius Cæsar—In Vol. IX. page 227, to Hamlet—In Vol. XIV. page 252, to Macbeth—In Vol. XV. page 257, to Henry V.—In Vol. XVI. page 57, where he advises Mr. Draper to use translation as a bridle to his genius, which employment, he says, will teach him to write like a modest man, he manifestly alludes to the following passage of the Merchant of Venice:

"———pray thee, take pains
To allay with some cold drops of modesty
Thy skipping spirit.———"

In Vol. IX. page 396, he calls him, "the great Shakspeare," and, afterwards, in the same passage, says, he was "an excellent poet." The passages to which I have referred, will, I presume, prove sufficiently that Swift was not only well acquainted with the works of the sublime British bard, but likewise that he greatly admired him, which, to use Fluellin's language, is "a phrase a little variatious" from Mr. Scott's.—The same editor relates, what is indeed "wonderful to be told," that Swift was not possessed of a copy of Shakspeare's Works. The only foundation, however, for this assertion, is, that there does not appear one among his books sold after his decease: if, however, what is insinuated by Dunkin be true, (see page 409, note o,) this matter may be accounted for without a miracle. It is scarce worth remarking, that at the sale of the books of a celebrated writer on the drama, (Mr. Jos. Cooper Walker,) which lately took place in this city, there was not one edition of Shakspeare.—Mr. Walter Scott says 'that the catalogue of Swift's library only contains the works of three dramatic writers, Ben. Johnson, Wycherly, and Rowe." I think this does not argue any great distaste for the drama. When Swift formed his library there were but very few others of the works of dramatic writers, if we except those of Charles the Second's reign, which were collected into volumes.—The commendations bestowed by Swift upon the writers of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in his Proposal for ascertaining the English Tongue, do not appear to me to have been so justly merited by, or so properly applicable to any class of writers of that time, as to the dramatic; and I think, whoever reads the passage will be convinced that Swift alludes to this class of writers, where he describes the improvement of the language, in like manner as he in direct terms mentions them, when he speaks of its deterioration.—See Swift's Works, Vol. IX. bottom of page 349, and bottom of page 350.

[i] Mr. Walter Scott informs us, (Life of Swift, page 471,) that Chaucer was a favourite of Swift, and that he had observed among his papers a memorandum of the oaths used in the Canterbury Tales. Mr. Scott was so obliging as to transmit to me an imitation, but by no means a successful one, of the style of this early English poet. This attempt was in the hand-writing of Swift. I have been so unfortunate as to have lost both the document itself and the polite letter which accompanied it. I cannot say which has been the source of the greatest regret.

[k] Dr. Johnson coutradicts in another passage what he advances in this; he remarks upon Swift's style, that, "for purposes merely didactick, when something is to be told that was not known before, it is the best mode; but against that inattention by which known truths are suffered to lie neglected, it makes no provision; it instructs, but does not persuade." Dr. Johnson had not in recollection the "Conduct of the Allies," or the "Drapier's Letters," when he made this remark.

[l] Swift, nevertheless, who was a great admirer of Milton, has, in his "Advice to a Young Poet," ridiculed the idea of making the perfection of versification to consist in rhyme:–"Sir P. Sidney has declared, 'that the chief life of modern versifying consists in the like sounding of words, which we call rhyme;' which is an authority, either without exception, or above reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would sound a pipkin; and if it rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without rhyme is a body without a soul, (for the 'chief life consisteth in the rhyme,') or a bell without a clapper; which in strictness is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the same ever honoured knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a poet as one that has 'the reverend title of a Rhymer.' Our celebrated Milton has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoiled as many Reverend Rhymers, by his example, as he made real poets."

Swift's Bout's Rimes on Signora Domitilla furnish a fair specimen of his talent for rhyming, in which he is, however, much excelled by the inimitable Butler.

"Swift's reputation as a poet," says Mr. Hazlitt,[m] "has been in a manner obscured by the greater splendour, by the natural force and inventive genius of his prose writings; but if he had never written either the Tale of a Tub, or Gulliver's Travels, his name merely as a poet would have come down to us, and have gone down to posterity with well-earned honours. His Imitations of Horace, and still more his Verses on his own Death, place him in the first rank of agreeable moralists in verse. There is not only a dry humour, an exquisite tone of irony,[n] in these productions of his pen; but there is a touching, unpretending pathos, mixed up with the most whimsical and eccentric strokes of pleasantry and satire. His Description of the Morning in London, and of a City Shower, which were first published in the Tatler, are among the most delightful of the contents of that very delightful work."

"Swift shone as one of the most sensible of the poets: he is also distinguished as one of the most nonsensical of them.[o] No man has written so many lack-a-daisical, slip-shod, tedious, trifling, foolish, fantastical verses as he,[p] which are so little an imputation on the wisdom of the writer; and which in fact, only shew his readiness to oblige others, and to forget himself. He has gone so far as to invent a new

[m] We are indebted to Mr. Hazlitt for the following remarks upon the respective merits of Swift, Rabelais, and Voltaire; The comparison here instituted forms the most interesting part of that ingenious writer's admirable critique.—"Swift was not a Frenchman. In this respect he differed from Rabelais and Voltaire. They have been accounted the three greatest wits in modern times; but their wit was of a peculiar kind in each. They are little beholden to each other; there is some resemblance between Lord Peter in the Tale of a Tub, and Rabelais' Friar John; but in general they are all three authors of a substantive character in themselves. Swift's wit, (particularly in his chief prose works) was serious, saturnine, and practical; Rabelais' was fantastical and joyous; Voltaire's was light, sportive, and verbal. Swift's wit, was the wit of sense; Rabelais,' the wit of nonsense; Voltaire's, of indifference to both. The ludicrous in Swift, arises out of his keen sense of impropriety, his soreness and impatience of the least absurdity. He separates, with a severe and caustic air, truth from falsehood, folly from wisdom, 'shews vice her own image, scorn her own feature;' and it is the force, the precision, and the honest abruptness with which the separation is made, that excites our surprise, our admiration, and our laughter. He sets a mark of reprobation on that which offends good sense and good manners, which cannot be mistaken, and which holds it up to our ridicule and contempt ever after."

[n] In that species of humour which is termed irony, Swift was a consummate master; in his Poem on his own Death he claims to himself the merit of having first applied it with success.

"Which I was born to introduce,
Refined it first and shew'd its use."

The latter part of his Rhapsody on Poetry, beginning with the words, "Oh! What indignity and shame," exhibits a fair specimen of his talent in that way. The style and language of the encomiast is admirably burlesqued in this mock panegyric. His "Directions for making a birth-day ode," written in 1729, is in the same style: "He was also," as Dr. Delany remarks, "a great master of that kind of praise which, by carrying the appearance of abuse, took off every thing that was surfeiting or offensive to the palate in that kind of food;" of this the following lines of his "Poem on his own Death" are a fair specimen.

"In Pope I cannot read a line,
But with a sigh I wish it mine:
When he can in one couplet fix,
More sense than I can do in six:
It gives me such a jealous fit,
I cry, 'Pox take him, and his wit."

[o] Lord Orrery compares Swift, when occupied about these smaller pieces, to "an eagle that is sometimes chained, and at that particular time, for want of nobler, and more proper food, diverts his confinement, and appeases his hunger, by destroying the gnats, butter-flies, and other wretched insects, that unluckily happen to buz or flutter within his reach."—Remarks, &c. Letter X.

[p] Swift's disposition to trifling has called down the censure of some grave writers, and among the rest of Dr. Delany, who talks of his "detestable maxim, *vive la bagatelle*." I have already mentioned, in page 356, note i, the doctor's solemn remark upon Swift's inimitable romance of Gulliver; which will give the reader a distaste for his opinion of Swift's lighter pieces; in truth, no imputation of levity can be alleged against Swift upon the ground of these trifles; those who are charitably inclined, when they consider that he was subject to frequent visitations of a complaint, which must have interrupted the course of severer studies, will be induced rather to lament the occasion than condemn the practice: in fact, those pieces are in their nature mere innocent relaxations, and exhibit no symptoms of frivolity of mind. This is, moreover, confirmed by his letter to Lord Bolingbroke, dated 21st March 1728-9. —"I love *la bagatelle* better than ever: for finding it troublesome to read at night, and the company here growing tasteless, I am always writing bad prose or worse verses, either of rage or raillery, whereof some few escape to give offence, or mirth, and the rest are burnt:" and by his letter to the Rev. John Kendal, dated 11th February, 1691-2, wherein he writes as follows; "A person of great honour in Ireland (who was pleased to stoop so low as to look into my mind) used to tell me, that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give it employment."

Mr. Hazlitt has made some very ingenious remarks upon the subject of Swift's trifles, and his other lighter productions; I shall lay the following extract before the reader, which will not, I presume, require any apology.—"His occasional disposition to trifling was a relaxation from the excessive earnestness of his mind.—He endeavoured to escape from the persecution of realities, into the regions of fancy, and invented his Lilliputians and Brobdingnagnians, Yahoos, and Houyhnhnyms, as a diversion to the more painful knowledge of the world around him: they only made him laugh, while men and women made him angry. His feverish impatience made him view the infirmities of that great baby, the world, with the same scrutinizing glance, and jealous irritability, that a parent regards the failings of its offspring; but, as Rousseau has well observed, parents have not on this account been supposed to have more affection for other people's children than their own."

stanza of fourteen and sixteen syllable lines for Mary the Cook-maid to vent her budget of nothings, and for Mrs. Harris to gossip with the deaf old house-keeper." [5]

It is upon his prose works, [q] however, that Swift's claim to the dignity of a British classic of the first rank is chiefly founded. Amongst these, as it was to his poli-

[5] Hazlitt's Lectures, delivered at the Surrey Institution, page 218.

[q] There is no British classic whatsoever, whose works exhibit so great a variety as Swift's. Although most of his productions have been noticed in the preceding pages, under the dates of the years wherein they were respectively written, there are however three sorts of writings, which are to be found amongst his works, to which I have not before adverted, because they were produced at different times, and not at any one particular period of his life; these are, I. his Sermons; II. his Letters; and III. his Marginal Notes upon some literary productions of his own time, chiefly the Histories of Bishop Burnet and of Lord Clarendon.

I. Of Swift's Sermons twelve only are preserved, and those belie his own censure, that, from the time of his political controversies, "he could only preach pamphlets;"—"if," says Dr. Johnson, "judgment be made from those sermons which have been printed, this censure of himself was unreasonably severe."

Swift's Sermons are couched in that clear, simple, precise language, which distinguishes all his prose writings; they are addressed more to the understanding than to the passions; in this, and indeed in every other respect, they conform exactly to the rules laid down by himself in his "Letter to a Young Clergyman;" a few passages from that admirable treatise will serve the double purpose of describing the character of Swift's Sermons, and illustrating the nature of his religious opinions.

Simplicity, a quality, "without which," as he remarks, "no human performance can arrive at any great perfection," is earnestly recommended by him to others, and carefully attended to by himself.—"I know not how it comes to pass," he says, "that professors in mort arts and sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their meaning to those, who are not of their tribe: a common farmer shall make you understand in three words, that his foot is out of joint, or his collar bone broken; wherein a surgeon, after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a scholar, shall leave you to seek:" in conformity to this principle he enjoins, that no court should be paid to the passions.—"A plain convincing reason," he says, "may possibly operate upon the mind, both of a learned and ignorant hearer, as long as they live, and will edify a thousand times more than the art of wetting the handkerchiefs of a whole congregation.—As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching are, first to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so. The topics for both these are brought from scripture and reason.—If your arguments be strong; in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the subject will properly admit,—but beware of letting the pathetic part swallow up the rational; for I suppose philosophers have long agreed, that passion should never prevail over reason."

In another passage he says, "I do not find that you are any where directed in the canons or articles, to attempt explaining the mysteries of the christian religion; and, indeed, since Providence intended there should be mysteries, I don't see how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good sense, to go about such a work. For, to me, there seems a manifest dilemma in the case; if you explain them, they are mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no purpose;—neither is it strange, that there should be mysteries in divinity, as well as in the commonest operations of nature:—what I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this occasion, is, upon solemn days, to deliver the doctrine as the church holds it; and confirm it by scripture."—In his own sermon upon the Trinity, Swift has excellently well illustrated this precept.—"He advances," says lord Orrery, "every position that can be established upon so incomprehensible a subject. He sustains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith, as well as possible, to the human capacity."

Swift objected to the custom, so frequent, of preaching against atheism or deism, "because persons under those imputations are generally no great frequenters of churches, and so the congregation is but little edified for the sake of three or four fools, who are past grace."—"Ignorance and vice," says Swift, "are two ingredients absolutely necessary in the composition of those persons, called free-thinkers, who, in propriety of speech, are no thinkers at all.—In my judgment," he adds, "they are not to be reformed by arguments offered to prove the truth of the christian religion, because reasoning will never make a man correct an ill opinion, which by reasoning he never acquired,—neither do I think it any part of prudence to perplex the minds of well-disposed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their heads."

The Dean's discourses are not without a cast of his peculiar humour; his Sermon on Sleeping in Church is an instance; "If it did not," says Mr, Scott, "prove a lasting and effectual cure of the malady referred to, it must be allowed at least to have possessed the merit of a temporary remedy; since it is hardly possible to conceive that any one should indulge in slumber during the delivery."

Swift's political propensities break forth, occasionally, in some of these discourses; the Sermons "On the Martyrdom of Chas. I." "On the condition of Ireland," and "On Doing Good," approach near to the character of political essays; those "On Brotherly Love," and "On False Witness" have so much of party violence, as to render them not quite suitable to the sacred place from whence they were delivered: however, the first sermon, "On the Difficulty of Knowing One's-self," and the eleventh, "On the Wisdom of this World," are truly unexceptionable, and very admirable productions.

"Although the Sermons of Swift," says Mr. Scott, "are deficient in eloquence, and were lightly esteemed by their author, they must not be under-valued by the modern reader. They exhibit, in an eminent degree, that powerful grasp of intellect which distinguished the author above all his contemporaries. In no religious discourses can be found more sound good sense, more happy and forcible views of the immediate subject. The reasoning is not only irresistable, but managed in a mode so simple and clear, that its force is obvious to the most ordinary capacity. Upon all subjects of morality, the preacher maintains the character of a rigid and inflexible monitor; neither admitting apology for that which is wrong, nor softening the difficulty of adhering to that which is right; a stern stoicism of doctrine, that may fail in finding many converts, but leads to excellence in the few manly minds who dare to embrace it."

In like manner as the tract, entitled, "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, &c." displays the nature of Swift's political sentiments, his sermons, and his pamphlet, entitled, "Advice to a Young Clergyman," places his character as a christian divine in a true point of view; there is a passage in this latter tract which proves him free from bigotry, and shews that although he was a high-church divine he was not the less liberal, or the less a scholar.

"Before you enter into the common unsufferable cant of taking all occasions to disparage the heathen philosophers,, I hope you will differ from some of your brethren, by first enquiring what those philosophers can say for themselves. The system of morality to be gathered out of the writings or sayings of those ancient sages, falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel, and wants, besides, the divine sanction which our Saviour gave his.—But I am deceived, if a better

tical works he owed that influence and popularity which he enjoyed during his life, so it is to his exquisite moral satires, his Tale of a Tub, and his Voyages of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, that he is indebted for the extent and durability of his posthumous fame. Throughout his works he has given very different specimens both of

comment could be any where collected upon the moral part of the Gospel, than from the writings of those excellent men; even that divine precept of loving our enemies is at large insisted on by Plato, who puts it, as I remember, into the mouth of Socrates.—But the true misery of the heathen world appears to be, what I before mentioned, the want of a divine sanction, without which the dictates of philosophers failed in the point of authority; and consequently the bulk of mankind lay, indeed, under a great load of ignorance, even in the article of morality; but the philosophers themselves did not. Take the matter in this light, and it will afford field enough for a divine to enlarge on, by shewing the advantages which the christian world has over the heathen, and the absolute necessity of divine revelation, to make the knowledge of the true God, and the practice of virtue, more universal to the world.—I am not ignorant how much I differ in this opinion from some ancient fathers in the church, who, arguing against the heathens, made it a principal topic to decry their philosophy as much as they could.—But it is to be considered, that those fathers lived in the decline of literature; and in my judgment appear to be rather most excellent and holy persons, than of transcendent genius and learning."—In truth those over-zealous persons who deprecate the use of reason, and cry up religion in opposition to it, invalidate, as far as is in their power, the chief argument in favour of the truth of the Gospel, its internal evidence, or, in other words, its conformity to the genuine principles of sound reason.

II. Swift's familiar correspondence is a truly valuable part of his works. In general the letters of literary men are written under the impression that they may one day become public; which necessarily imposes a degree of restraint, that gives them an air of stiffness and formality, inconsistent with the freedom of intimate epistolary communication. Swift's letters are, however, as unconstrained as conversation itself. To the countess of Suffolk he says, that he never leaned on his elbow to consider what he should write, except when under the necessity of writing to fools, or lawyers, or ministers of state; but that when he addressed a person whom he esteemed, he was under no pain at all. Swift's letters resemble conversation, likewise, in the circumstance that they are exactly suited to the rank or character of the person he addresses; the degree of intimacy or affection, of confidence or restraint with which he was influenced, are clearly discernable in each.

The Journal to Stella has been already noticed. It is undoubtedly the most interesting part of Swift's correspondence. "It is as unconstrained," says Mr. Scott, "as conversation the most intimate and familiar, nearly as much so, indeed, as thought itself.—We meet here a curious and diverting mixture of the meanest and most common domestic details, with state secrets, court intrigues, and the fate of ministers.—This miscellaneous mode of writing is a warrant to the reader that he has the real sentiments of the author.—In short, it is a picture of the man, the author, and the politician."—Amongst the other parts of Swift's correspondence we meet an amusing, interesting, and instructive medley; the extremes of playfulness and seriousness, of affection and dislike, respect and contempt, indulgence and severity, are displayed in glowing colours, and exhibit, upon the whole, a greater variety than is to be found in the works of any one writer in any age or country.—Cicero's letters, as lord Bolingbroke remarks, were not written for the public, therefore they give us more pleasure than any which have come down to us from antiquity: when we read them, we pry into a secret that was intended to be kept from us: we see him and his intimates such as they really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of their own age took them to be, or as historians and poets have represented them to ours. A similar disparity is observable between Swift, as he appears in his correspondence with his friends, and as he is represented by his biographers.

Amongst Swift's letters, those addressed to Dr. John Evans, bishop of Meath; to lady Santry, Vol. XVIII. page 364; to an Esquire, Vol. XVII. page 311, may serve as specimens of the severe and contemptuous. Those to Stella; to Mrs. Pratt, Vol. XVII. page 6; to Miss Hoadly, Vol. XVIII. page 261; to Mr. Blachford, Vol. XVIII. page 299, of the playful and indulgent. His letter to lord Oxford, on the death of his daughter, Vol. XVI. page 101, and that to Mrs. Moore on a similar occasion, Vol. XVII. page 198, shew with what feeling, and yet judicious terms, he could address his friends when visited by calamity: that to lord Oxford is perhaps one of the most ingeniously consoling letters of which we have any where an example: the letters addressed by him to the same nobleman, when in disgrace, are expressive of the liveliest, and consequently, being written at that period, the most disinterested friendship.—His letter to lord Palmerstown, Vol. XVII. page 63, is a master-piece in its way.

III. The last edition of Swift's works has been augmented by an addition of matter very singular in its nature, and which, if rightly estimated, is of considerable value; I allude to the manuscript notes on lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times; Mackay's Characters; and Addison's Freeholder.

Whatever may be said of Swift's other works, it is certain that these memoranda were not intended for publication; a circumstance from which they derive no small degree of value: we are sure that we have his own private opinion of the events, and of the characters of the persons to whom he alludes: we ought not, however, to judge of these notes as of a literary performance, but as of a matter of which we had attained the sight, but which was intended should be kept from us.

As we cannot doubt but that Swift's real sentiments are here expressed, so neither can we question his power of comprehending, or his ability in delineating the true characters of those persons. "You have a desperate hand," so Pope writes to him in his letter of 9th Oct. 1729, "at dashing out a character by great strokes, and, at the same time, a delicate one at fine touches. God forbid you should draw mine if I were conscious of any guilt: but if I were conscious only of folly, God send it! for as nobody can detect a great fault so well as you, nobody would so well hide a small one."—The slight sketches which are tricked off by Swift in the margins of these volumes, are probably more faithful representations than the more finished portraits which the works themselves present; the likenesses are less flattering, but they are not, therefore, less true.

Mr. Walter Scott, in his preface to Swift's "Remarks upon Lord Clarendon's History," notices, "The ludicrous virulence of his execrations against the Scottish nation," which he says "go a great way to remove the effect of his censure; and a native of Scotland may be justified in retaining them were it but for that reason." Upon this passage I have to remark, 1st, that Swift's censure being private, it was not intended to have any effect; for the consequence of publication he is nowise answerable; and indeed Mr. Scott's way of arguing appears very strange when it is considered. A native of Scotland, he says, may be justified in retaining, that is, in publishing, those remarks, were it but for the purpose of removing the effect, which effect would never have been produced but for publication; moreover, Swift's execrations are given by the publisher, because they are, as he apprehends, ludicrous; and, therefore, he is gibbetted for the crime committed by the person who undertakes to be his executioner.—2dly, When we consider these remarks as expressions of private feelings, they cease to be in any respect ludicrous; on the contrary, they are honest exclamations of abhorrence of an act the most perfidious that did ever disgrace the annals of mankind; every one feels the same detestation of that treachery and treason, which Swift truly says

sentiments and expression.[r] His first production, the Tale of a Tub, exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and a vivacity of diction, such as he never afterwards exerted. In his later prose works there is an equable flow of easy language; purity and simplicity is their predominant character: his few metaphors seem to be received rather of necessity than of choice.[s] "His sen-

"were the chief grounds and causes of that execrable rebellion."

These remarks by Swift tend to a purpose which is not unimportant, they furnish to us unquestionable proofs of his loyalty.

I shall illustrate what I have here said by an example from the notes themselves. Lord Clarendon writes; "upon the payment of 200,000*l.* in hand, and security for as much more, upon days agreed upon, the Scots delivered the King up."—Swift writes in the margin,—"Cursed Scot! sold his King for a groat. Hellish Scot!" And again in the same page, "from this period the English parliament were turned into Scotch devils."

Although lord Clarendon was sincerely attached to his sovereign, he has not allowed to the Irish, who alone, of the three nations, testified, upon this occasion, any symptoms of loyalty, the credit they justly merited.—As Sir Charles Wogan says, in his letter to Swift, dated 27th Feb. 1732-3, "except the marquesses of Ormond and Clanricard, the rest of the Irish, according to Clarendon, were a horrid compound of stupidity and barbarism;—yet, if the privy council of King Charles the first had been as wise, or as honest as the supreme council of Kilkenny, he had never been engaged to divest himself of his own will and prerogative—he had never been sold by one people, or beheaded by another, who had nothing but treason in their hearts, and cant in their religion."

Besides these marginal notes by Swift, which have been published, there are other volumes extant, illustrated by him in the same way. Mr. Nichols informs us that there was, in the library of the late marquis of Lansdowne, the deans copy of Herbert's "History of Henry VIII." and also his copy of bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation;" I have mentioned before, in page 275, note k, that I became accidentally possessed of a volume which contains in the margin a very considerable number of Swift's manuscript notes.

[r] The variety that prevails throughout the works of Swift occasions, that none of the general descriptions of his style are applicable to every one of his productions. The following character, which is sketched by the masterly pen of Dr. Samuel Johnson is very admirable, but it labours under the imperfection above alluded to.

"Swift's style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilised by nice disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far-sought learning. He pays no court to the passions; he excites neither surprise nor admiration; he always understands himself; and his readers always understand him: the peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge; it will be sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and common things; he is neither required to mount elevations, nor to explore profundities; his passage is always on a level, along solid ground, without asperities, without obstructions."

Dr. Hugh Blair has given, in his Lectures on Rhetorick, a character of Swift, which, although liable to the same objections, merits insertion.

"Dean Swift may be placed at the head of those that have employed the plain style. Few writers have discovered more capacity. He treats every subject which he handles, whether serious or ludicrous, in a masterly manner. He knew, almost beyond any man, the purity, the extent, the precision of the English language, and therefore, to such as wish to attain a pure and correct style, he is one of the most useful models. But we must not look for much ornament and grace in his language. His haugty and morose genius made him despise any embellishment of this kind as beneath his dignity. He delivers his sentuments in a plain, downright, positive manner, like one who is sure he is in the right, and is very indifferent whether you be pleased or not. His sentences are commonly negligently arranged; distinctly enough as to the sense; but without any regard to smoothness of sound; often without much regard to compactness or elegance. If a metaphor, or any other figure, chanced to make his satire more poignant, he would, perhaps, vouchsafe to adopt it, when it came in his way; but if it tended only to embellish and illustrate, he would rather throw it aside. Hence, in his serious pieces, his style often borders upon the dry and unpleasing; in his humorous ones, the plainness of his manner gives his wit a singular edge, and sets it off to the highest advantage. There is no froth nor affectation in it; it flows without any studied preparation; and whilst he hardly appears to smile himself, he makes his reader laugh heartily. To a writer of such a genius as Dean Swift, the plain style was most admirably fitted."—These observations, it must be allowed, are, upon the whole, judicious; I think, however, that the writer attributes to a wrong cause, Swift's disregard of metaphorical embellishment; he rejected it, I apprehend, more from a conviction of its inefficacy, than from any haughtiness or moroseness of character; such a feeling, if it had any effect, would have inclined him as much to the rejection of humour, which was certainly more contradictory to a haughty and morose disposition.

Lord Orrery displays a more than ordinary degree of intelligence in his remarks upon Swift's difference of manner in his several pieces; which he observes to vary, according to the rank in life and degree of intellect of the persons addressed. His miscellaneous pieces, addressed to his companions and humble followers, are "written in an easy, although not in a careless manner.—His more exalted friends are treated in a different style; and you will perceive a real dignity, and a most delicate kind of wit in all his poems to lord Oxford, Peterborow, Carteret, &c."—"I think," he adds, "I can discern a third kind of style in his poems addressed to Mr. Pope, Mr. Gay, Dr. Delany, and Dr. Young; when he writes to them there is a mixture of ease, dignity, familiarity and affection."

[s] Mr. Melmoth says that Swift has this peculiarity, not to have one metaphor in his works.—Fitzosborne's Letters, Vol. II.—Dr. Warton reports, that Dr. Johnson, speaking of the simplicity of Swift's style, said once to him, "the rogue never hazards a simile."—These remarks of those vastly learned persons shew that they had but very slight knowledge of Swift's works: the observation is indeed true when applied to particular pieces, but given in the general way which it is here stated, it is altogether a false position. There would be no end of quoting instances to the contrary; I shall, therefore, mention only the Tale of a Tub and the South Sea Project, as works abounding in similies: the Progress of Beauty, the Progress of Poetry, the Progress of Marriage, the Rhapsody on Poetry, the Advice to a Young Poet likewise furnish instances; the Simile on the Want of Silver is a very perfect thing of the kind; and his lines on the burning a dull poem, shew, that when Swift rejected this sort of embellishment, it was through choice, not from necessity. I think the comparison, in the following lines, between the frigid poem and that cold poisonous juice, which, as it was fabled, could be preserved only in an ass's hoof, is well imagined.

"An ass's hoof alone can hold
That pois'nous juice, which kills by cold.
Methought, when I this poem read,
No vessel but an ass's head
Such frigid fustian could contain;
I mean the head without the brain.

tences are never too much dilated or contracted;[t] and it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence in his connections, or abruptness in his transitions."[6u]

"As an author," says Mr. Scott, "there are three peculiarities remarkable in the character of Swift.[v] The first of these has been rarely conceded to an author, at least by his contemporaries: it is the distinguishing attribute of ORIGINALITY,[w] and it cannot be refused to Swift by the most severe critic. Even Johnson has allowed that perhaps no author can be found who has borrowed so little, or has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original. There was indeed nothing written before his time which could serve for his model, and the few hints which he has adopted from other authors bear no more resemblance to his compositions than the green flax to the cable which is formed from it.

"The second peculiarity is his total indifference to literary fame.[x] Swift executed his various and numerous works as a carpenter forms wedges, mallets, or other implements of his art, not with the purpose of distinguishing himself by the workmanship bestowed on the tools themselves, but solely in order to render them fit for accomplishing a certain purpose, beyond which they were of no value in his eyes. The careless mode in which Swift suffered his works to get to the public, his refusing them the credit of his name, and his renouncing all connection with the profits of literature, indicate his disdain of the character of a professional author.

[s] Johnson's Life of Swift.

> The cold conceits, the chilling thoughts,
> Went down like stupifying draughts:
> I found my head begin to swim;
> A numbness crept through every limb."

In truth, the pedestrian muse was Swift's choice, as it was Horace's; he occasionally displays some lines, which, like those of the latter poet, commencing, *Postquam discordia tetra, &c.* shew his capacity for a higher kind of poetry, had he thought proper to cultivate it. The passages which have already been quoted from the Rhapsody on Poetry, the Legion Club, and the Epistle to Mr. Gay, will sufficiently prove that this conjecture is not ill founded. See pages 231, 398, 417.

The observations above referred to, recal to my mind the following passage of lord Bathurst's letter to Swift, dated 9th Sept. 1730; the objections which this nobleman humorously urges against the Dean's works, have a great resemblance to those more solemn ones, insinuated by the graver critics above mentioned: "There is no wit in any of your tracts; I have read them all over, and do not remember any of those pretty flowers, those just antitheses, which one meets with so frequently in the French writers; none of those clever turns upon words, none of those pretty similies which some of our modern authors adorn their works with, that are not only a little like the thing they would illustrate, but are also like twenty other things. In short, as often as I have read any of your tracts, I have been so tired with them, that I have never been easy till I got to the end of them. I have found my brain heated, my imagination fired, just as if I was drunk, &c."

[t] The clearness, perspicuity, and conciseness of Swift's style was, as I have before observed, eminently indicative of the character of his mind; Dr. Delany illustrates it by comparing it to a right line, "which, as it is the plainest, simplest, and easiest to be comprehended by the eye, is at the same time, the shortest that can be drawn between any two points."

[u] "On the subjects to which he confines himself," says the Edinburgh Reviewer, "he is unquestionably a strong, masculine, and perspicuous writer. He is never finical, fantastic, or absurd—takes no advantage of equivocations in argument—and puts on no tawdriness for ornament." No. LIII. p. *55*.

[v] It is a general characteristic of all Swift's writings, that he maintains the most undeviating attention to the point at issue.—What Mr. Cambridge observes of the Battle of the Books is true of all his other works; no one episode or allusion is introduced for its own sake, but every part appears not only consistent with, but written for the express purpose of strengthening and supporting the whole. Scott's Life of Swift, p. 498.

[w] Swift prided himself not a little upon this quality; he makes Apollo to pronounce of him, as one

> "Who admires the ancients, and knows 'tis their due,
> Yet writes in a manner entirely new;
> Though none with more ease their depths can explore,
> Yet whatever he wants he takes from my store:"

And again, in the lines upon his own death,

> "To steal a hint was never known,
> But what he writ was all his own."

[x] This indifference was manifested, not only at their first appearance, when he gave them to the world without the credit of his name, but even when they had procured for him the highest degree of credit and popularity. Thus he renounced to Pope the publication of the Miscellanies, and, although frequently solicited, could never be persuaded to revise, or prepare for the press, any edition or selection of his works; although, by closing with such a plan, he would have an opportunity of discarding such as had been attributed to him, and which did not do credit to his fame. Dr. Delany says that he so little regarded the esteem and applause he had acquired by his Drapier's Letters, that he often heard him express a wish, "that another person, who he thought pretended to some rivalship of wit with him, had been the author of them. The praise which attended those little performances, he said, would make that gentleman very happy."—A letter of Swift's to Mr. Pulteney, dated 12th May 1735, confirms the truth of what has been often alleged, that he never made profit of his works. "I never got a farthing for any thing I writ except once, about eight years ago, and that by Mr. Pope's prudent management for me."—This probably alludes to Gulliver's Travels, for which Pope obtained 300*l*.

"The third distinguishing mark of Swift's literary character is, that, with the exception of history,[y] he has never attempted any style of composition in which he has not obtained a distinguished pitch of excellence. We may often think the immediate mode of exercising his talents trifling, and sometimes coarse and offensive; but his Anglo-latin verses, his riddles, his indelicate descriptions,[z] and his violent political satires,[a] are, in their various departments, as excellent as the subjects admitted, and only leave us room occasionally to regret that so much talent was not uniformly employed upon nobler topics."[7]

It was, however, in the art of verisimilitude, the power of sustaining a fictitious character under every peculiarity of place and circumstance, that Swift excelled all writers, ancient or modern: "He possessed," says Mr. Scott, "in the highest perfection, the wonderful power of so embodying and imaging forth 'the shadowy tribes of mind,' that the fiction of the imagination is received by the reader as if it were truth.—He seems, like the Persian Dervise, to have possessed the faculty of transfusing his own soul into the body of any one whom he selected; of seeing with his eyes, employing every organ of his sense, and even becoming master of the powers of his judgment. Lemuel Gulliver the traveller, Isaac Bickerstaff the astrologer, the Frenchman who writes the new Journey to Paris, Mrs. Harris, Mary the Cook-maid, &c. are all persons as distinct from each other, as they are in appearance from the Dean of St. Patrick's. Each maintains his own character, moves in his own sphere, and is struck with those circumstances which his situation of life, or habits of thinking, have rendered most interesting to him as an individual."[8]—This talent, exercised as it is by Swift, is directly opposite to that quality of the mind denominated abstraction. The difference is particularly well

[7] Life of Swift, page 487, &c.

[8] Life of Swift, page 493 and 496.

[y] "As an historian, Swift is entitled to little notice. The History of England is an abridgment, written evidently in imitation of Paterculus, but without those advantages in point of information which render the Latin author valuable."—Scott's Life of Swift, page 492.—Upon the History of the four last years of Queen Anne, lord Orrery remarks, that "the title of a history is too pompous for such a performance. In the historical style it wants dignity and candour; but as a pamphlet, it will appear the best defence of lord Oxford's administration, and the clearest account of the treaty of Utrecht that has hitherto been written."

[z] I have attempted, in another part of this volume, (see page 381, &c.) to defend Swift from the objections urged against him on account of his grosser pieces. It may be said, generally, that they were written for a certain purpose, and in their way were eminently useful; they had the full effect which it was designed by the author they should produce; even lord Orrery, who is seldom guilty of commending Swift, remarks, "that his humour, delightful in many instances, was salutary, even where it was most offensive."—Again he says, "The subjects of his poems are often nauseous, and the performances beautifully disagreeable."—And upon another occasion: "He preferred caustics, which corrode proud flesh, to softer balsamics, which give more immediate ease—he aimed to be severely useful, rather than politely engaging."

These pieces were no doubt imprudent publications for a man desirous of literary fame; but this was a matter which Swift never proposed to himself: to account for them in the manner that Mr. Scott and some others have done, by attributing them to incipient disease, is quite ludicrous. If we allege, as a proof that Swift delighted in filth, that in his works he satirizes impurities of this sort, by drawing disgusting images, we may as well say, that he had an inclination towards any other vice he disclaims against: nay, it will even follow that his predilection is greater, in proportion as his satire is more vehement.

[a] The Edinburgh Reviewers make the following remarks on Swift's satirical pieces:—"Their chief peculiarity is, that they were almost all what may be called occasional productions—not written for fame or for posterity—but on the spur of the occasion—for promoting some temporary or immediate object, and producing a practical effect, in the attainment of which their whole importance centered:—and it is no small proof of the vigour and vivacity of his genius, that posterity should have been so anxious to preserve these careless and hasty productions, upon which their author appears to have set no other value than as means for the attainment of an end. The truth is, accordingly, that they are very extraordinary performances; and, considered with a view to the purposes for which they were intended, have probably never been equalled in any period of the world. They are written with great plainness, force and intrepidity—advance at once to the matter in dispute—give battle to the strength of the enemy, and never seek any kind of advantage from darkness or obscurity. Their distinguishing feature is the force and vehemence of the invective in which they abound; the copiousness, the steadiness, the perseverance, and the dexterity with which abuse and ridicule are showered upon the adversary. This was, beyond all doubt, Swift's great talent, and the weapon by which he made himself formidable." No. LIII. page 44.

It may be generally remarked of Swift, that, in his satirical writings, he dealt more in punishments than rewards. The same reviewers, pertinently enough, but with more than sufficient savouring of severity, observe, that "we learn from them to dread the consequences of base actions, but never to love the feelings that lead to generous ones." Their effect upon "the public mind," says Mr. Scott, "while they had all the raciness of fresh and current personal satire, may be guessed by the amusement which they continue to afford the reader when many inuendoes are lost, and others can only be understood through the labour of the commentator."

illustrated in the admirable romance of Gulliver, and in this consists the difference between it and all other Utopian fables. The authors of these latter have given us abstract notions of laws and governments; information of a mere general nature; nothing individual, either in person, or circumstance, or event: Swift, however, goes beyond all others in this respect; he clothes the abstract idea of a peculiar description of people with all the circumstances and incidents of actual existence: thus is the deluded reader held by magic chains; the picture is so entirely filled with individual representation, that, for the time, he believes it true; nor is he awakened from the trance by any distortion in the proportions, which are all surprisingly well preserved throughout the whole narrative.

Before I conclude this memoir,[b] I shall insert the emphatic words of the ingenious and learned Dr. Grainger, who has, with the skill of a master, sketched, in a few lines, the truest portrait of Swift that has been ever yet delineated.

> "Her end when Emulation misses,
> She turns to envy, stings and hisses:
> The strongest friendship yields to pride,
> Unless the odds be on our side."

[b] Before I close this memoir, it will be necessary to say something of Swift's biographers, and of the different editions of his works which have hitherto appeared.

As it would extend this note beyond all reasonable bounds were I to notice every work which has treated of the life, character and writings of this remarkable man, I shall, therefore, confine myself to those critics and biographers whom learning, critical skill, or intimate acquaintance with the subject of this memoir himself, may entitle to a pre-eminence of rank among writers of that class.

The first work which appeared after the Dean's death was entitled, "Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift, &c. in a series of letters from John, Earl of Orrery, to his son, the Hon. Hamilton Boyle." Lond. 1751, 8vo.

It has baffled conjecture to account, satisfactorily, why this noble peer treated in such a cruel manner the memory of his *friend* Swift, whose private character he has traduced, whose public fame he has depreciated, whose best actions he has placed in the worst possible light, "turning his very virtues into pitch." Sheridan, in his Introduction, endeavours to account for this proceeding; and supposes that, being stigmatized as a blockhead by that clause of his father's will which bequeathed his library from him, he felt anxious to wipe away the stain, and, by publication of some work, convince the world of the injustice done him: conscious, however, of his want of genius to produce any thing original, forestalled by Melmoth in his long meditated translation of Pliny's Letters, he looked out for some other way, by which he might acquire literary reputation; and, finding no field so suited to his talents as that of criticism, "Since to make a figure there required neither 'genius nor deep learning,' he formed the resolution of giving to the world his Remarks upon the Life and Writings of his illustrious countryman."—To acquire celebrity as an author being therefore his lordship's chief object, and, judging that satire was more likely to succeed in this way than panegyric, he resolutely determined to sacrifice truth, justice, honour and humanity, whenever they should come in competition with this great object of his ambition. This account by Sheridan is perhaps not inaccurate; but other reasons may likewise be adduced. In truth, pride was a chief ingredient in the composition of this unamiable nobleman; to which was united a quality seemingly contradictory—a faculty of condescending to the meanness even of flattery, if it was necessary for the purpose of serving the ends of his ambition. Thus, he courted Swift when alive, and even condescended, by awkward gambols, to imitate his playfulness of style, (see Swift's Works, Vol. XVIII. page 390;) but, as soon as he was dead, he took ample revenge by the publication of this libel, both for the court which he had been constrained to pay, and for the coldness with which that court had been received.

But, although it may be difficult to account for so extraordinary a phenomenon as intense hatred and malevolence in a work written by a professed friend, it is easy to account for the rapid sale of the work itself. To that spirit of envy, which pervades the breasts of all the meaner sort of mankind, it was a grateful sight to behold superior talents thus degraded, and brought down to a level with their own.—Moreover, Swift had been the great champion of the Tories: the majority of the nation, and all persons then in power, were of the opposite faction; "and, although his mortal part was extinguished by death, his immortal works still continued to wage with them a living war." It may be easily imagined how great a satisfaction the prostration of so powerful an adversary must have given to that party.—"Neither," as Sheridan remarks, "was it the least cause of its success, that it had the then unusual quality of being written by a peer."

"The applause which lord Orrery received was limited to the *great mass of vulgar* among his contemporaries in England: from the *few* of superior discernment there he incurred severe censure. In Ireland, indeed, his work excited indignation almost universal: to calumniate Swift was, by that nation, esteemed little less than sacrilege; and the rage of the people was such, that it vented itself upon the printer of the work, who was for a long time the object of public odium."–Sheridan's Introduction.—Such was his success with his contemporaries. By the universal suffrage, however, of all succeeding ages, his work has been deservedly stigmatized as a monstrous production of pedantry, ignorance and malevolence.

Amongst those persons of superior discernment, to whom, as I have said, lord Orrery's work appeared censurable, Dr. Warburton has distinguished himself by expressions of remarkable dissatisfaction. Mr. Nicholson informs us (Lit. Anecd. Vol. II. page 232, note *) that there is a copy of lord Orrery's letters, with Mr. Warburton's free animadversions upon them, in Hartlebury library; the tendency of them may be guessed from the following passages of his letters to Dr. Hurd:—

"Learn to write like lord Orrery, whose impression of letters concerning Swift was all sold in a day's time, and you will have readers enough. It is full of beauties of all kinds. His characters of men is not the least. Ramus, Thomas Aquinus, and Descartes, were thought by Hooker, Grotius and Locke, to be three great original geniuses; but his lordship has discovered they were a set of asses. Nor should his great improvements in astronomy be overlooked. He calculates the return of comets to the greatest minuteness. But the imperial flower of speech, the sovereign of this grove of delights, is what the French call *galimatias*.—But, seriously, what would this noble lord say of his enemies, when he draws so charming a picture of *diablerie* from his friend?—yet he himself told me he pursued that friendship so sedulously, that he suffered numberless indignities from Swift, before he could be admitted to any degree of familiarity. Perhaps then he but takes his revenge in this representation; which, however, I believe a true one. But it seems a strange office in a friend to acquaint the

" Jonathan Swift was blessed, in a higher degree than any of his contemporaries, with the powers of a creative genius. The more we dwell upon the character and writings of this great man, the more they improve upon us: in whatever light we view him, he still appears to be an original. His wit, his humour, his

public with such truths."—Dr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, Nov. 18, 1751.—" As great a critic as you are, I believe your patience would not suffer you to read those detestable letters on poor Swift, in such a manner as to discover the hundredth part of the offences against common sense and science, that may be met with in them!"—Ibid. Dec. 29.—" Don't you think that age in want of a little truth and sense, which gave credit to the bottle-man, and applauses to Orrery's Letters, of which the bookseller told me he has sold twelve thousand?"—Ibid. Dec. 10, 1754.

The Earl was, in fact, remarkably ill-calculated to be the biographer of Swift; and of this, without going farther, " the scantiness of original matter, not making a sixth part of the volume," furnishes sufficient proof: the rest of his work is " a medley of impertinences eked out from his common-place-book, to shew his learning."—Sheridan's Introduction.—He was, moreover, totally insensible to the humour of Swift: this is sufficiently evident from the manner in which he bestows censure and praise, which is proportioned, not to the intrinsic merit of the performance, but to his own dull conceptions, which lead him to applaud the most coarse and vulgar specimens, rather than the most refined and polished.—See page 348 of this volume, note v.

But a further objection is imputable to this peer, and that is one under which all his biographers have laboured, Dr. Delany perhaps excepted, viz. that he knew him only in the last state of his existence—he never saw him but in his decline. To form a just estimate of what Swift was, when his mind and body were in their most perfect state, we must have recourse to his own works written at that period of time, or to those of his contemporaries, or to their familiar letters. Instead of a morose, intractable, rude and ill-natured man, we shall there find him celebrated as frequently for his good-nature as his wit. But Pope's petition in his Universal Prayer, " Teach me to hide the faults I see," had no place in lord Orrery's devotions. He seems never to have read, or at least not regarded, the two following lines addressed by Dryden to Congreve:

> " Be kind to my remains; and oh! defend
> Against your judgment, your departed friend."

Neither did he heed much the following passage in Pope's letter to himself, relative to the subject of this memoir: " My sincere love for this valuable, indeed, incomparable man, will accompany him through life, and pursue his memory, were I to live an hundred lives, as many of his works will live; which are absolutely original, unequalled, unexampled. His humanity, his charity, his condescension, his candour, are equal to his wit; and require as good and true a taste, to be equally valued."

Mr. Walter Scott remarks, with becoming severity, upon the indelicate manner in which lord Orrery has recorded the Dean's minutest failings, " which," he observes, " is not only inconsistent with the friendship and deference which Orrery affected during his life, but, in many cases, deviates into inaccuracy and exaggeration, and exceeds even the privilege of attack which might have been permitted to a professed but liberal enemy."—Scott's Life of Swift, page 452.

" When you behold the Doctor in his own writings," says Mr. Deane Swift, " there indeed you find him in a thousand different attitudes agreeable to the dignity of his character; but when you behold him in the ' Remarks,' you see him in all the variety of caricatura.—In short, the Æneis of Virgil, and the Æneas of Charles Cotton, bear exactly the same resemblance to each other, as the Doctor in his own writings, and the Doctor in those whimsical remarks."

Dr. Johnson was well acquainted with lord Orrery; he describes him as a feeble-minded man, and relates a curious incident in proof of it; " that, on the publication of Dr. Delany's Remarks on his book, he was so much alarmed that he was afraid to read them. Dr. Johnson comforted him, by telling him they were both in the right; that Delany had seen most of the good side of Swift, lord Orrery most of the bad."—The learned Doctor could well excuse such conduct, when it conformed to his own prejudices; but his remark upon lord Hailes proves the flexibility of his principles. Dr. Johnson professed himself not well pleased with him for publishing only such memorials and letters as were unfavourable to the Stuart family: " If (said he) a man fairly warns you, ' I am to give all the ill; do you find the good;' he may: but if the object which he professes be to give a view of a reign, let him tell all the truth." This objection applies with much greater force against lord Orrery than lord Hailes: Orrery was the friend of Swift; he ought therefore to have told all the good he knew.—See Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3d edition, pp. 240. 258, &c.

In the year 1752, two letters appeared, " From a Gentleman in the Country, to his Son in the College of Dublin, relating to the Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's; ascribed to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Orrery." In the next year two more letters, by the same author, were printed; and at the end of these last, the publication of a fifth and sixth was announced. I am possessed of a copy of the first four letters, but have not seen the last two, which, I presume, were never published.

These letters contain a severe satire upon lord Orrery's work; his style, too, is humorously burlesqued; the writer's manner of addressing his " Dear Bob" has a near resemblance to that of his lordship to his " Dear Ham." In the first letter the author affects to be ignorant of the contents of lord Orrery's publication; he chides his son for having neglected to transmit it to him, and pretends to conjecture that it will contain a panegyric upon Swift. " His lordship's relation to, and connexion with Ireland, are the same as mine; I cannot then doubt of his attachment to Ireland, and the friends thereof, being the same also; and from thence have just reason to conclude that his regard for the memory of that patriot is at least equal to mine. But I must observe to you, that his lordship is under much stronger personal obligations to regard his memory than I am. My acquaintance with the Dean of St. Patrick's was but slight; his was an intimate friendship, which he was not singular in considering as an honour to him. With what pleasure then do I felicitate Dr. Swift, upon his leaving behind him such a friend, to assert his merits, to be the recorder and guardian of his fame, to vindicate his character from the misapprehensions of the ignorant, and the misapplications of the malevolent; to cover from the attacks, or, if possible, to hide from the view of his enemies, the weaker and less defensible parts; in short, to set forth his virtues in the most advantageous lights, and over his infirmities to spread a veil!"—

" Whatever some people may have thought, the real character of Swift was benevolence—that of a misanthrope, believe me, dear Bob, was only assumed by himself upon some occasions, or imposed upon him by others, who, not meaning half so well as he did, wilfully misrepresented his meaning, or ignorantly mistook it. For, although, to mortify the pride and vanity of those who seemed to place the excellence of their nature in external beauty and dress, and to expose the follies and vices too generally prevailing among mankind, he has, in some of his writings, made free with the human species, he had yet great tenderness for the individuals thereof."—

" If then benevolence was the real character of Swift, what friend of Ireland, what friend of mankind, would not be grieved at seeing the infirmities of such a man ever become the subject of malevolent criticism; or would not be filled with indigna-

patriotism, his charity, and even his piety, were of a different cast from those of other men. He had, in his virtues, few equals; and, in his talents, no superior. In that of humour, and more especially in irony, he ever was, and probably ever will be, unrivalled. He did the highest honour to his country, by his parts; and was

tion at beholding any officious hand, under the pretence of adorning his grave, spreading nettles thereon, instead of flowers? But if any enemy to this country in particular, or to mankind in general, if any personal enemy to the Dean himself, if any foreigner, out of envy to Ireland, for having given birth to such a genius, or to England, for having nurtured him in his infancy, and for having possessed him so long in his maturity, should at any time take it into his head to insult the memory of so great a man, by exposing his infirmities to public view, infirmities which may be compared to those weeds which are aptest to grow in the richest soil; in that case, I have the comfort of thinking, that he can never want an apologist while ORRERY lives."—

"For what is there great, splendid, and generous, that I may not hope from so illustrious an advocate, from a nobleman and a friend, from one who hath placed before his eyes the benevolent Pliny as a bright example, as a model of friendship the most perfect, and consequently the most worthy of his imitation; who seems, indeed, if I may venture to use the expression, by a kind of Pythagorean charm, to have transfused the very soul of that generous Roman into himself!"

The writer continues a similar strain of irony throughout the subsequent letters. In the second he pretends to have just then received lord Orrery's publication; he affects, however, to disbelieve that it was his work: "Let me tell you, that the Right Hon. theEarl of Orrery .neither was, nor could be, the author of those Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, which have hitherto passed under his name. This may seem a very surprising paradox to you and other unexperienced young fellows, unacquainted with the arts of booksellers; with whom it is customary, not only to introduce, under the sanction of one great name or other, some spurious production to the notice and favour of the public, but often also to fix their choice for this purpose upon some eminent person, from whom that kind of production is least expected, in order to excite the greater curiosity."

In this manner the author conveys, under a mock defence, a real satire. One of his artifices is, to quote from the earl's translation of Pliny such passages as are expressive of principles most at variance with his lordship's practice; these he affects to consider as so many irrefragable proofs that his lordship was not the author of the work attributed to him. He afterwards pretends to have discovered the real author; he gives the title of a book, which is, I presume, fictitious, "Sandfordiana Hibernica, by Owen Kull, of Ireland, Vol. I. Kinnard, printed by H. Macquaid, 1749." This piece, and the Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, he supposes derived their existence from one and the same author:—"The absurdities and solecisms, which I had observed in the one, were extremely like those which occurred in the other. Puerile introductions of gods and goddesses upon every occasion, and vain affectations of mythological learning, which seemed to constitute the greater part of Mr. Kull's historical knowledge, equally glared in both. But, above all, I thought I could perceive, through the several ill-natured reflections in each, the wanton sportings of the same malevolent spirit: and what particularly struck me was the same mockery in both upon all moralism, the pretended usefulness of exposing to others the infirmities of this or that person in private life, &c."

It must be allowed that this plan of attack was well imagined; it is not, however, all throughout, well executed.

Soon after the publication of Lord Orrery's "Remarks," there appeared a work by way of answer, entitled, "Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks, &c. in a series of Letters to his Lordship." To this volume was annexed the fictitious signature of J. R.; it is, however, well known to have been the work of Dr. Delany.

In this tract, the Doctor, (who was an intimate friend of Swift), refuted some of the peer's assertions; but time, by bringing many hidden things to light, has disproved many others. It is remarked by Sheridan, that lord Orrery's work, although poorly written, went through many editions, whereas this single one of the answer, "incomparably superior in every thing which can recommend writings of that kind," remained, till his time, unsold.

From Delany's manner, we may plainly discover that he was influenced by fear of the high rank and consequence of his antagonist; and indeed the tenor of lord Orrery's work sufficiently proves, that he was capable of imagining and executing a deep revenge: this seems to be the only motive he could have had for writing under a fictitious name. His opinion of the earl appears however pretty manifest, from some passages of this answer. I shall quote the following paragraph, which if it be not pointed at the peer, it must be allowed, at least, that it is remarkably applicable to him. Speaking of Swift's good qualities, he says, "they will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever *petulant ignorance*, *pride*, *malice*, *malignity*, *or envy* interpose, to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce, that the eclipse will not last long."—Observations, &c. Letter XX.

Dr. Delany was ill suited to be the apologist of Swift; he has shewn that he was insensible to his humour, and incapable of appreciating the merit of his best works. See page 356, note i, and page 429, note p, of this volume.

Mr. Deane Swift was by no means satisfied with Dr. Delany's work, who, he thinks, advances many things discreditable to the memory of Swift: in truth Mr. Swift hated him, because he abused the Dean's relations, who, he said, tried to monopolize him. Delany is alluded to in that passage which refers to the crime of "devouring widows houses," and, "by the most hellish and abominable of all iniquitous contrivances, cheating whole families out of their lawful hereditary possessions."—See Deane Swift's Essay, page 32, Dub. Edit.

Dr. Delany's work was followed by another, by Deane Swift, Esq. published in 1755, and entitled, "An Essay upon the Life, Writings and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift." This gentleman was a near relation of the Dean's: "From that circumstance," says Sheridan, "it excited some expectation at first, which was soon succeeded by disappointment, and the work consigned to oblivion."—Sheridan's Introduction.—The writer appears to be a very silly, conceited person, and his work seems to be intended rather to usher forth himself and his family, as the Dean's relatives, than to throw any light on the history or character of Swift.

This gentleman was the grandson of Swift's eldest uncle, Godwin Swift; he was, of consequence, representative of that family; he inherited a portion of their ancient possessions at Goodrich, in Herefordshire, which he transmitted to his son Theophilus: the name of Deane was derived from his great-grandfather, Admiral Deane, one of the regicides, who, as Swift remarks, had the good fortune to save his neck by "dying a year or two before the restoration." In Swift's works we find a letter addressed by him to Alexander Pope, recommending Mr. Deane Swift, whom he calls "the most valuable of any of his family:" this, however, implied no great compliment. In his letter to Lady Betty Germain, written 5th May 1735, he says, "I have kindred enough, but not a grain of merit among them, except one female, who is the only cousin I suffer to see me:" this cousin was Mrs. Whiteway. Mr. Deane Swift was for some time a student in the University of Dublin, and afterwards in St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. He died 12th July, 1783.

a great blessing to it, by the vigilance and activity of his public spirit. His style, which generally consists of the most naked and simple terms, is strong, clear, and expressive; familiar, without vulgarity or meanness; and beautiful, without affectation or ornament. He is sometimes licentious in his satire, and transgresses the

Mr. Walter Scott relates a story, (Life of Swift, p. 448,) upon the authority of Mr. Theophilus Swift, which is so improbable, that it would not have obtained credit with any person less addicted to implicit faith. This tale is calculated, like many other stories which come from the same branch of the family, to gain credit for themselves at the Dean's expense. The purport is, that Sir Robert Walpole, then prime minister of England, sent for Mr. Deane Swift, and desired that he should take holy orders, promising that he would make him a bishop in time; and this, "although their politics differed *toto cælo*!" His motive was, not to serve Mr. Swift, but to mortify the Dean. Mr. Deane Swift consulted his relative upon the subject of this proposal, but Swift insisted that he should not receive any favour from Walpole, and he was obliged to refuse that minister's offer, through fear of the Dean, because he owed him a sum of 2,500*l*. Swift, however, made no compensation for the injury done, but sacrificed his relation to his spleen.—Such is Mr. Swift's story, which, in its absurdity, carries its own refutation.

Mr. Theophilus Swift informed Mr. Walter Scott, that Dr. Johnson, when engaged in writing the Life of the Dean, positively refused the assistance of his father, Mr. Deane Swift. In my humble opinion, the learned critic exhibited more judgment, when he rejected the communications tendered by the father, than the late biographer did, in adopting those suggested by the son.

Although the world received but little edification from the publication of Mr. Deane Swift's Life of Swift, they are, however, indebted to that gentleman for a large accession of interesting original matter. In the year 1765, he added an eighth volume to the works of Swift; and, in 1768, gave to the public two volumes of his original letters.

The three pieces above mentioned are the only considerable works, hitherto published, which have any title to be deemed original authority: the quantity of matter contained in them amounts however to very little, and that little is always doubtful, and often contradictory. The works of Swift himself, including his familiar correspondence, are therefore the chief, and almost the only means whereby we can expect to attain to a perfect or intimate acquaintance with the great original. Indeed, whatever is related by these, or by any other persons, must derive its credit chiefly from its conformity to this model, which is the only one of unquestionable authority. An account of the family of Swift, written by the Dean himself, which has been published in all the editions of his works, the original manuscript whereof has been deposited in the library of the University of Dublin, contains some facts, which relate to the early part of his life, that may be relied on. Dr. John Lyon's emendations of Hawkesworth's text may likewise be considered as a work of original authority; it has been often referred to in the foregoing pages. This volume was, of late, in the possession of Mr. Malone, the learned editor of Shakespeare; the chief subject matter has been, as I am informed by Mr. Nichols, published in his supplementary volume, printed in 1779; the writer was not, however, known to that ingenious editor; it has been, upon this account, disregarded by all the biographers of Swift, and the important matter it contains rejected by every subsequent editor of his works.

George Faulkner, a Dublin bookseller, was, as Mr. Scott remarks, the first person "who had the honour of giving to the world a collected and uniform edition of the works of this distinguished English classic." The original edition, which consisted of four volumes, was first announced to the public in 1731: the number of volumes was, however, considerably augmented afterwards by repeated additions; consequently the whole forms a confused and irregular mass. It is insinuated by lord Orrery, and positively averred by the author of the Swiftiana, that the Dean himself authorized, and even revised the publication; but this is quite untrue; nor is there any other authority for it, than the assertion of Faulkner himself, who was interested in propagating such a report; and indeed he was no way deficient in assurance. Among other instances of familiarity with Swift, to which he would fain persuade the world (after the Dean's death) he was admitted, he tells us, that Swift avowed to him he was the author of the Tale of a Tub! The Dean's letters, however, shew, that he was much averse to Faulkner's undertaking. In that addressed to Pope, dated the 1st May 1733, he describes the whole transaction:—"A printer came to me, to desire he might print my works (as he called them) in four volumes, by subscription. I said I would give no leave, and should be sorry to see them printed here. He said they could not be printed in London. I answered, they could, if the partners agreed. He said, 'he would be glad of my permission, but, as he could print them without it, and was advised it could do me no harm, and, having been assured of numerous subscriptions, he hoped I would not be angry at his pursuing his own interest, &c.' Much of this discourse passed, and he goes on with the matter, wherein I am determined not to intermeddle, though it be much to my discontent; and I wish it could be done in England, rather than here, although I am grown pretty indifferent in every thing of that kind. This is the truth of the story."—The Dean's sentiments concerning Faulkner's publication are often expressed in his other letters. See Swift's Works, Vol. XVIII. pages 145, 326, 343, 357, 399; in all which places he shews how great a mortification it was to him. In page 326 he says, "he would as willingly have it done *even in Scotland*;" and, in page 399, where he recommends Faulkner to Lord Howth, he explains the whole matter; he calls Faulkner an honest man, and the chief printer in Dublin. "I know him, and treat him with indulgence, because I cannot help it; for, although he printed what I never would have done, yet he got the consent of my friends, and so I shall get nothing by being angry with him,"—Faulkner affected, at all times, to place himself under the Dean's patronage. The marble bust, which is now placed over Swift's tomb, was originally intended for a decoration of his house in Essex-street. In building this house Faulkner committed a curious blunder, which is frequently alluded to in the pamphlets of his time; he had nearly finished it, before he discovered that he had forgot the stair-case.—The notes on "An Epistle to Gorges Edmond Howard," in the 54th number of the Batchelor, are pretended to have been written by Faulkner. His silly notes upon Swift's works are there ridiculed; and he is introduced, in a humorous way, relating the incident of his house having been built without a stair-case, and descanting upon the inconveniences that arise from such defects. This paper displays, admirably well, George Faulkner's follies and eccentricities, and is indeed a work of very great humour.

In 1766, when a complete and uniform edition of Swift's Works was undertaken, Dr. Hawkesworth engaged to write his Life, and to accompany the whole with Illustrations and Notes. This candid and judicious writer has given as good a memoir as could be gleaned from very slender materials; and, notwithstanding the contradictory testimonies of preceding writers, he has exhibited, when he relates the events of his life, remarkable sagacity in distinguishing truth from falsehood. In his remarks upon Swift's writings, he displays much sound judgment and good critical skill. This learned man and very judicious critic lived sufficiently near the time of our great countryman; it is therefore to be lamented, that he did not improve that advantage by approximation of space likewise: had he visited the country of Swift, nothing would have been wanting, and his biographical sketch would have become a perfect history.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had engaged to supply the London booksellers with a set of Lives of the English Poets, attempted,

bounds of delicacy and purity. He, in the latter part of his life, availed himself of the privilege of his great wit, *to trifle:* but when, in this instance, we deplore the misapplication of such wonderful abilities, we, at the same time, admire the whims, if not the dotages, of a Swift. He was, perhaps, the only clergyman of

as a matter of necessity more than of choice, to write the Life of Swift. This memoir made its appearance before the public in the year 1779.

This writer, who manifests, at all times, much satisfaction in depreciating the characters and works of the greatest geniuses, and exalting those of little fame, has after this manner remarkably distinguished Swift. His Life of Savage, and that of Swift, which next follows, particularly well exemplify the Doctor's way of distributing justice: the Life of Savage is extended to triple the number of pages occupied by that of Swift; his writings are remarkably extolled, those of the latter either condemned or slightly praised; the dissolute and abandoned actions of the one are palliated, the best deeds of the latter misrepresented and vilified. What Pope says is particularly applicable to Dr. Johnson:

"He reads——but with a lust to misapply."

Considering the remarkable coincidence of their religious and political opinions, it is very difficult to account for the antipathy which the Doctor, at all times, exhibits against the Dean. His motives are, however, so manifestly evil, so much more prejudicial to his own character than to Swift's, that it becomes rather the duty of his advocate, than the Dean's, to clear this point up. The late bishop of Dromore (Percy) was of opinion that this dislike arose from Swift's having opposed Dr. Madden's scheme for distributing prizes in Trinity College; but there is no evidence that he was averse to the Doctor's very judicious plan: whatever enmity might have existed between Madden and Swift may be more satisfactorily accounted for, by supposing them to have arisen from differences in their political principles. Dr. Madden has given a remarkable proof of his attachment to the Whigs by his panegyric on Primate Boulter, the head of that party, and the particular adversary of Swift.

That Dr. Johnson should rest satisfied with information derived from a person who, on account of his political opinions, was prejudiced against Swift, and who, from not being, in the slightest degree, acquainted with him, must have been ignorant of his character, is a matter which deserves particular censure. Mr. Stevens, in his notes upon Shakspeare (Timon of Athens) gives us an account of the commencement of the intimacy between Dr. Johnson and Dr. Madden. The latter had submitted to the critic's revision his poem, entitled, "Boulter's Monument," and, for his pains in correcting it, paid him the sum of ten guineas. Dr. Johnson seems to have had this gift in remembrance when he wrote his comment upon the play of Timon. Upon the following passage of Timon's speech,

"Tis not enough to help the feeble up,
But to support him after————,"

Dr. Johnson remarks, that it is better expressed by Dr. Madden, in his elegy, thus:

"More than they ask'd he gave; and deem'd it mean
Only to help the poor————————to beg again."

To excel Shakspeare in the expression of a single thought exhibits no small degree of merit. The poem is, however, a very dull performance. The praise bestowed upon it by Dr. Johnson in this passage is quite in his own manner: had the elegy been better, and the play worse, he would not perhaps have made the comparison.—Indeed I think the two following lines of Swift's "Fragment of a Satire," are not inapplicable to Johnson:

"Who, if two wits on rival themes contest,
Approves of each, but likes the worst the best."

In truth, Dr. Johnson's conduct, in his capacity of a literary monarch, resembles very nearly that of some evil princes; he exhibits, at all times, a desire to govern by implicit faith rather than by reason; he maintains his prerogative in opposition to the laws of criticism, and is fond of exhibiting wanton proofs of his power, in overruling, by his dogmatic *fiat*, the legislative acts of justice and reason.

Dr. Newton, bishop of Bristol, in his Account of his own Life, makes some severe remarks upon Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets: he says they afforded much amusement; "but candour was much hurt and offended at the malevolence that predominates in every part. Some passages, it must be allowed, are judicious and well written, but make not sufficient compensation for so much spleen and ill humour. Never was any biographer more sparing of his praise, or more abundant in his censures. He seemingly delights more in exposing blemishes, than in recommending beauties; slightly passes over excellencies, enlarges upon imperfections, and, not content with his own severe reflections, revives old scandal, and produces large quotations from the forgotten works of former critics. His reputation was so high in the republic of letters, that it wanted not to be raised upon the ruins of others. But these essays, instead of raising a higher idea than was before entertained of his understanding, have certainly given the world a worse opinion of his temper."

The gradual accumulation of Swift's original pieces continued till 1779, in which year the last great accession, the second Supplementary Volume, was added to his works, by the ingenious Mr. John Nichols, who for a long time continued to perform, ably and discreetly, the task of editing the works of Swift.

At that time the most elegant and complete edition of Swift's works consisted of fourteen volumes in quarto; the first eight published by Dr. Hawkesworth; three by Deane Swift, Esq. and three by Mr. Nichols. This edition is not quite superseded in point of utility, and certainly has not been excelled in beauty, by any subsequent one. It was re-printed in twenty-five vols. large 8vo.; in twenty-seven vols. smaller 8vo.; and likewise in twenty-seven vols. 18mo.

In 1784 a new and regular edition, in 17 volumes, 8vo. was published, under the superintendence of Mr. Nichols; to which was prefixed a Life of the Dean, by Mr. Thomas Sheridan, son to Dr. Sheridan, Swift's intimate friend. In 1800 a new and improved edition, in 19 volumes, was published, and again re-published in 1808; to both Sheridan's Life was prefixed, and both were edited by Mr. John Nichols, "whose original care and judgment," Mr. Alexander Chalmers remarks, "in collecting information respecting Swift, and procuring inedited portions of his works, has never relaxed, and never been exceeded."

Sheridan was very young when Swift died; his work cannot, therefore, be deemed original authority. When we consider the discrepancy of years between the poet and the biographer, we shall find reasonable cause to doubt the truth of those intimate conversations which are detailed in some parts of this work, particularly as some of them are contradictory to indubitable facts. It is justly styled by Mr. Alexander Chalmers, "an elaborate, but most injudicious life, or rather panegyric."

During the interval between the publication of lord Orrery's work and that of Mr. Walter Scott, many other memoirs of Swift appeared, but none of them pretend to possess any original information: whatever they relate is extracted from the sources already mentioned; and whatever variations occur in those publications, arise out of the national, political, or religious prejudices of the writers, or from the different proportions of taste or judgment with which each individual is gifted.—Thus we find that the North-Britons do all of them place Swift in an unfavorable point of view. Amongst the writers of this class, the author of "Cibber's Lives of the Poets," who is well known to have been one Shiels, a Scotchman, the amanuensis

his time, who had a thorough knowledge of men and manners. His 'Tale of a Tub,' his 'Gulliver's Travels,' and his 'Drapier's Letters,' are the most considerable of his prose works; and his 'Legion Club,' his 'Cadenus and Vanessa,' and his 'Rhapsody on Poetry,' are at the head of his poetical performances. His

of Dr. Johnson, stands pre-eminent. He takes lord Orrery for his prototype. "Upon the account given by his lordship," he says, in the beginning, "the following is chiefly built." But he improves upon his model, for the malice of Shiels is a refinement on lord Orrery's.—The memoir of Swift, given in the Biographia Britannica, is such as one might expect to meet with in a work of this distinguished nature; it is learned and judicious, and displays the best account that could be collected from such materials as were then before the public. Of the rest I shall notice only the sketch contained in "Noble's continuation of Grainger's Biographical History of England," which forms a strange contrast to the fine eulogium which dignifies the upper part of this page. This author is, indeed, very accommodating; "*he admires, he condemns, he applauds, and he pities* Swift;" but, if he has the advantage of agreeing with every one, he has likewise the disadvantage of disagreeing from them—he is in the predicament of the painter who pleased every-body and nobody: he affects the epigrammatic precision of his illustrious predecessor, and attains to the perfection of a bad imitation. One would imagine that two short pages upon such a subject might be framed free from error, yet the errors comprised in this sketch are as numerous as the lines whereof it is composed. Amongst the pieces of original information, it is mentioned, that Swift *died a lunatic:* he says, too, that he has been "enabled to make a complete pedigree *of the Dean and his Stella.*" It is a great pity that this communication has been withheld from the public, for it must be a literary curiosity indeed.

In 1814 a new edition of Swift's Works appeared, to which were added Notes, and a Life of the Author, by Walter Scott, Esq.

The circumstances in this edition which merit attention are, the biographical memoir by Mr. Scott, which occupies the first volume; the critical notes, by the same, which are interspersed throughout the work; and the additional matter with which this edition is augmented. So much has been already said, in the preceding pages, upon each of these subjects, that nothing remains but to add a few general remarks.

In Mr. Scott's Memoir the information afforded by lord Orrery. Dr. Delany, Mr. D. Swift, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Sheridan, and others, is condensed into one comprehensive narrative; this is further augmented by the addition of some matter obtained from the manuscript collections of Dr. John Lyon, and various communications from correspondents in Ireland: of the latter by far the greater number are derived from Mr. Theophilus Swift. I am very far from agreeing with the ingenious writer in the propriety of calling these last, "authentic sources;" on the contrary, implicit reliance upon these unauthenticated communications is the chief error into which Mr. Scott has fallen, and, like a radical defect, it pervades almost every page of the work. These communications, and the testimony of some preceding biographers, seem to have worked such a conviction on the mind of the editor, as to induce him to reject any evidence of the contrary, however strong in its nature, or however confirmed by the dictates of reason, or the acts and writings of the author: impracticable, nay, sometimes, impossible, constructions are imposed upon these latter, which are wrested from their very obvious meaning, for the purpose of making them conform to his pre-established opinions, which were, however, adopted without sufficient proof, upon the authority of the speculations of preceding biographers, or of those epistolary communications. It is a matter seriously to be lamented, that the labours of this writer, the most distinguished of the age, should have been rendered in a great measure ineffectual, by the impertinences of those intruders. Mr. Walter Scott's Memoir is, nevertheless, as the Edinburgh Reviewers remark, "every where well written, in a literary point of view; drawn up with great intelligence, liberality, and good feeling; quite fair and moderate in politics, full of kindness and veneration for genius and social virtue. Altogether, it is not much like the production of a mere man of letters, or a fastidious speculator in sentiment; but exhibits throughout, in a very pleasing form, the good sense and large toleration of a man of the world."

Of the critical notes interspersed throughout the works, it may be said, generally, that the remarks upon Swift's earlier productions, published during the Oxford administration, are interesting and important; the literary history of that period is learnedly and judiciously illustrated; those, however, upon the latter works of Swift, and particularly such as relate to the politics of Ireland, abound with errors. Upon the whole matter, these critical observations are the least valuable part of the work.

The additional matter with which this edition is augmented is not, upon the whole, so important as is stated in the advertisement. The pieces extracted from journals, collections of pamphlets, and loose sheets, do, no doubt, furnish much curious and interesting information relative to Swift's publications upon Wood's scheme, as well as to his other tracts upon Irish affairs; but the collection does not display "very long or very laborious research:" neither was it quite judicious to insert some of those pieces among the acknowledged works of Swift, which are, at best, only apocryphal; and, indeed, if they be admitted, there is no reason why a number of other pamphlets, which were written about that period of time, should not likewise be inserted among the works of Swift. The addition of original letters to Swift's epistolary correspondence, is, indeed, a valuable augmentation: among these, the suppressed correspondence between Swift and Vanessa, communicated by the Rev. Mr. Berwick, is by far the most important accession. Some illustrations of the Dean's last satirical tracts were transmitted by the same gentleman; they are to be distinguished, by their learning and accuracy, from the other puerile communications, to which Mr. Scott, swayed more by the softer feelings of politeness than by the severer duties of an historian, has paid more respect than what they were strictly entitled to.

A Critique upon Mr. Walter Scott's edition of Swift's Works appeared in the Edinburgh Review for September 1816. It has been expected that I should reply, in this place, to all the matters which have been there objected against Swift; but I am obliged to decline the undertaking, for the following reasons. First, because to answer all the matters there objected would occupy too large a space: there may be more scandalous insinuations conveyed in one line, than can be refuted in one thousand, particularly if they consist of mere assertions unaccompanied by proofs, and such is the nature of by far the greater number of those urged against Swift by those Reviewers. Secondly, because that many of the tales, whereupon their censures were grounded, have been proved, already, in the preceding pages of this work, not to have been founded in fact. Indeed this unhandsome attack seems to have arisen out of one or other of the following causes: it is either an act of reprisal upon Swift for the offences committed by him upon their nation, their religious sect, or their party in politics, to all of which the Dean's writings are adverse; or they are driven to it by their trade; for those persons live so entirely by censure, that without it they would famish; they feed upon the murdered reputations of other writers, as the Goul or Vampire does upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures:

"——— The living or the dead
No mercy find; those harpies must be fed."

The Edinburgh Reviewers seem to have profited by Swift's counsel, conveyed in his Advice to a Young Poet: "Knock

writings in general, are regarded as standing models of our language, as well as perpetual monuments of their author's fame."[3]

"To sum up all[4]—Swift lived long an honour to the powers of the human mind: and died a sad monument of the infirmities incident to it in this house of clay: and a melancholy, mortifying memento to the vanity of the pride of parts. His little

[3] Noble's contin. of Grainger's Biog. Hist. Vol. II. page 163. [4] Delany's Observations, &c. Letter XX.

down half a score reputations, and you will infallibly raise your own, and so it be with wit, no matter with how little justice; for fiction is your trade."

I shall therefore content myself with making a few miscellaneous remarks, upon the nature and tendency of this critique, and upon the conduct of those reviewers, so far as the character of Swift is concerned.

The decisions of the Edinburgh Reviewers do not, I apprehend, deserve to be held in very high estimation; they are a small society with large prejudices, which affect very deeply their principles, whether religious or political.—Their opinions are paradoxical, they do not speak, as reviewers ought to speak, the sense of the community at large; nay, what they say at one time they do often unsay, or say the contrary, at another.—Moreover, if they are not quite insensible to the humour of Swift, they do not perfectly comprehend its character.

That they are prejudiced persons is in some degree admitted by themselves; alluding to Swift, they say, "with these impressions of his character, it is not easy for us to judge fairly of his works." By this slight admission those critics intend, craftily enough, to cover much greater prejudices than they think proper to plead guilty to: the matter is truly thus; Swift was a high church-man, zealously attached to the hierarchy, and to the church of England; the Edinburgh Reviewers, or at least many of them, are dissenters, and therefore, enemies to the church establishment; moreover, Swift hated the whole Scottish nation; the Edinburgh Reviewers appear to hate every other:—it is not indeed surprising that the people of Scotland should feel an aversion towards Swift, for he was the declared enemy to their country; but, being conscious of the greatness their own prejudices, I think it was quite indecent that they should chuse to sit in judgment upon him; if it was not easy for them to decide fairly upon the merits or demerits of his works, it was still less easy for them to judge of his character, and next to an impossibility for them to judge fairly of his political conduct.

That the Edinburgh Reviewers do not speak the sense of the community, is pretty manifest; in truth, they affect to differ from the rest of the world in matters quite obvious, and almost self-evident; in the very article here alluded to, they attempt gravely to prove, that there were no poets in England in the time of Queen Anne, nor indeed, excepting a very few, in any other time until the present period; they decide, likewise, that there were no writers or philosophers until David Hume, and Adam Smith. (See Numb. LIII. page 8.)

"Thus, hurling lawful genius from the throne,
Th' erect a shrine and idol of their own;
Some leaden calf———."

In truth, what those persons say of Warburton, in the same page, is *exactly* applicable to themselves; "their faculties are perverted by a paltry love of paradox, and rendered useless to mankind by arrogance and dogmatism."

But the opinions of the Edinburgh Reviewers are not only discordant from those of the rest of the world, but likewise from their own, as maintained at different periods of time; they have at least one character of great wits, that of having very short memories: between January 1808, and September 1816, a wonderful change took place in their taste for poetry; in 1808, they say with enthusiasm, "Is the fervour of passion, the power of exciting, and expressing emotion, the soul of poetry? we have already pointed to it in the Eloisa;"—but, in 1816, they had discovered the characteristic qualities of Pope's poetry to be, "quaintness, coldness and eternal vivacity."—In 1808, they say, "they will not allow the bards of former days to be arraigned, for the want of *excellences of which their own cotemporaries had never dreamed*:" but in 1816, they say, "we are of opinion that *the writers who adorned the beginning of the last century have been eclipsed by those of our own time.*"

—"All, with one consent, praise new-born gawds,
Though they are made and moulded of things past;
And give to dust, that is a little gilt,
More laud than gilt o'erdusted.
The present eye praises the present object."

But, after all, we should find it difficult to discover who those modern authors are, whose abilities the Edinburgh Reviewers hold in so great estimation, for there is scarcely a good writer of the present time, whose works those critics have not remarkably censured; they have, however, failed of persuading the public to be of their opinion, for those condemned writers, nevertheless, stand very high in the estimation of the nation at large.

To the peculiarities of Swift's humour the Edinburgh Reviewers seem almost totally insensible; this appears, 1st. from their so frequently mistaking it, and 2dly, from the aukward attempts they make at describing its nature.—"Wherever he came, the ordinary forms of society were to give way to his pleasure; and every thing, even the domestic arrangements of a family, to be suspended for his caprice."—"He was never at his ease unless he was allowed to give nick-names to the lady of the house, and make lampoons upon her acquaintance."—In the first of these passages they allude to the dean's amusing letter to Mr. Blachford; in the second, to his poems written at Market-hill; those pieces have been noticed before in this work; that the Reviewers mistake the writer's very obvious meaning is manifest, but it is not so clear to which account, whether of mis-conception or wilful mis-interpretation, the error is to be charged.—It has been often remarked, that the Scottish nation is not distinguished for humour, and Boswell, in his Life of Johnson, Vol. IV. page 132, relates an incident which confirms that observation; another proof might be adduced, which I do not remember to have ever heard brought forward; that there never was an English comedy, written by a Scotchman, which continued to be acted for any time with success; indeed, except Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd there never was, that I can recollect, a tolerable comedy written by one of that nation. The Edinburgh Reviewer's critique upon Swift I now adduce as an additional proof; witness their awkward attempt to comprise within the limits of a definition all the varieties of Swift's humour; "the nearest description we can give of it, would make it consist in expressing sentiments the most absurd and ridiculous—the most shocking and atrocious—or sometimes the most energetic and original—in a sort of composed, calm, and unconscious way, as if they were plain, undeniable, common-place truths, which no person could dispute, or expect to gain credit by announcing—and in maintaining them, always in the gravest and most familiar language, with a consistency which somewhat palliates their extravagance, and a kind of perverted ingenuity, which seems to give pledge for their sincerity."

———"Will you with counters sum
The past-proportion of his infinite?
And buckle-in a waist most fathomless,
With spans and inches so diminutive."

Swift however, who was a better judge than the Edinburgh Reviewers, thinks the talent of humour altogether indescribable; see the following lines of his poem to Dr. Delany.

power and fortune, whilst he enjoyed them, were, in miniature, a resemblance of that great tree which shadowed out the grandeur, might, magnificence and munificence of Nebuchadnezzar: it protected, as far as it could, all those that resorted to it for shade and shelter; and supported those that fled to it, for relief and sustenance; and this was cut down as that was, when GOD 'had purposed to stain the pride of all glory.'

"When you consider Swift's singular, peculiar, and most variegated vein of wit, always rightly intended, (although not always so rightly directed,) delightful in many instances, and salutary even where it is most offensive; when you consider his strict truth, his fortitude in resisting oppression and arbitrary power; his fidelity in friendship; his sincere love and zeal for religion; his uprightness in making right resolutions, and his steadiness in adhering to them; his care of his church, its choir, its œconomy, and its income; his attention to all those that preached in his cathedral, in order to their amendment in pronunciation and style; as also his remarkable attention to the interest of his successors, preferably to his own present emoluments; his invincible patriotism, even to a country which he did not love; his very various, well devised, well judged, and extensive charities, throughout his life, and his whole fortune conveyed to the same christian purposes

"What humour is, not all the tribe
Of logic-mongers can describe;
Here nature only acts her part,
Unhelp'd by practice, books, or art:
For wit and humour differ quite;
That gives surprise, and this delight.
Humour is odd, grotesque, and wild,
Only by affectation spoil'd:
'Tis never by invention got,
Men have it when they know it not."

Indeed, if it be a necessary property of a definition, that it shall describe only the thing defined, that given by the Edinburgh Reviewers is, in this respect also, defective; if, "to express sentiments the most absurd and ridiculous, &c. in a sort of composed and unconscious way," be humour, it will apply very well to the first part of the article about which we are now engaged. But perhaps, after all, what they have written upon this subject is intended ironically, and that the Reviewers, when they assert, that there were no poets in England until the year 1816; no wits or philosophers in the reign of Queen Anne; that peace creates a dearth of talent, to which, however, war is favourable; and such like paradoxes; they are only trying their hand at their newly discovered art, and are working according to the receipt comprised in their definition.

As I have charged those writers with misrepresenting and falsely quoting, it is fit that some proof should be given. I refer the reader, therefore, to pages 19 and 20 of their critique, where he will find a sufficient number of instances in a very small compass; the object of the Reviewers, in that place, is, to prove the instability of Swift's friendship; they say, that although Swift talked of a visit to the earl of Oxford in his retirement, upon his disgrace, yet "it is certain that he did not pay it;"—they say, that "he was, all the time, engaged in the most friendly correspondence with Bolingbroke"—that the day after that minister had turned out his friend the earl of Oxford, he "condescended *to receive* an order for the thousand pound he had so long solicited from his predecessor in vain:"—and they afterwards add, "we find him (Swift) not only giving him (Bolingbroke) his advice how to act in the government *which had now fallen entirely into his hands*, but kindly offering, "if his services may be of any use, to attend him at the beginning of the winter."—These misrepresentations, together with many more, are comprised in the short compass of two pages: a few words will satisfy the reader, of their impropriety. Swift, it is certain, did intend to visit the earl of Oxford, in his retirement; the earl's invitation is dated the 27th July, and Swift notifies to Miss Vanhomrigh, by his letter, dated August 1, that he intended to accept of the invitation; he says, that he only waits the earl's answer to determine, whether he should go before him into Herefordshire, or meet him on his own way thither, or at Wimple, his son's house; "I expect to leave this in two or three days," he writes, "one way or other. I will stay with him until the parliament meets again, if he desires it." The queen's death, which happened on the day this last letter was written, although Swift did not, at that time, know of it, was the event that put an end to their project, because it rendered the earl of Oxford's presence in London indispensibly necessary; this circumstance would have deterred any writer of ordinary candour from suggesting, that his not performing his promise was owing to instability in his friendship.—That he was all the time engaged in a friendly intercourse with lord Bolingbroke is an objection altogether unintelligible; if the Reviewers mean to insinuate, that Swift should have quarrelled with lord Bolingbroke, because he dissented in matters of politics from his friend, the earl of Oxford, I believe there is no one will say, that such conduct was either necessary or expedient; if they mean that their correspondence proves Swift's intention of uniting with Bolingbroke (and it appears from what follows that such is their meaning,) the insinuation is altogether false, and so is likewise the assertion that Swift "condescended *to receive* an order for 1000*l.* from lord Bolingbroke;" it is true, indeed, that an order for that sum was issued by the minister, but it is likewise true, that Swift never solicited for it, nor received it, neither could he have known that it was granted until after the queen's death, by which event it was rendered ineffectual.—But the grossest misstatement of all is that, where the Reviewers represent Swift as giving advice to lord Bolingbroke "*how to act in the government which had now entirely fallen into his hands*;" I entreat the reader to turn to the letter, which is in the sixteenth volume of Swift's Works, page 212; he will there find, that this letter is dated the 7th of August; six days after the government of lord Bolingbroke had been terminated by the queen's decease, an event which, as this writer himself says, *in the same page*, "speedily composed all those dissentions, and confounded the victors and vanquished in one common proscription."—The cause of Harley and Bolingbroke had, by this event, become again identified, and in this very letter, the expediency of a union between the parties is suggested; it is plain, therefore, that Swift, by the tender of his service, meant it for the common advantage of the Tories, not the separate interest of

at his death; charities from which he could enjoy no honour, advantage, or satisfaction of any kind, in this world.

" When you consider his ironical and humorous, as well as his serious schemes for the promotion of true religion and virtue; his success in soliciting for the first fruits and twentieths, to the unspeakable benefit of the established church of Ireland; and his felicity (to rate it no higher) in giving occasion to the building of fifty new churches in London.

" All this considered, the character of his life will appear like that of his writings; they will both bear to be re-considered and re-examined with the utmost attention; and will always discover new beauties and excellencies, upon every examination.

" They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy interpose, to cloud, or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce, that the eclipse will not last long.

Bolingbroke. This letter moreover disproves another matter asserted in the same page of the review, that Swift " sunk instantly into pitiable and unmanly despondency upon the final disgrace of that party. I believe these observations will not only substantiate the charges of mis-representation and false quotation, which I have brought against these Reviewers, but I apprehend that the matter of the letter above mentioned, will further prove, very satisfactorily, these misrepresentations and false quotations to be wilful: Dr. Johnson had a very coarse way of expressing himself upon such occasions, the passage is one I had rather refer the reader to, than quote. See Boswell's Life of Johnson, Vol. IV. page 49, 3d edit.

In the year 1819, there appeared a tract entitled, " A Defence of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; in Answer to certain Observations passed on his Life and Writings, in the fifty-third number of the Edinburgh Review."

The writer of this piece has, with great temperance, and with greater success than could be expected from such an unequal conflict, exposed " The asperity of style and language, and the ignorance of facts," which those persons have manifested, during the conduct of their disgraceful attack; I say, unequal conflict, because he is in the position of an expert fencer attacking a party of armed free-booters, set in ambuscade; men who disregard the laws of arms so far as to employ weapons such as a more regular combatant disclaims to wield. It is quite impossible the Answerer, or indeed any other person except the Edinburgh Reviewers, should use such words as those following; cool-blooded-barbarian, brute, libeller, beast, robber, monster, murderer, &c. although they do, no doubt, apply with much greater propriety to the persons who use them, than to him against whom they have been used; but, as they are weapons against which every civilized society has solemnly protested, a victory obtained by such means is held by the literary world as more disgraceful than even a defeat: the Answerer, with becoming prudence, has accordingly declined to use them, he contents himself with calmly pointing out their impropriety.—" The Reviewers," he says, " descend to the most inglorious of all species of warfare, that of *calling names*, at which they seem most dextrous. The bare mention of some of them will," he very justly observes, " be enough for *our* purpose and *their dishonour*."—Although in some respects tolerably effectual, this is of course an inadequate defence of Swift's private conduct; but now the foundation, upon which was built the tale of scandal which relates Swift's conduct towards his female friends, having been proved to be fallacious, it must in such a manner shake the superstructure, as to occasion that it should fall by the mere weight of its own absurdity.

But, let us turn from this Billingsgate subject of the Edinburgh Review to something more calming to the temper, and consolatory to the mind; I know nothing so effectual in that way, nor can I propose a more suitable *finalé* to this memoir, than the following passage, extracted likewise from a review, nay, from one produced very nearly in the midst of what those enlightened men call the dark gloomy period of the eighteenth century; and in the midst of a nation, who were at that time much inferior in point of literary merit, to that high degree to which their northern neighbours have, since that period, in their own estimation, fortunately attained. There is indeed another paradoxical circumstance, these critics use terms much more polite than those employed by their more enlightened brethren, which, as it is contrary to what has been generally remarked, viz. that literature and politeness grow together, seems to be a peculiarity that deserves notice.

It has likewise another peculiarity; except that it does not abound so much in fiction, it displays as much poetic fire as any thing we have ever noticed in the Edinburgh Review itself.

" It is the province of true wit to cultivate the barren and beautify the deformed. Nor doth it stop here. Its plastic hand forms worlds of its own, and moulds them into whatever shape it pleaseth. It commands the deep abyss of vacuity itself;—calls up new and unknown creations, and (as the first lord of this ideal empire beautifully expresses it) 'gives to airy nothings a local habitation and a name.' Few writers have better illustrated this remark than Swift. He was a man of native genius. His fancy was inexhaustible. His conceptions were lively and comprehensive: and he had the peculiar felicity of conveying them in language equally correct, free, and perspicuous. His penetration was as quick as intuition: and he was indeed the critic of nature. The high rank he holds in the republic of letters was owing, not to the indulgence of the times in which he wrote, but entirely to his own incontestable merit. Nothing could suppress his genius. Nothing could hinder the world's seeing it. The opposition of an unrelenting party in church and state, and the personal enmity that was borne him by several of high rank and great influence, could not eclipse the lustre of his name, nor sink in the smallest degree, that authority in literature which he claimed, and the world granted, as his right. By such opposers, a genius of less force would have been totally crushed. But from him they were shaken, 'like dew-drops from a lion's mane.'

" As his genius was of the first class, so were some of his virtues. He hath been accused of avarice, but with the same truth as he hath been accused of infidelity. In detached views, no man was more liable to be mistaken. Even his genius and good sense might be questioned, if we were only to read some passages of his writings. To judge fairly, and pronounce justly of him, as a man, and as an author, we should examine the uniform tenor of his disposition and conduct, and the general nature and design of his productions. In the latter, he will appear great—and in the former, good—notwithstanding the puns and puerilities of the one, and the absurdities and inconsistencies of the other."—Month. Review, Oct. 1779, page 356.

"To conclude,—no man ever deserved better of any country than Swift did of his. A steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor under many severe trials, and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard, both of his liberty and fortune!

"He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour to Ireland." [e]

[e] Of Swift's portraits, those made in his juvenile years are generally deposited in cabinets in England, those which represent him at a more advanced period of his life are more frequently to be found in Ireland: it is remarkable that the chief painter of each sort was his own countryman: the most eminent of the former class was, C. Jervas, of the latter, F. Bindon.

Charles Jervas was born in Ireland, and was the pupil of Sir Godfrey Kneller; like his great successor Sir Joshua Reynolds, he was the friend and associate of all the wits of his time; Pope, Swift, Steele, Arbuthnot, &c. were among his intimates; by the first of these writers his talents have been extravagantly extolled; it argues great deficiency, either of taste or talent, among his cotemporaries, that he should have arrived at so high a degree of eminence, for he was a very indifferent artist; nevertheless, he was made painter to his majesty, George I.

It appears from Swift's Journal to Stella, of 11 Sept. 1710, that he was at that time sitting for his picture to Jervas. There was an original of Swift by this painter, the same from which the engraving by Fourdrinier was made, that passed, afterwards, into the possession of the earl of Chesterfield, and was placed in his library at May Fair, in the collection of English authors.

A fine original portrait of Swift, painted by Jervas, was presented to the University of Oxford, by Alderman Barber, in 1739, it is placed in the picture gallery there; the inscription under it records the name of the donor, and, in the following lines, judiciously celebrates the two most remarkable points in the character of the original.

"Effigiem viri *musis amicissimi*,
Ingenio *prorsus sibi proprio* celeberrimi."

It appears from Mr. Richardson's letter to Swift, dated 10 April, 1739, that Barber first had a copy taken. See Swift's Works, Vol. I. Append. cxlii. and Vol. XIX. page 273.

Jervas, when on a visit to Ireland, drew a picture of Swift, which was, in 1725, in the possession of the earl of Oxford; this appears from his lordship's letter, dated Aug. 30, that year, wherein he says, "It is very like you, and is a very good picture."

The Rev. Mr. Berwick has a good head of Swift, by Jervas.

Francis Bindon was likewise born in Ireland, he was a near relative (perhaps brother) to David Bindon, a celebrated writer upon trade and commerce, who was the author of two tracts, upon Wood's copper coin, which have been already mentioned. See page 348.—Bindon was both a painter and an architect, he made the designs for Russborough, the earl of Miltown's residence in the county of Wicklow; for lord Besborough's and Sir William Fownes', in the county of Kilkenny, and for others. He painted a full length of Dr. Baldwin, Provost of Trin. Col. Dublin, and another of Primate Boulter. Bindon died on the 2d of June 1765, suddenly, as he was taking the air in his chariot. "He was a polite, well-bred gentleman, and an excellent scholar, which he improved by his travels abroad."—Faulkner's Journal for 1765.

There were four pictures of Swift painted by this artist; one at Howth castle, in the county of Dublin, a full length; an interesting picture and very well executed; it was painted in 1735, as appears by his lordship's letter to Swift, dated, Kilfane, July 6, in that year. He is represented in the clerical costume; at his feet, to the right of the picture, Wood is depicted, writhing in agony.

Another full length picture of Swift, by Bindon, is in the deanery house; this portrait was painted at the expense of the chapter, as appears from the Latin inscription under the picture, and from an order of 17th March 1738-9, to which latter there is subjoined the following note; "That the said picture and frame are the property of the chapter, and that they are placed, at the instance of the chapter, in the deanery-house, to save them from the damage they might suffer by the dampness of the chapter-house, wherein they were first designed to be placed." From the proctor's account of this year we learn, that the chapter paid for the picture 36*l.* 16*s.* and for the frame, to Mr. Haughton, 18*l.* 13*s.*

The copper-plate prefixed to this memoir, will serve as a description of this portrait; the figure of an angel in the foreground, to the right, displaying a scroll which refers to the dean's exertions in obtaining the first fruits, is painted in a harsh, disagreeable style, and may be considered as a blemish in the original; it is therefore left out in the engraving.—The frame is a very magnificent piece of work; it is not, however, as Mr. Walter Scott says, made of black Irish or bog-oak, which, from its tendency to warp, cannot be made into furniture; neither do I esteem it to have been an instance of *very unfortunate taste* to gild it, the frames of pictures being usually adorned in this manner.

The third portrait of Swift, painted by Bindon, was in the possession of Robert Nugent, Esq. afterwards Earl Nugent, it is taken notice of in his letter to Mrs. Whiteway, dated 2d April 1740; "I would have it," he says, "a head upon a three-quarter-cloth."—I understand this picture is now in the possession of the marquess of Buckingham.

A three-quarter-length portrait of Swift, said to be by Bindon, is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Berwick. There are so great a variety of other portraits of him in this city, that it would be tedious to enumerate or describe them all. The number of those pictures furnish a proof, if proof be necessary, of the great esteem, respect, and veneration, in which Swift was held by his countrymen; who, in their conduct towards him, have shewn an instance of gratitude hitherto unexampled in the history of nations.

There is a small portrait of Swift, done in crayons if I recollect right, in the possession of Dr. Hill, of Dublin; Mr. Scott says it was executed by Bindon, but I apprehend he is mistaken, as Bindon did not work with those materials.

The portrait of Swift in the hall of Trinity College is a copy, which was executed about the year 1780, after that edifice was built.

Mr. Noble, in his continuation of Grainger's Biog. Hist. of England, gives the following account of the engraved portraits of Swift; nearly the same account is given by Mr. Bromley, in his catalogue of engraved British portraits.

Jonathan Swift, 12*mo. A. Bannerman sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *J. Basire sc.* 1774.
Jonathan Swift, *mez. Markham p. Burford sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *sitting in a night-gown, holding a pen, fol. C. Jervas p. P. Fourdrinier sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *sitting, holding a book, mez. Markham p. V. Haecken sc.* 1741.
Jonathan Swift, *wh. length, mez. F. Bindon p.* 1739; *A. Miller sc.* 1743.
Jonathan Swift, *oval frame, canonical habit,* 12 *verses, mez. P. Pelham sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *sitting,* "*Exegi monumentum ære perennius,*" *Vertue sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *oval frame, wig, canonical habit, la, fol. Vertue sc.*
Jonathan Swift, 8*vo. Vertue sc.*
Jonathan Swift, *profile prefixed to his "Life," by Lord Orrery,* 12*mo. B. Wilson sc.* 1751. *This is taken from a profile in crayons, by Mr. Barber; which belonged to Dr. Mead,*

Sect. II. GABRIEL JAMES MATURIN, *Dean.*

1745—The Chapter being apprised of the dean's death, they assembled on the 24th of October, and having elected Dr. Wynne their president, they petitioned the archbishop for his license to proceed to elect a dean; which having been, in due course of time, obtained, they were again convened on the 20th of November, when Gabriel-James Maturin, D. D. Prebendary of Malahidert, was elected according to the usual form; and his election being confirmed by the archbishop, he was installed on the 25th day of the same month.

Gabriel James Maturin was born in the year 1700, at Utrecht, in Holland: he was the son of Peter, and grandson of Gabriel Maturin, [a] a hugonot priest of Paris;

There is a portrait of Swift by Rupert, son of Mrs. Barber, in crayons, in the possession of Mr. Lefanu, who married the daughter of Mr. Thomas Sheridan, author of the Life of Swift. This picture bears so strong a resemblance to the engraving above mentioned, by Wilson, as to authorise us to decide that it is the same with that which was formerly in the possession of Dr. Mead, and the more especially because the portrait must have been brought to Ireland to be engraved, as Wilson was a Dublin artist. When I visited this portrait, and received from Mr. Lefanu the account of its having been executed by a son of Mrs. Barber's, I remarked, that he could not have seen Swift at so early a period of his life as he was there represented; Mr. Lefanu however informed me, that the artist's intention was, to give a representation of what Swift might possibly have been in his youth, from his features as they appeared to him when aged. Such is the history of the picture from whence that whimsical sketch was taken, with which lord Orrery has thought proper to decorate his work; and indeed it cannot but be allowed to be a very suitable embellishment, for it would be hard to decide whether his features were more falsified in the frontispiece, or his character in the work itself.

The above list of engraved portraits of Swift might be augmented by the addition of some others; as there were many portraits, both large and small, engraved in Dublin, some of which I am in possession of, but they are all indifferently executed. There have been two small engravings made from the bust which is placed over his tomb, one executed for George Faulkner, the other is published in the Swiftiana. An engraving from the mask, taken after his death, is published in Mr. Nichols' last edition of Swift's Works.

The busts of Swift, in marble or plaister of Paris, are pretty numerous, almost all of them are however taken from the same model, and are very indifferent representations; that which is placed over the place of his interment has been already noticed in page 412, it was executed near twenty years after his decease. There is a bust of Swift in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, it is by no means a good likeness, but there are circumstances connected with its history which render it an interesting object; it was executed at the expense of the class who were candidate bachelors in the year of Swift's decease.—Information of the Rev. Dr. Barret, V.P. T.C.D.

There are representations of Swift extant, executed upon other materials besides those before mentioned. The author of this work has a remarkably good likeness, cut on a Lough Neagh pebble, which was executed about the time when he had entered on the 70th year of his age.

But the most interesting representation of Swift is a plaister of Paris cast, taken after his death, which is in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin; the engraving made from it, which is to be found in the last edition of Swift's works by Mr. Nichols, is a vile representation. Mr. Walter Scott must have alluded to this copy, when he asserted that the expression of the face was "evidently maniacal," for the original is not so in the slightest degree, but, on the contrary, the most placid and the most free from any turbulent expression that can be imagined.

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[a] An interesting account of this person has been communicated to me by the Rev. Charles Maturin, grandson to the dean, whose name the tragedy of Bertram and other ingenious works have rendered conspicuous. This narrative I shall give in the characteristic words of the communicator.

"In the reign of Louis XIV. the carriage of a catholic lady of rank was stopped by the driver discovering that a child was lying in the street. The lady brought him home, and, as he was never claimed, considered and treated him as her child: he was richly drest, but no trace was furnished, by himself or otherwise, that could lead to the discovery of his parents or connexions.

"As the lady was a devotee, she brought him up a strict catholic, and being puzzled for a name for him, she borrowed one from a religious community, *les Mathurins*, of whom there is mention in the Jewish Spy, and who were then of sufficient importance to give their name to a street in Paris, *le Rue des Mathurins*.

"In spite of all the good lady's pains, and maugre his *nom de caresse*, my ancestor was perverse enough to turn protestant, and became pastor to a hugonot congregation in Paris, where he sojourned, and begat two sons.

"While he was amusing himself in this manner, the king and *pere* La Chaise were amusing themselves with exterminating the protestants; and about the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, Maturin was shut up in the bastile, where he was left for twenty six years; I suppose to give him time to reflect on the controverted points, and make up his mind at leisure.

"With all these advantages he continued quite untractable: so that the catholics, finding the case desperate, gave him his liberty.

"There was no danger, however, of his abusing this indulgence: for, owing to the keeper forgetting accidentally to bring him fuel, during the winters of his confinement, and a few other *agremens* of his situation, the poor man had lost the use of his limbs, and was a cripple for life.

"He accompanied some of his former flock, who had been grievously scattered, to Ireland, and there unexpectedly found Madame M—— and his two sons, who had made their escape there *via* Holland.

"Here he lived and died; his surviving son obtained the deanery of Killala, and his grandson that of St. Patrick's: the dean of St. Patrick's was my grandfather.

"An old French lady, who lived in Bishop-street a few years since, was in possession of some of his infant finery; and I have heard that the lace, though sorely tarnished, was remarkably fine.

"I possessed formerly an immense mass of the emigrant's manuscripts: they were principally in Latin, a few in French. He certainly was a man of very various erudition. The dean of St. Patrick's was an able mathematician."

who, flying from the persecutions which then prevailed, took refuge at first in Holland, and afterwards in the city of Dublin, where he arrived, with a few of his scattered flock, early in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[1] Gabriel James received the first rudiments of his education in Dublin, at the school of Dr. Lloyd, and was admitted a pensioner in the university, on the 8th of April, 1717;[2] he afterwards obtained the degree of doctor in divinity. In 1743 he was collated to the prebend of Malahidert,[b]

1745—Maturin was not long allowed to enjoy, undisturbed, his promotion to the deanery; on the 19th of March following, the Right Honourable and Reverend Philip, Viscount Strangford, appeared before the chapter, and presented letters patent, under the great seal, conferring that dignity upon him, which he prayed might be admitted and read; but the chapter, with unanimous consent, returned for answer, that the church was already full, and provided with a dean. Having had previous intimation, that it was the intention of government to contest their right of election, they had, on the 19th of the preceding January, appointed agents to conduct the suit. Dean Maturin, however, died before its final determination: he expired on the 9th of November, 1746, after an illness of a few days,[3] and was buried on the 11th of the same month, in the French church, or Mary-chapel, under the communion-table.[c]

Sect. III. Francis Corbet, *Dean.*

1746—The Chapter of St. Patrick's, being apprised of the death of their dean, assembled on the 13th of November, 1746, and having elected Dr. John Wynne president, moved an address to the archbishop for leave to proceed to election; licence having been procured, and the chapter assembled pursuant to citation on the 26th, they chose the Rev. Francis Corbet, D.D. Treasurer of the cathedral, to fill the vacant stall; on the 26th of January it was pronounced by the archbishop that he had been rightfully elected: and by virtue of that prelate's mandate he was installed on the 31st of the same month.

Francis Corbet was admitted a pensioner of Trinity college, Dublin, the 14th April, 1701. The entry in the register is unusually laconic, as it informs us of no other particulars, except that his tutor was William Tisdall. He was ordained priest in April 1715, and on the 25th of September licensed to serve the cure of St. Audoen's as an assistant. So early as the year 1723 Corbet became a member of the chapter, having been in that year installed Prebendary of Stagonil. In 1726 he exchanged that prebend for Donoghmore, and, on the 7th of November 1729, the see being then vacant, he was presented by the crown to that of Malahidert, and in the same day to the rectory of Delgany, in the county of Wicklow. In 1734, after the death of Jeremy Marsh, he succeeded to the dignity of treasurer.[a]

[1] Information of Rev. Chas. Maturin. [2] Col. Regist. [3] Pue's Occurrences.

[b] Maturin was for some time Dean of Kildare, and had thus the singular fortune of having possessed the only two elective deaneries in the dominions of his majesty: he had moreover a stall in the sister cathedral, having been installed Prebendary of St. Michael's the 28th November 1734, and afterwards of St. John's on the 22d June, 1735.—Min. of Chapt. Christ-church cathedral,

[c] Maturin's promotion was of little benefit to himself, and of still less to his family; his small property was exhausted by the expenses incidental to that event, and the time he possessed it was too short to bring in an adequate return. There appears, in the Dublin Courant for March 1747, an advertisement of sale, for the payment of his debts, of his interest in certain houses on the north side of Great Britain-street, producing a yearly profit rent of 50*l.* 10*s.*

[a] He obtained a faculty to hold the treasurership and the rectory of Delgany together with the deanery, the 23d January 1746-7,—Dub. Courant. He resigned however both of these former benefices in 1750, as soon as he was confirmed in the deanery by the decision of the courts of law.

Dean Swift, [b] probably, helped Corbet to some of these promotions, by his letter to lord Carteret, dated 3d July 1725; "your excellency," he writes, "when I had the honour to attend you, was pleased to let me name some clergymen who are generally understood by their brethren to be the most distinguished for their learning and piety. I remember the persons were Dr. Delany, Dr. Ward of the north, Mr. Echlin, Mr. Synge of Dublin, and Mr. Corbet; they were named by me without any regard to friendship, having little commerce with most of them, but only the universal character they bear." [1]

The new dean found, for some time, sufficient occupation in supporting his election; the crown continued to carry on the suit, which they had commenced upon Maturin's election, in the name of St. George Caulfield, Attorney-general, against the archbishop of Dublin and the chapter of St. Patrick's; the plaintiff claimed the advowson of the deanery as the hereditary right of the crown, and stated several presentations, but chiefly those of William Fuller and Benjamin Parry; the defendants, on the contrary, pleaded that those presentations were usurpations of their rights, and instanced several elections to that dignity. The cause came at length to be tried in the court of King's-bench in Trinity term 1747, (3d July,) when, after a trial of eleven hours, a juror was by common consent withdrawn. [2] A writ being obtained for a new trial, it came to an hearing in Michaelmas term 1749, before a special jury of the county of Dublin, [c] who agreed upon a verdict favourable to the defendant's claim, viz. "That the late Charles the second was not seized of the advowson of the deanery of the cathedral church of St. Patrick, by itself as of fee and in right of his crown of this realm." [d] After this determination in his favour, Corbet continued to enjoy this dignity without further interruption; he held it for near thirty years, during which time scarcely an occurrence of moment is to be noted affecting the history of this cathedral.

1749—On the 9th of May the chapter approved of the plan, furnished by Mr. George Semple, for erecting a spire upon the steeple of this cathedral, and voted for the same 1,150*l.* [3] almost the whole of that sum was the bequest of Dr. Stearne, formerly dean of this cathedral, and late bishop of Clogher.

1751—On the 17th of April the dean was elected curate of St. Nicholas without. [4]

1757—Richard Pococke, Archdeacon of Dublin, the celebrated traveller, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in this cathedral.

1762—The excessive rains, which fell in October this year, occasioned such floods that there was five feet depth of water in the choir of this cathedral. [5]

1765—On the 15th of June, the dean and chapter received the Most Rev. William, Archbishop of Dublin, and his officers, at the west gate of the cathedral,

[1] Swift's Works, Vol. XVII. p. 17. [2] Dub. Cour. [3] Min. of Chapt. [4] Min. of Chapt. [5] Pue's Occurrences.

[b] Swift has mentioned Corbet more than once in his works; in his poem on the birth day of Charles Ford, esq. are the following lines:

"Corbet, though yet I know his worth not,
"No doubt, will prove a good Arbuthnot."
Swift's Works, Vol. XIV. page 182.

[c] The issue to be tried was, "whether the king was seized of the advowson, by itself as of fee and by right of his crown, and had granted the same to B. Parry in manner and form as St. George Caulfield, attorney-general, who prosecutes for our lord the king, hath alleged." The barristers who were retained by the dean and chapter were men the most eminent of their day; they had the Recorder, Mr. Harwood, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Robins, Mr. Le Hunte, Mr. M'Auley, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Shiels. The verdict, for the dean and chapter, was delivered in at the hour of three in the morning of the 26th of January, 1749.

[d] Dean Corbet served the office of Proctor to the œconomy, for four years, commencing 1748; during which time there was paid 1294*l.* costs of this suit: the dean contributed thereto 103*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* being the proctor's fees for four years, and likewise 200*l.* of his private money; the rest was paid out of the œconomy fund, as were various other sums, expended in the preceding years, which appear to be nearly equal in amount to that above mentioned. See Proctors accounts, and also the books of Chapter-minutes.

and having conducted him to the choir, inducted, installed, and enthroned him there, according to the usual form. [6]

1766—22d April, the dean being disabled by illness from attendance in the chapter-house, Richard Chaloner Cobbe, Subdean, enthroned, in due form, Arthur, Archbishop of Dublin. [7]

1771—21st June, the archbishop of Dublin, having at his own expense decorated the stalls in the choir with gothic canopies, the chapter requested the dean to express their grateful sense of his grace's bounty, for this very elegant embellishment of the choir. [8]

On the 20th of December, it was agreed upon, at a conference between the two chapters, that the dean of Christ-church should be chosen guardian of the spiritualities, during the vacancy of the see; and that, on the next vacancy, the dean of St. Patrick's should be elected. [9]

1772—On the 25th of March, the dean and chapter met the archbishop at the west gate of the cathedral, and after the usual ceremony, enthroned him in this cathedral.

1775—Dean Corbet having arrived at the very advanced age of eighty-seven years, died on the 25th August, and was interred on the 28th of the same month, in a vault appropriated to his family, in that part of the church-yard called the Vicar's bawn. [e] Some years after, a monumental-stone was placed over this vault, which bears the following inscription:

Here lies the Body of Mrs. Anne Corbet,
Who died May 10th, 1773.
Also, the Body of the Rev. Francis Corbet, D. D.
Thirty years Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin,
Her Husband, who died August the 25th, 1775,
Aged 87.
His truly pious and charitable Disposition made him be loved by all who knew him.
Also the Body of his Daughter, Mrs. Sarah Percival,
Who died May 3d, 1757.
Also the Body of his Daughter, Miss Patience Corbet,
Who died March 8th, 1800.
Here also lies the Body of his beloved Daughter, Mrs. Mary Boate, Wife of R. M. Boate, Esq. who died April 5th, 1806, Aged 62,
Beloved by all who knew her.
This Stone is put up by her afflicted and only Daughter, Anne Boate, as a small Tribute of gratitude to the Memory of the best of Mothers, and to that of her Grand-father, Corbet, whose she also reveres.
Close to the left side of this Vault lies the Body of R. M. Boate, Esq. who died April 20th, 1810,
Aged 90.
Also his two infant Sons.

[6] Min. of Chapt. [7] Min. of Chapt. [8] Min. of Chapt. [9] Min. of Chapt.

[e] This vault is situated at the distance of thirty feet from the library; all the burials therein are registered on the tomb-stone, except that of Miss Corbett, buried 10th April, 1812.

By his will, which is dated the 9th February, 1775, he bequeathed to his daughter Mary Boate, and her issue, the sum of one thousand pounds; to his other daughter Patience Corbet, the interest of one thousand pounds during her life: and to St. Patrick's hospital, the sum of one thousand pounds; the remainder of his property he bequeathed his only son, Robert Corbet.

Sect. IV. WILLIAM CRADOCK, *Dean.*

1775—On the 29th of August, Dr. Robert Caulfield was chosen president of the chapter, and an address was moved to the archbishop, for leave to proceed to the election of a dean. On the following day the license was produced to the chapter, by the president: the 7th of September was fixed upon to be the day election, when William Cradock, Prebendary of St. Audoen's, was chosen; and, after the usual form of confirmation by the archbishop, he was installed dean on the 12th of the same month.

William Cradock was the eldest son of the reverend Thomas Cradock, prebendary of Woolverhampton, in Staffordshire, and vicar of Penn, near that town. Thomas was younger brother to John Cradock, Archbishop of Dublin.

William was educated at St. John's college, Cambridge. He left the university upon the invitation of his uncle, came over to Ireland in 1762, and was promoted by him in the diocess of Kilmore. The same relative having attained to the archiepiscopal throne, it was through his influence that William Cradock was chosen dean of this cathedral; a dignity to which he was eligible as a canon, inasmuch as he had been installed prebendary of St. Audoen's, on the 4th of May, 1774.

1776—The chapter received from Mr. George Faulkner, printer, the donation of a bust of Dean Swift, which they caused to be placed in the nave of the cathedral, over the place of his sepulture. On the same day the chapter gave orders that a suitable stall should be erected for the archbishop, in the choir of the cathedral.

1778—In the beginning of this year, the cathedral suffered severely from a flood in the Poddle river. The inhabitants of the adjoining parishes concurred with the dean and chapter in imploring the assistance of parliament, towards preventing such evils; and that some more commissioners might be added to those mentioned in the act of 17 and 18 Cha. II.

On the 13th of December, Dean Ledwich was, by the suffrage of both chapters, chosen vicar-general and keeper of the spiritualities, during the vacancy of the see.

1779—On the 13th of January, Robert Fowler, Archbishop elect, was enthroned according to the form anciently practised in this cathedral.

On the 18th of March this year, the church was robbed of its plate, through the neglect of Fergus Gibbons, sexton, and Isabella Cross, his daughter, robe-keeper to the cathedral. The chapter having suspicion that those persons were either principals or abettors in this theft, dismissed them from all charge of the cathedral, by a vote of the 5th of July following.[a]

1781—On the 30th of April, the mansion-house, which had been built by Dean Stearne, was entirely consumed by fire. The archbishop, who had manifested a great degree of zeal in preserving the furniture, and the very valuable papers and records relating to the church, received, in the first place, the thanks of the chapter, which were likewise heartily conferred upon the dean, for his prudence in having secured 1300*l.* by a policy of insurance.[1] His disinterested conduct, manifested in preserving the original picture of his great predecessor, painted by

[1] Min. of Chapt.

[a] From a minute of chapter, dated 17th March, 1780, we learn, that the establishment of twelve alms men, originally constituted upon restoration of this cathedral, existed at that period: they, each of them, received a stipend of five marks annually. The chapter petitioned, that instead of these, eight deserving men should be appointed to perform the duty of a nightly watch; the watchmen of the adjoining parishes not having authority to interfere in matters within the liberty of St. Patrick's.

From a report made to the chapter, on 20th June, 1780, it appears, that the oeconomy rents, which in 1730 were 485*l.* annually, had increased to 719*l.* 1*s.*

Bindon, whilst the destructive flames were destroying his own property, demands the warmest approbation of posterity.

1783—It being resolved on that an order of knighthood, under the patronage and invocation of the tutelar saint of Ireland, should be established, the choir of this cathedral was fixed upon as a chapel suitable for the installation of the members of this new order: this resolution was communicated to the dean and chapter, in a message from Earl Temple, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who required the use of the cathedral for the ceremony of installation. The dean and chapter, on the 25th of January, signified to his excellency "their grateful sense of the high honour conferred upon this kingdom in general, by his most gracious majesty, in the institution of that order; and their happiness in having this opportunity of returning their acknowledgments to his excellency, for the distinguished honour done to their cathedral, in the preference given." They likewise ordered, that his excellency should have the use of the cathedral and sixteen stalls, on the day of installation, and have liberty to erect scaffolding in the choir, nave, and aisles, under the direction of the dean.

Although this institution cannot boast of remote antiquity, nevertheless, Ireland was not without its fraternities of knights in ancient times. The order of the Red-branch, of which many fables have been related, resembles in those respects that of king Arthur and his knights of the round table; but many well authenticated and very interesting particulars have been handed down to us, relative to the fraternity of St. George, instituted in the 14th of king Edward IV., which consisted of twelve knights companions.

It will be the task of the editor, in a future volume, to recount the privileges conferred on, and the atchievements performed by those heroes of old time: at present it must suffice merely to make mention of those orders, lest the antiquarian reader should decide, that Ireland alone, of all ancient kingdoms, was without its institutions of chivalry. The founders of the order of St. Patrick were, perhaps, ignorant of the existence of those more ancient institutions; however, had they been apprized of them, the revival would not have been a measure so prudent or judicious as the establishment of a new order. St. George was already the patron of another order in the sister kingdom; the Irish fraternity were, therefore, more properly placed under the invocation of the apostle of their own nation, whose name could of itself render the institution an object of veneration; and being ruled by a British monarch, as its sovereign, it placed in an interesting point of view, the connexion between the two kingdoms, and was, therefore, a measure tending to conciliate the irritated feelings of these sister nations, which had been mutually exasperated by the late contests, relating to a participation of commercial advantages.

The warrant for creating this society, or brotherhood, was issued by his majesty, at the court of St. James's, on the 5th of February, 1783. It was determined thereby, that the order should consist of the sovereign, and fifteen knights companions. Their names and titles were therein set forth, in the following order, viz.

Prince Edward, fourth son of his Majesty.

William Robert, Duke of Leinster,
Henry, Earl of Clanricarde,
Randal William, Earl of Antrim,
Thomas, Earl of Westmeath,
Morrough, Earl of Inchiquin,
Charles, Earl of Drogheda,
George de la Poer, Earl of Tyrone,
Richard, Earl of Shannon,
James, Earl of Clanbrassil,
Richard, Earl of Mornington,
James, Earl of Courtown,
James, Earl of Charlemont,
Thomas, Earl of Bective, and
Henry, Earl of Ely.

His majesty reserved to himself and his heirs the authority of sovereigns; his lord lieutenant or other general governor of the realm of Ireland, for the time being, was to officiate as grand master: the privilege of having a common seal was conferred; and officers,[b] such as a chancellor, register, secretary, genealogist, usher, king at arms, heralds, and pursuivants, were annexed.[c] The knights companions, being commoners, were given a rank and precedency immediately after

[b] It was ordained that the archbishop of Duhlin, for the the time being, should be Chancellor; the dean of St. Patrick's, for the time being, Register. Afterwards, on the 11th of March, his majesty signified that another office should be established, that of Prelate to the order, to be held by the archbishop of Armagh, for the time being.

It has been enacted, by two separate ordinances, that the fees hereafter set forth should be paid by the knights companions to the respective officers of the order.

	£.	s.	d
The chancellor, when the collar and badges of each deceased knight shall be delivered to the grand master, is to receive	100	0	0
The register, upon the knight's being invested,	25	0	0
and again, upon installation, a second sum of .	25	0	0
The secretary, upon investiture, ...	25	0	0
and again, upon installation, . . .	25	0	0
The genealogist, upon investiture, . . .	25	0	0
and again upon installation, ...	25	0	0
To the usher, (called the black rod) upon investiture,	20	0	0
and again, upon installation, ...	20	0	0
To the king at arms, upon investiture, . .	15	0	0
and again, upon installation, . . .	15	0	0
To the two heralds, 10*l.* each, upon investiture, .	20	0	0
and again, upon installation, ...	20	0	0
To the four pursuivants, each 5*l.* upon investiture,	20	0	0
and again, upon installation	20	0	0

The fees to the chancellor and register were established by an ordinance of the sovereign, dated St. James's, 8th June, 49 Geo. III. the others were fixed at the original establishment of the order.

[c] The habits and robes, to be worn by the knights and officers, were determined to be as follows:

Those of the grand master and knights companions to be of the like materials and fashion, viz. the mantles of sky-blue sattin, lined with white silk, having on the left shoulder a hood of blue sattin, lined also with white silk, the mantle to be tied with two strings of blue silk, mixed with gold; their shoes to be of white leather, with knots of crimson ribbon; sword-belt of crimson sattin, the handle of the sword gilt, and the scabbard of crimson velvet; the hat to be round, covered with white sattin, and lined with blue, the front turned back, and the same device, encircled with rays affixed thereto, as hereafter is directed to be worn on the left side of the outer garment; the said hat to be surmounted with three falls of ostrich feathers, red, blue and white, and round the hat a band of crimson sattin, embroidered after the fashion of the great collar of the order.

The collar of the order to be of gold, composed of roses and harps alternately, tied together with a knot of gold; the roses to be enamelled, white leaves within red, and red within white alternately; in the centre of the collar an imperial crown, surmounting a harp of gold, from which is to hang the badge of the order. This collar (which is likewise to encircle, in all armorial bearings, the coats armorial of the knights,) to be worn by the knights on all collar days. The badge to be of gold, surmounted by a wreath of shamrock and trefoil, within which a circle of gold containing the motto of the order, in letters of gold, "QUIS SEPARABIT?" together with the date "1783," (being the year of foundation) and encircling the cross of St. Patrick, gules, surmounted with a trefoil, vert, each of its leaves charged with an imperial crown, or, upon a field, argent This badge to be worn pendant from a sky blue ribbon, over. the right shoulder, at all times when the collar shall not be worn: further, this badge, encircled within rays in form of a star of silver of eight points, four greater and four lesser, to be worn by the knights from and after their installation, on the left side of the outer garment.

The badge of the grand master to be worn pendant at the neck, from a sky-blue ribbon, surmounted by a harp crowned.

The chancellor to wear the same mantle as the knights: his badge to be of gold, pendant at his neck from a sky-blue ribbon, of a square form, representing a purse, and charged with the same cross, gules, surmounted as before on a field, argent, and encircled with a wreath of shamrocks.

The register to wear the same mantle, but shorter; his badge of gold pendant at his neck, from a sky blue ribbon, to be in the shape of a book, charged with the same device as that of the chancellor.

The secretary and genealogist each to wear a mantle of the same length as the register, with a surcoat of white silk, and pendant at their necks from a sky blue ribbon, the same badge as the knights, excepting only the circlet of gold with the motto.

The usher of the order to wear a crimson sattin mantle, but shorter, and habit the same as the last mentioned; his badge, pendant at the neck by a sky blue ribbon, shall bear the harp of gold upon a field, azure, encircled with the motto, as before.

The king at arms to wear the same habit and mantle as the usher; his badge, pendant at his neck by a sky blue ribbon, to contain the cross, gules, upon a field, argent, impailed with the arms of Ireland, and both encircled with the motto above mentioned.

All the vestments, mantles, &c. to be of those sorts of manufactures which are wrought within the realm of Ireland.

The habit and mantle to be worn by the prelate of the order, it was afterwards determined should resemble that of the knights companions; his badge to be of gold, pendant at his neck from a sky blue ribbon, like that appointed to be worn by the knights, surmounted with an archiepiscopal mitre.

It was, moreover, ordained, that every knight, within the year of his stallation, should cause to be made an escutcheon of his arms and hatchments, in a plate of metal, such as should please him, to be set upon the back of his stall; and the others that should come after, to have their escutcheons and hatchments in like manner; but neither their plates of metal, nor their hatchments, to be so large or so great as those of the first founders.

The following days are observed by this order as collar-days:

Christmas day.
New-year's day.
Twelfth day.
St. George's day.
Easter and Whit-Sundays.
All Saints' day, if on a Sunday.
St. Patrick's day.
St. Andrew's day.

On the 24th June 1786, an order was issued from the chamberlain's office, London, in pursuance of his majesty's command, and appeared in the London gazette, commanding that the installed knights of the Garter, Bath, and St. Patrick, who should come to court on the following days in that year, should appear in the collars of their orders, viz.—on the 29th of June; 24th of August; 21st and 22d of September; 18th and 25th of October; 20th of November; and 21st of December; as these were to be collar-days. The knights of the Thistle also to appear on those days in the collars of their order.

barons eldest sons, and their wives were to rank immediately after the wives of barons eldest sons, and before all other inferior orders. To carry into effect these intentions, letters patent were directed forthwith to pass the great seal of Ireland. His majesty likewise, as sovereign of this most illustrious order, established certain statutes and ordinances, to serve for the perpetual regulation of the same. These, in the first place, reserved to his majesty and his successors, the determination of all causes touching the statutes of the order; but inasmuch as, by reason of his absence from the realm of Ireland, he could not hold chapters, or do such things as might appertain to him to do, his chief governor there was vested with all privileges or prerogatives, which, as sovereign, did belong to him, under the title or appellation of grand master of the order.

The 11th of March was the day fixed on for investing the knights, previous to their installation. They accordingly met in the presence chamber of the castle of Dublin, and went in grand procession to the great ball-room: his majesty's letter was first read, during which his excellency and the assembly remained standing and uncovered: his excellency then invested himself with the blue ribbon and badge of the grand master, and then signified his majesty's pleasure, that the great ball-room should be stiled "*The Hall of St. Patrick*;"[d] proclamation thereof was forthwith made by the king at arms, at the sound of trumpets. The several officers of the order were then sworn in, and received their respective badges. The lord Muskerry was then knighted, and declared proxy to his royal highness Prince Edward, who, in consideration of his tender age, had his majesty's dispensation to that effect. His grace the duke of Leinster was then called in, and being first knighted with the sword of state, after he had delivered to the genealogist the proofs of blood required by the statute, the oaths were administered to him by the chancellor, and his grace kneeling, was invested by the grand master [e] with the ribbon and badge. The earls Clanricarde, Westmeath, Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbrassil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont and Bective, were then successively sworn and invested, being each severally introduced by the two junior knights; the senior taking his seat as a knight companion.

The earl of Antrim not being allowed to retain the military order of the Bath, with which he had been already invested, relinquished the honour intended for him; his majesty, therefore, by warrant, dated at St. James's the 7th of March, commanded that letters patent should pass the great seal of Ireland, creating Arthur, Earl of Arran, "one of the original knights."

The anniversary of the patron saint of Ireland was fixed on for the day of installation. The procession was from the castle in coaches; his excellency alone being in full mantle, habit and collar; the knights in the surcoat only, with their caps in their hands, and their esquires (whereof each knight was, according to the statute, attended with three) in their full dress.

His excellency was received at the cathedral of Saint Patrick, by the members of the chapter, by the officers of the church, and of the order, all of whom attended him to the chapter-room.

[d] His excellency had it in contemplation to embellish this apartment with a large historical picture, representative of the original institution of the order. The scene was to have been at once diversified and embellished by the portraits of those ladies who graced the assembly upon this grand occasion: several likenesses were actually taken; but I have not discovered by what mischance this painting has been lost.

[e] Who, at the same time, pronounced the following words: "Sir, the loving company of the order of Saint Patrick hath received you their brother, lover, and fellow; and in token and knowledge of this, they give you and present you this present badge; the which God will that you receive and wear from henceforth, to his praise and pleasure, and to the exaltation and honour of the said illustrious order, and yourself."

A procession was soon after made from thence to the choir in the following order, viz.

Vergers.
Choristers.
Prebendaries.
Messengers.
Kettle-drums.
Trumpets.
Pursuivants.
Pages.
Gentlemen at large.
Gentlemen of the bed-chamber.
Gentleman of horse, Chamberlain, and Gentleman-usher.
Steward and Comptroller.
Esquires, three and three.
Heralds.
Knights, two and two.
Lord Muskerry, as proxy for his R. H. Prince Edward.
Ulster, king at arms, Usher of black rod, and Genealogist.
Secretary and Register.
Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor.
(Prelate, absent by reason of his ill state of health,)
Lord Carhampton, carrying the sword of state.
Lord Lieutenant, as Grand Master, with his aides-de-camp on each side, his train supported by three peers' sons.
Battle-axe-guards.

Upon entering the choir the several officers attending the procession proceeded to the places assigned to them; the esquires, making their reverences to the altar when they came opposite to the stall of their knight, took their respective places. The knights, after the like reverences, proceeded to their stalls, where they remained standing till his excellency was seated, when they all bowed together, and seated themselves. A grand band of musicians, vocal and instrumental, then performed Handel's coronation anthem; after which, the usher, king at arms, heralds and pursuivants, attended with Lord Robert Fitz-Gerald, Lord Sudley, and Lord Jocelyn, the sovereign's esquires, brought in the sovereign's banner, which was, by the senior esquire, carried to the steps of the altar, and being delivered to Ulster, was by him presented to the register, and placed within the rails of the altar. The officers of the order, with the honourable Mr. Gore, the honourable Mr. Jocelyn, and the honourable Mr. Jones, esquires to his royal highness Prince Edward, then went, with the usual reverences, for the insignia of the order, with which they returned in the following manner, viz.

The principal esquire, bearing his royal highness's banner furled.
The two other esquires, bearing the mantle and sword.
Ulster, carrying the great collar of the order, upon a blue velvet cushion.

As soon as they proceeded to the centre of the choir, they remained there while the four great officers of the order proceeded to his royal highness's stall, and after the usual reverences to the sovereign's stall, Lord Muskerry, proxy to his royal highness, descended into the middle of the choir, where the sword, the mantle, and the collar, were delivered to his lordship by the chancellor and

register; the chancellor reading the admonitions prescribed.[f] His lordship was not invested, but bore the insignia upon his arm.

They then conducted his lordship to the prince's stall, with the usual reverences to the sovereign, and his lordship being seated, but not with the cap upon his head, the esquire immediately unfurled the banner, and then, his lordship and the knights standing up uncovered, Ulster proclaimed his royal highness's style, in English, and a procession was made to the altar, of the register and officers at arms, attended by the esquires with the banner, which was delivered to Ulster, who presented it to the register, to be placed by him within the rails of the altar, the principal esquire making the offering, which was placed by the dean upon the altar, after which, with the usual reverences, the esquires proceeded to their places.

The officers at arms, with the esquires to his grace the duke of Leinster, proceeded in like manner to bring in the insignia, and his grace having descended into the choir, was invested with the sword, the mantle, and the collar, by the chancellor and register, the admonitions being read by the chancellor; the duke of Leinster was then conducted to his stall, and standing up with his cap upon his head, his banner was unfurled, Ulster proclaimed his style, and his grace, bowing to the grand master by whom he was at the same time saluted, took his seat. The banner and offering were then presented with the ceremonies before described.

His grace then assisted in presenting the earl of Clanricarde, who was invested by him and installed with the same ceremonies.

The earl of Westmeath was next presented by the duke of Leinster and the earl of Clanricarde, and in like manner invested by them and installed.

The earls of Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbrassil, Mornington, Arran, Courtown, Charlemont, and Bective, were respectively invested and installed with the like ceremonies, each being presented and invested by the two juniors of the installed knights.

When the ceremonies of the installation were finished, the band performed Handel's Dettingen *Te Deum;* after which a procession was made in the former order to the chapter-room, the knights, esquires, and officers of the order wearing their caps, and the procession returned from the chapter-room to the castle.

A sumptuous banquet being prepared in Saint Patrick's hall, the grand master, with the knights and their esquires, the officers of state, the officers of the order, and the officers of his excellency's household, went in procession from the presence-chamber to Saint Patrick's hall, where the grand master and knights took their seats at table, covered, viz. the grand master in a chair of estate in the center, the prince's proxy in a chair covered with crimson velvet on his left hand, the prelate's chair being placed at the end of the sovereign's table on the right, the chancellor seated at the other end on the left, and the knights on each side. The esquires remained standing till after grace was said by the chancellor, when they retired to the seats prepared for them.

Towards the end of the first course his excellency stood up uncovered, the knights also rose uncovered, and the king at arms proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, that the grand master and knights companions of the most illustrious order of Saint Patrick did drink the sovereign's health. The second course was

[f] Upon putting on the sword.

"Take this sword to the increase of your honour, and in token and sign of the most illustrious order which you have received, wherewith you being defended may be bold strongly to fight in the defence of those rights and ordinances to which you be engaged, and to the just and necessary defence of those that be oppressed and needy."

Upon putting on the mantle.

"Receive this robe and livery of this most illustrious order in augmentation of thine honour, and wear it with the firm and steady resolution that by your character, conduct, and demeanour, you may approve yourself a true servant of Almighty God, and a worthy brother and knight companion of this most illustrious order."

then brought in by the yeomen of the guard, with the usual ceremonies; after which his excellency stood up covered, and the knights standing up uncovered, Ulster proclaimed, that the grand master, in the name of the sovereign, did drink the healths of the knights companions; and at the end of the second course, all rising again uncovered, drank the queen's health, which was proclaimed in the same manner. The desert being brought in, the officers at arms, with the usual reverences, cried LARGESS thrice, and proclaimed the style of the sovereign, and afterwards of each knight companion, who successively stood up during the said ceremony, and sat down again after bowing to the sovereign.

During the winter of 1783 the cathedral was more than once inundated by the overflowing of the Poddle river.

On the 29th of November, 1784, the dean and chapter presented an address to his excellency the lord lieutenant, stating the inefficacy of all former attempts to free that part of the city and the cathedral, from those calamitous visitations, and imploring his attention to their situation, and to that of many thousands of his majesty's most industrious subjects, who were unable to afford the great sum necessary to construct a sewer sufficient. On Friday, the 2d of January following, the mountain flood occasioned such an inundation, that great numbers of houses in that part of the metropolis, as also in the lower Castle-yard, Dame-street, Crampton-court, and Sycamore-alley, were over-flowed, so that many lives and much property was lost. The inhabitants of the four adjoining parishes did, upon this occasion, join with the dean and chapter in a petition to the government for relief, and represented that the sum of 2000*l.* was, according to estimate, necessary to remedy the evil. On the 10th of Feb. 1785, the sudden melting of the snow caused a repetition of the injury, and a reiteration of the complaint, which was, this last time, addressed to the house of commons.[2 g]

1786—On the 11th of October the dean and chapter voted an address to his majesty, congratulating him upon the late providential deliverance of his royal person from the hand of an assassin. "We pour forth our thanksgivings," say they, "to the Almighty Disposer of events, who, in the instant of danger, protected your sacred life from the hand of violence; and unite with our fellow citizens in expressing our joy at a deliverance of such high importance to the general happiness." This truly affectionate address to their excellent sovereign was cordially received, and a gracious answer communicated through the lord lieutenant.[h]

1787—The stone arch over the choir being found in a decayed state, it was ordered to be removed, and the sum of 360*l.* was voted by chapter to erect a new one.[3]

1791—The dean and chapter were compelled, on the 21st of January this year, again to represent to the house of commons, and to the lord lieutenant, the

[2] Min. of Chapt.

[3] Min. of Chapt.

[g] In the beginning of the years 1786 and 1788, the church and its environs were overflowed, and much damage done each time. It is surprising that representations so often repeated should fail to arrest public attention. For centuries that portion of the city which lies below the level of inundation has been subjected to this periodical visitation; and, although the inhabitants living thereon are more numerous than upon any part of the same extent in this island, although the evil might be removed at a less expense than any public work could be executed for, they are still subjected to the same evils, which, whether dreaded or actually suffered, are truly grievous. The public journals recount similar calamities to have occurred in in the years 1787 and 1789.

"20th November 1787—So great was the flood this year, that there was eight feet of water in the cathedral of St. Patrick."—Dub. Courant.

"23d Jan. 1789—Three feet deep of water in St. Patrick's cathedral, by reason of flood."—Dub. Courant.

See hereafter at date 1791.

[h] The addresses to the kiug and queen, upon the recovery of his majesty from his severe illness in 1789, were equally cordial, but did not emanate solely from this body; they were from the clergy of the diocess at large. I shall notice them in another place.

frequent injury their cathedral and the grounds adjacent had suffered, from floods on the "Dodder river;"[i] all preceding attempts to remove the evil they represented to have been fruitless; skilful workmen had reported, that the former sewers were insufficient, and that it was necessary to erect a new water-course through the several streets through which the flood passed; a work which, according to their representation, required the sum of 2993*l.* This aid they implored, not only on their own behalf, but upon that of many thousands of his majesty's subjects.[4]

1792—The south wall and roof of the nave were reported by Mr. Edward Park, the architect, to be in a very dangerous state, the wall having departed two feet from the perpendicular; it was therefore judged unsafe to attend divine service therein; accordingly, the performance of it was, for a time, suspended.[k]

1783—The reverend William Cradock died at Edinburgh on the 1st of September this year, and was buried in the church-yard of the Gray Friars in that city. His wife, Matilda,[l] survived him, and, on the 18th of December 1804, was interred in the vicar's-bawn, at the head of Bishop Synges tomb.[5]

Sect. V. Robert Fowler, *Dean.*

1793—The chapter assembled on the 24th of September, and were unanimous in their choice of the reverend Thomas Hastings, Archdeacon of Dublin, to be their president; they likewise petitioned the archbishop for license to proceed to elect a dean.

The archbishop's license having been procured, the chapter met, pursuant to citation, on the 15th of October,[a] when the reverend Robert Fowler, A. M. Precentor of this cathedral,[b] and son to the archbishop of Dublin, was elected dean. It having been intimated to the chapter, that their right of election would be disputed by the crown, they passed a vote, that all expenses, incurred by defending their rights, should be discharged out of the oeconomy fund; they passed an order likewise, that no member of the chapter should install any person in the deanery, without consent of a chapter summoned at least three days before.

On the 30th of December letters patent were issued, which conferred the deanery upon the reverend Peter Carleton, A. M.; it was set forth in these letters, that "the same was at the disposal of his majesty, by reason of the death of Will. Cradock." Carleton produced this instrument to the chapter on the 16th of January, and tendered a requisition, in form, that he should be installed. The chapter, however, refused to comply with this request.

4 Min. of Chapt. 5 Reg. St. Pat.

[i] This river is properly called the Poddle. The Dodder rises in the same mountains but discharges itself into the sea at Ringsend; there is, nevertheless, a confusion in their names in many public documents.

[k] The report of Mr. Cooley, architect, discouraged all attempts at partial repairs, and therefore occasioned an address to his excellency, which was presented in July, this year. After representing the state of their finances, and their incapacity to execute even a temporary repair, the chapter implored his excellency's advice and aid in this their distressing situation.—Min. of Chapt.

[l] She was daughter to the Right Hon. Edward Cary, of Dungiven, and was married, first. to Colonel Newburgh, of the county Cavan.

[a] Robert Fowler was absent from the kingdom at the time of his election, it was this circumstance that occasioned the lapse of time between his election and installation.

[b] Robert Fowler was precentor of St. Patrick's, and vicar of St. Anne's parish, Dublin, when elected dean: he applied for a faculty to enable him to hold those preferments with the deanery; it being thought hazardous to resign them, until the claim to the advowson of the deanery should be decided. This faculty was granted by the primate, and the faculty seal annexed; but the lord chancellor refused to annex the great seal, alleging that such confirmation would prejudice the crown's right to the patronage of the deanery, unless a proviso should be added, "saving to his majesty, his heirs and successors, their undoubted right and title to nominate and appoint a dean of the said cathedral, on every vacancy of the same." The chapter, although no proviso had ever been inserted in any faculty, (and faculties had been granted to the deans, Maturin and Corbet, when the crown contested the patronage of the deanery,) agreed to the insertion of a clause, declaring, that nothing therein should extend to weakening the crown's title; the intent being,

On the 21st of February following Fowler was installed dean. This dignity he held but a few days: on the 5th of April he resigned, retaining, however, his former dignity of precentor. Thomas Hastings, Archdeacon of Dublin, having deceased, he was appointed by the archbishop his successor in that dignity, and was installed on the 26th of April following.[c]

Sect. VI. JAMES VERSCHOYLE, *Dean.*

1794—The reverend Robert Fowler having notified his intention to resign the deanery, he was, on the 8th of April, chosen president of the chapter; that body, on the same day, petitioned the archbishop for leave to proceed to elect a dean.

The chapter having obtained the usual license, met on the 23d of April, and elected the reverend James Verschoyle, L. L. B. to be Dean, and appointed him likewise president of the chapter: on the 1st of May following he was promoted to the precentor's stall, and on the 3d of the same month, in obedience to the mandate of the archbishop, who had declared the election valid, he was installed Dean.

James Verschoyle is the eldest son of Joseph Verschoyle, esq. and a native of the city of Dublin: his ancestors emigrated to this country from Holland, during the persecutions the reformed church of that country suffered from the intolerant zeal of Philip II. A brass chandelier, which was but a few years ago removed from the church of St. Catherine in Dublin, bore the name of one of this family, who had presented it to the parish in 1637. James Verschoyle was admitted a student in Trinity College, Dublin, A. D. 1765; having obtained the usual degrees, and being ordained into holy orders, he was admitted a petit-canon of this cathedral on the 12th of May 1780; a vicar choral on the 1st of April 1784; and installed Archdeacon of Glendaloch in 1788. On the 23d of November 1790 his popularity in the chapter was manifested, by his being unanimously elected to the cure of St. Luke's parish, and on the 13th of April following he was installed Prebendary of Monmahenock, which benefice, together with the parishes which are thereto united, he retained until his election to the chair of the deanery. On the 22d of April 1793 he was collated to the vicarage of Swords, and on the 1st of May 1794 installed Precentor: he continued to hold that dignity until, by the the decree of the courts of law, his title to the deanery was confirmed.

1794—1798[a]—On the 3d of May 1794, the same day in which Dean Verschoyle

that he should hold the deanery, if he was legally entitled thereto, by virtue of his election: this proviso the chancellor refused, or any other except that which he had dictated. Being placed in this dilemma, Robert Fowler accepted of the archdeaconry of Dublin, which happened to fall vacant, and to which he was collated by his father, the archbishop.

When we consider that the respective rights of the crown and chapter were on the eve of being brought to a fair trial, we shall not be inclined to admire the justice of this proceeding; it was a manifest attempt to urge an individual to betray the rights of that body of which he was a member, by making him suffer inconvenience in matters of his own private concern.

[c] Robert Fowler was the only son of the archbishop of Dublin; he was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory by letters patent, dated the 17th of June 1813: he is still the incumbent of that see.

[a] Although legal proceedings were commenced early in 1794, in the court of Common-pleas, in 1795 we find them carrying on in the court of King's-bench. The final decision was not obtained until 1798. This delay was owing to circumstances which it may be necessary here to explain.

In 1793, shortly after the election of Robert Fowler, when the suit was first instituted, a message was delivered to the chapter, from Robert Corbet, esq. (called likewise captain Corbet) informing them, that he was possessed of many important papers and evidences, relating to the suit which was determined in 1749, and desiring a conference with the chapter on that account. To this proposal the chapter assented; but they soon after received a second message, intimating that captain Corbet had handed the papers to his son Francis, who had a few months before been called to the bar, who would confer with the chapter upon the subject. Accordingly, certain members of the chapter, who had been appointed a committee for that purpose, had a meeting with counsellor Corbet in Marsh's library; he there produced some papers, and said he had more, but he refused to deliver them up, unless he should be handsomely recompensed; and he threatened to go over to the other side, unless his terms should be complied with: the committee thought his proposal unreasonable, and therefore they rejected it; a retainer was however sent afterwards, to engage him as counsel, but he returned it, making answer, that he was engaged on the opposite side.

The chapter were hereupon obliged to move, that the trial should be put off; and, on the 13th of February, 1797, it being

was installed, the chapter nominated a committee to consult with their law agent, concerning the means of defending their rights, pending the suit with the crown: this committee consisted of the following persons, viz. the Dean, the reverend Thomas Cradock, and the reverend Charles Mosse.

The original writ of summons, in *quare impedit*, was issued out of the court of Chancery by the crown solicitor, returnable into the Common-pleas fifteen days after Easter 1794; before the return, the resignation of Fowler, and the election of Verschoyle had occurred: a new writ of summons, tested the 20th of May, was issued, returnable on the morrow of the Holy Trinity. On the 5th of December the declaration in this cause was filed, which chiefly sets forth, that Charles II. was seised of the deanery of St. Patrick's cathedral, by right of his crown of this realm; that the election of archbishop King was an usurpation, and occurred after king James's abdication, when the throne was vacant. In 1795 we find the cause had been removed into the court of King's-bench, where the declaration was filed on the 6th of June.

The archbishop in his plea alleged, that the archbishoprick was, from time immemorial, a body politic; and that, by right of his see, he and his predecessors had been seised of the advowson of this deanery, from time beyond the memory of man. The chapter traversed the seisin of Charles II. who had collated Parry, and pleaded the prescriptive rights of the archbishop, and those of their own corporation, which had been derived to them from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary.[b]

apprehended that these papers were some that they could not find, they filed a bill against Robert and Francis Corbet, in which they stated, that the expense of the cause in 1749, and the cost of writing those papers, had been defrayed out of the oeconomy fund, and prayed that they might be handed over to them, or lodged in court for their inspection. Francis Corbet filed his answer on the 5th of May, acknowledging that he was in possession of some papers, but claimed them as the private property of his grandfather, who had served as proctor two years without the usual fees, whereby, and by certain regulations relating to the vicars choral and organist, which created a saving to the value of 40*l.* per annum more, he had reimbursed the chapter in the expenses of the suit; he alleged that he had a receipt for the muniments and documents relating to the deanery, which had been delivered up, and denied his having sought any recompence for the papers in his possession: he admitted having refused the retaining fee, because he had been employed by the crown without any solicitation on his part. This answer was excepted against by the plaintiffs, and the exceptions answered by Corbet; but, on the 13th of June, the chapter filed an amended bill, wherein they stated, that the costs of the former suit, amounting to upwards of 2000*l.* were defrayed out of the oeconomy fund; that the saving made by Corbet was *ex officio*, as head of the chapter: they maintained the truth of the narrative of the transactions that had occurred at the conference, and added, that his saying that his papers would entitle him to be employed as counsel, proved the documents to be of value; accordingly, the chapter prayed for a discovery of them. Corbet, in his answer to this amended bill, filed the 23d June, alleged that he had handed over the papers to the crown solicitor, and denied the plaintiffs' being entitled to discovery of them; and in a supplemental affidavit, dated the 1st of July, he swore that the papers he possessed were of a nature that could not be produced in evidence. During the course of this contest the agent for the chapter was obliged, by various affidavits, to obtain prorogation of the trial in the court of King's-bench, and thereby they were led into vast expense, and suffered much vexation. It must be allowed, that this conduct did not very well become a person whose ancestor had for thirty years possessed the deanery, to which he was called by the suffrage of the chapter, and in which he was maintained at their expense.

[b] As the defendants set out with claiming a title by prescription, they were debarred from the use of many books and evidences of great importance to their cause: they could not produce their charters of foundation, by the archbishops John Comin and Henry de Loundres, because the latter charter, which established the deanery, was granted in 1220, and the time of legal memory commenced in 1189; these, if they had been exhibited, would have rebutted, in a satisfactory way, the most material evidence produced by their opponents, namely, those exhibited to prove the cathedral to be of royal foundation, out of which grew the arguments urged to prove that the king was patron of this deanery, as he is of almost every other; and that, therefore, the dean ought to be nominated by him, in like manner as he presents to those others. Neither could they produce their charter of restitution, whereby king Philip and queen Mary restored to them, along with their other privileges, this right of electing their dean; because this record recites, in the beginning of it, the two charters above mentioned. The chapter, having found this plea of their's very disadvantageous to their cause, were desirous to vacate it, and begin *de novo*; but their counsel judged this measure to be hazardous, and that it might, moreover, be disallowed by the court.

Although the question, instead of being extended to the whole principle of right, was thus narrowed to the point at issue, nevertheless, the evidences produced, and the arguments used on both sides, do throw so much light upon this subject, that I have thought fit to give them somewhat at length, to the intent that they may be perpetuated, and save, in future, a great deal of vexatious and expensive litigation.

As it would occasion much repetition to detail the several arguments used by the different advocates, in the order they were exhibited at the trial, and as many of them, when the merits of the case became during the investigation to be better known, were found to be of no force, (and on that account it is needless that they should be recorded,) I have therefore preferred publishing the charge given by the learned Justice Downes to to the jury, which is at once clear and concise. The most forcible parts of each argument are therein pointed out, and the whole of the evidence commented upon and explained: it appears to be, therefore, the best report that could be made of this very important cause.

The attorney general filed his replication to this plea; he admitted that the archbishop and the chapter were corporate bodies from time immemorial, but averred that Charles II. was seised of the advowson of the deanery; instead, however, of an issue on the seisin, he took a traverse upon the prescriptive right alleged by the plea, and upon this traverse the defendants joined issue.

The arguments of the respective advocates, the exhibits of evidence, and the charges of the learned judges, were noted down in short hand by Mr. John Angel, professor of stenography, and his report, reduced to writing, is deposited among the archives of this cathedral; but it is executed in such an unskilful manner, as to be of itself altogether useless: I have availed myself, however, of such information as could be drawn from it, but have made more use of the notes which were entered by the counsel for the defendants upon the backs of their briefs: from these documents I have elicited the matter of the learned judge's charge, which was in words nearly to the following effect.

" Gentlemen of the Jury,

" In this case, the king, at the prosecution of his majesty's attorney general, is plaintiff: the archbishop of Dublin, the chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral, and the Rev. Dean Verschoyle, are defendants.—The issue you are to try is;—Whether, before the appointment of Dean Parry, the advowson of the deanery was the right of the archbishop of Dublin: whether the chapter, upon a vacancy, did use to signify the same to the archbishop, for the purpose that they should obtain his license to proceed to elect a dean, who, after election, was presented to the archbishop for his approbation and confirmation; which being obtained, the dean was installed.—The affirmative of this question is relied on by the defendants, who maintain that this was the constitution of the deanery.—It is admitted on the part of the crown, that the deanery is elective; by the constitution of this kingdom, they say, all deaneries are elective; but they contend, that it is not so in the mode which which is relied upon by the chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral: they assert, that in all cases the license issues from the crown, and not from the archbishop; and maintain that no other constitution of deaneries could be by law. There is nothing, however, in the appointment of deans, as contended for by the defendants, which makes against law; it has been determined, that some deaneries are purely donative by the king's prerogative, some are collative, and some elective, according to the original foundation of their respective churches.—The origin of deaneries is difficult to be ascertained: if the defendants have proved to your satisfaction such usage as they maintain, they ought to have your verdict.

" Gentlemen—The issue of this case being upon a prescription, it is necessary to state the nature of a title by prescription. Our best writers say, that two things are necessarily incident to prescription—time and possession—the possession must be from time immemorial, and that possession not lawfully interrupted; such a title cannot be destroyed by a wrongful interruption; but if there be a rightful interruption, the right merges in the new title—it is no longer a title by prescription. It is founded in the principles of plain sense and common honesty, that a wrongful act, by another person, cannot destroy a title by prescription; it must be by some act of his own.—The defendants in this cause contend, that they have a title by prescription: the plaintiffs, that no such prescription did, at any time, exist: or that, if it did, by the act of resignation by Dean Bassenet and the chapter, it was interrupted and destroyed.

" In order to establish the prescription for which they contend, the defendants have gone into a great variety of evidence; the nature of which I will state as briefly as I can, according to the order of time.

" The earliest evidence which the defendants have produced is a pardon granted to a person of the name of Prene, formerly dean of this cathedral: this pardon was granted in the 5th year of the reign of Hen. IV. It was produced on account of an expression which occurs in it, that the deanery is 'an elective benefice.'—This instrument is near 400 years old, and from thence it may be collected, that this deanery was at that time elective.

" The next piece of evidence produced by the defendants is an act of parliament of the 8th Edw. IV. wherein the deanery is called an elective benefice: it mentions, that Dean Alleyne was, in 1465, lawfully elected, confirmed, and installed.—There is another piece of evidence to the same point; the report of the commissioners, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, and the lord treasurer, to king Henry VIII. upon the modelling of the priory and convent of the Holy Trinity into the form of a dean and chapter; which instrument recommends, that the future deans should be elected in like manner as the deans of St. Patrick's cathedral were, and confirmed by the archbishop of Dublin; but upon this I shall observe more at large by and by.—A record of the 40th of Elizabeth has been read, which directs, that John Rider should be elected dean, and states, that Rider had promised he would, after his election, discharge, by an annuity, a sum which his predecessor owed to the crown.

" It is admitted on the part of the crown, that the deanery was elective; but they assert, that it was so by license of the the crown; and it is from circumstances you are to collect whether this be the fact or not.

" The pardon to Prene was a pardon for an offence against the statute of provisors, for his having taken the appointment from the court of Rome: this pardon expressly says, that the deanery is an elective benefice, but it says nothing of the mode of election. The counsel for the crown say, that Prene was pardoned because he accepted of a benefice which was elective by the king's license; but, from the best judgment I can form, no such conclusion can be decisively drawn from it. The counsel for the crown contend that there does not exist a possibility of its being an elective benefice, and that election be held under a license different from that which obtains with regard to other elective benefices. Whatever may be the foundation of other benefices, it does not appear to me that we can, with certainty, conclude, that no ecclesiastical promotion can be elected to, by any other mode than by king's writ:—the word is equivocal; by equivocal I mean, it may be elective by king's writ, or elective by any other mode:—the words, elective benefice, if they appear equivocal in this instrument, it is for the jury to decide what they conceive to be the meaning. If, gentlemen, you shall be of opinion that the election was had no otherwise than by the king's license, it is decisive of the question, and you must find a verdict for the crown; but if you shall find that the election was held by license from the archbishop, then you will find your verdict for the defendants:—there has not, however, during this long investigation, been produced one single piece of evidence, not one single instance has been exhibited, of any license from the king.

" I shall now proceed to mention to you a piece of evidence of the most material moment upon this issue; I mean the report made in the 30th year of king Henry VIII. (1539). This report is made by three officers, trusted by the crown to inquire what constitution would be best for Christ-church cathedral. This report has been read in evidence, from the ancient books of Christ-church; it is a very material piece of evidence, and the best the nature of the case will admit of: it recommends that Paynswick should be appointed dean, and that, when a vacancy should happen, a new pastor should be elected, according to the canon law, in like manner as the election of the dean of St. Patrick's is celebrated, to be approved of and confirmed by the archbishop of Dublin. You find here conclusive evidence of what the constitution of St. Patrick's

After several postponements and delays, this cause, so important to the cathedral, and upon which the existence of its chiefest privilege depended, came to be tried on the 5th of February, 1798, in the court of King's-bench, before a special jury of the county of Dublin. The court was occupied from the 5th to the 11th in

cathedral was 260 years ago; that the deans were elected by the chapter, and confirmed by the archbishop. This report makes no mention of a license from the king: where the king grants his license to elect, by *congé d' elire*, the confirmation rests with the crown, and not with the bishop: in this report, the model of the constitution of St. Patrick's cathedral is set out in the manner contended for by the defendants in this cause:—this report explains the meaning of the words, elective benefice, which occur in the acts of 5 Henry IV. and 8 Edw. IV. already mentioned, to be no other than such as is contended for by them; and you will observe, that it was made by the officers of the crown, to the crown, and in answer to a commission from the crown, upon this very subject.

"From this period until the year 1688 no direct evidence has been given by the defendants, that the nature of the constitution is such as they contend for; but evidence has been given, that, in the rebellion of 1641, some of the books belonging to the chapter were destroyed; moreover, in the reign of Henry VIII. all their revenues and immunities having been surrendered into the king's hands, it is for you to consider whether that circumstance may not, in a great measure, account for this gap; although, as I shall mention to you by and by, this surrender was declared null and void by the court of exchequer, yet the evidence of that surrender gives some ground for you to credit this fact, namely, that the books and papers which belonged to the chapter were seized on, and did pass into the possession of king Henry VIII.

"The defendants have given as evidence of the chapter having exercised their right of electing deans during the 16th century, that several persons were deans during that period, and that search was made in the proper office, but no patent has been discovered appointing any of those deans. The defendants infer from thence, that they must have come in by the ordinary mode of election, and it is a matter for your consideration, how such deans were appointed, or got into possession, whether by license from the king, or by what other mode; but it is to be observed that no license from the king is any where to be found.

"The next evidence material to be observed upon is the patent to Meredyth in 1584; he succeeded Jones, who had been made a bishop. This was a lawful exercise of the king's prerogative; where the king promotes to a bishoprick, he has an undoubted right to dispose of all the inferior benefices held by the incumbent: this was no interruption of the right of the subject, nor assumption of right by the crown. This patent was read, it has the words, *pro hac vice, &c.*: the defendants argue that this patent acknowledges, by these words, that the crown had no right to appoint a dean, but because the former incumbent was made a bishop: they argue, that if they had any further right, they would not have limited themselves in this manner. On the part of the crown it is contended, that the crown is possessed of a larger and more extensive right of presentation; and to support this position they produced a patent, in 1693, above a century ago, where the expression is more general as to the appointing; it says, 'we appoint a dean, the deanery being vacant, and in our disposition, by reason of the vacancy of the see of the archbishop.' The archbishoprick being vacant, the right of the archbishop fell to the crown: you will attend to the words, in our disposition by reason of the vacancy of the see of the archbishop: it was on this account, that the right of presentation to the deanery was with the crown.—This should have great weight with you.—There is no evidence here of a right in the crown, save in cases of promotion of the dean to a bishoprick, or the see of Dublin being vacant. No evidence has been given in the course of this trial, of a full right in the crown, nor any evidence of any mode from whence that right could arise. The words in which the patents run do not appear to be consistent with an inherent right in the crown. It deserves your consideration to determine, whether the right of presenting to the deanery was vested in the crown, in that latitude contended for by the counsel for the crown, or not.

"The next piece of evidence is the appointment of Dean King in 1688; and it appears that he was elected. This must mean either, an election conformable to that described in the report made by the officers of the crown to king Henry VIII. which is the sort of election contended for by the defendants, or it must be construed thus: that the king, being the royal founder of the cathedral, the right of advowson is in the crown; that the king grants his license, and the chapter elects the dean. But then it appears by the evidence, that although the king was the founder, yet the cathedral was largely endowed by the early archbishops of Dublin; and if the church was endowed by them, is there not reason to conclude, that the license to the chapter to elect issued from them, and that the archbishop confirmed the election? moreover, no evidence whatsoever has been adduced to prove that the king granted a license to the chapter to elect a dean, which dean, so elected, was afterwards confirmed by the crown. The election of dean King was conformable to that mentioned in the report to king Henry VIII. and conformable likewise to the prescriptive right claimed by the defendants.—The counsel for the crown contend, that we should infer the right of presentation to be in the crown, because two members of the chapter, when the dean was elected, entered a protest, of a '*salvo jure regis*;' this saving of the rights of the king, say they, proves that there was a right in the crown; and being inserted by two members of the chapter, must, they contend for it, greatly weaken the evidence of the defendants as to the right of presentation which they claim. But, gentlemen, you will observe that this *salvo* was entered only by two two members of the chapter, in contradiction to the act of the corporation: it is not to be supposed that this entry by two members had any great weight, for it does not appear that any steps were taken on the part of the crown, relative to the right here said to be saved, but it does appear, that Dr. King continued quietly to enjoy the deanery; and it appears likewise, that all the deans, ever since 1688, have been elected by the chapter, in the manner contended for by the defendants, except those deans who have been appointed by the crown, by patent, in right of its prerogative, on the promotion of a former dean to a bishoprick, or upon the vacancy of the see of the archbishop: of these I shall now mention the instances.—In 1704, Dean Stearne was elected by the chapter, as appears from their books given in evidence; at the same time a patent was granted to Edward Synge to be dean; but Synge never obtained possession, nor does it appear that he ever contended for the right derived to him from the patent. There is not an instance in the present century, of the possession of any person, appointed according to the constitution of the chapter, being disturbed. Stearne was promoted to be a bishop, and Swift was appointed by queen Anne—Swift died in 1745, and Maturin was elected—Maturin died in 1746, and Corbet was elected: the crown brought an action of *quare impedit*, and a trial was had in 1749, when a verdict was given in favour of the chapter—no claim was made upon the election of William Cradock in 1775—So that, gentlemen, there is very satisfactory evidence of the chapter having for a century possessed that privilege, which they contend is a prescriptive right which commenced beyond the memory of man.

"It has been said that, in 1749, the decision of the court was upon a different question.—The issue was joined upon the seisin of the crown; i. e. whether the king, in right of his crown,

examining the evidences and hearing the arguments adduced by the learned counsel employed on both sides. On the 12th of the same month, the learned judges, Downes and Chamberlain, who presided upon this occasion, each separately charged the jurors from the bench, in words nearly to the same effect. Two issues were then

was seised of this advowson; which fact was denied by the chapter. Gentlemen, it was one way a question different from that now before you, but the nature of the evidence must, on that trial, have been the same in substance as that given on this trial. The verdict of the jury, in 1749, was in favour of the dean and chapter; it was a negative against the crown. The evidence was the same on both trials; the substance of the issue was the same, but the form varies; but the variation in point of form does not alter the principle of the case, which is, whether the crown or the archbishop has a right to the advowson of the deanery. In my apprehension the evidences in 1749 went directly to the present question, and the verdict was a a verdict between the same parties, half a century ago, upon the evidences, which, as I have now stated to you, the defendants rest their case, and it has been acquiesced in from the year 1749 to this present time. As to the verdict of 1749 you will consider what degree of weight it may deserve.

"Upon the defendants resting their case the counsel for the crown went into proofs of their's.—They produced a statute, the 14th of Edw. IV. (1474), which recites, that the cathedral church of St. Patrick's was of royal foundation, and that it had been greatly endowed by several archbishops of Dublin, and that the dean of St. Patrick's had jurisdiction over the chapter time immemorial. Another statute of the 8th Henry VII. (1492) states, that the cathedral church of St. Patrick's was of royal foundation; and to the same point are the statutes 28th Henry VIII. (1536) and 18th Chas. II. (1666). These statutes were produced to shew, that the cathedral was of royal foundation, and that therefore the king, and not the archbishop, was seised of the right of advowson.—It is for you to weigh the circumstance of the cathedral being of royal foundation against the defendants' evidence; you are to consider which ought to have the most weight.

"The next piece of evidence, on the part of the crown, was the deed of surrender, by the dean and chapter, of all their rights to the crown, on the 8th of January, 38 Hen. VIII. This act of surrender is deemed, by the counsel for the crown, to be an effectual extinction of every right that the chapter of St. Patrick's might have had, and they aver that, by the operation of this instrument, the prescription has been interrupted. If you, gentlemen, think that this was a lawful interruption, undoubtedly your verdict ought to be for the crown.—This instrument of surrender recites, that the dean and chapter did convey to king Henry VIII. and to his successors, all rights, manors, possessions, and immunities &c.; it is the act of the dean and chapter; but you will observe, that the archbishop of Dublin was not a party to that instrument, and it does not, in express terms, mention the advowson of the deanery: if it had expressly conveyed to the crown the advowson of the deanery, *in his verbis*, and that the archbishop had been a party to it, it would have been strong evidence to shew that the right of advowson was in the archbishop.—Upon this instrument, the counsel for the crown rests, as proof of the interruption of prescriptive right: it appears to be written with extraordinary caution, and the dean and chapter are made to declare it to be a voluntary surrender of their rights to the crown.

"But, gentlemen, this piece of evidence has been answered fully and satisfactorily by the defendants, by their production of an *amoveas manus*, by which the rights, privileges, and immunities of the dean and chapter were restored to them, and the said surrender declared to be null and void. This judgment was obtained in the 2d and 3d of king Philip and queen Mary. It appears upon this record, that the surrender was admitted, by Mr. Scurlog the attorney general of that day, to have been obtained by force and violence, and by the imprisonment of the members of the chapter by Dean Bassenet. These facts, thus recorded, are sufficient to destroy the operation of that surrender: it was not therefore a legal, but a wrongful interruption of the prescriptive right; and the rights of the chapter remain the same as if such surrender had never been made.

"The next piece of evidence, on the part of the crown, was a letter from queen Elizabeth to the lords justices, written in the year 1559; it recites, that Alexander Craike, bishop of Kildare, was to hold in commendam the deanery of St. Patrick's: it appears to be a dispensation to that effect. The crown assumed a power of disposing of this benefice; it does not shew that it was in consequence of a rightful and original title in the crown; it directs the lords justices to procure that the deanery should be conferred upon Craike, and it appears that he was afterwards possessed of the deanery; if it was under the act of the crown, who had assumed a right of ownership over it, it is incompatible with the defendants' claim; this is for you to decide upon—no patent, however, appears for him.

"There was another letter, in the 9th of Elizabeth, to the lord deputy, which mentions that archbishop Loftus had the deanery of St. Patrick's, and Loftus being removed from Armagh to Dublin, Weston was to be elected dean. The deanery of St. Patrick's having become vacant by the promotion of the late dean, the crown did then, in right of its prerogative, appoint Weston: this appointment does not affect the right of advowson claimed by by the archbishop. As to the words in the appointment of Weston, I do not see how the chapter could have opposed them; they were bound to receive a dean appointed by the crown, the former dean having been promoted to a bishoprick.

"The next piece of evidence, on the part of the crown, was the instrument which grants the deanery to Benjamin Culme, in reversion, after the death of Thomas Moigne. This evidence is objected to, by the defendants, as being void, because the crown had no right to give a grant in reversion of an ecclesiastical benefice: but that is immaterial, it was an act of the crown claiming the deanery, and it appears Culme was afterwards possessed of it: neither has any evidence been produced to shew, that he came in by any other way. You are to determine whether you believe he obtained possession in consequence of that grant, or not.

"In 1660 a patent was granted to Fuller in the room of Culme, who lived till 1657. Upon this occasion the king assumed the right of advowson, and the patent has the words *pleno jure*; however, the archiepiscopal see of Dublin being at that time vacant, the right of nomination for that turn, by the king's prerogative, vested in the crown.

"The next piece of evidence was the grant to Seele in 1666; but it does not appear whether, in this case, the crown asserted a right or not, for there is no proof of the manner in which the deanery became vacant.

"The next piece of evidence was the appointment of John Worth; but this was in the room of a preceding dean, who had been made a bishop.

"I have passed over one appointment by the crown, that of Benjamin Parry in 1675, upon the death of Seele. This was an appointment in which the crown claimed the whole right: it was not upon the promotion of the former dean.—If you believe that the defendants have a prescriptive right, then this was a wrongful act in the crown—it was a direct usurpation.

"The next point relates to the letter of queen Anne appointing Synge. This was not done upon the promotion of a former dean; but Synge does not appear to have got into possession. You are to observe that Stearne was elected by the chapter, in the manner contended for by the defendants. The counsel for the

handed to the jury, one for the archbishop, and the other for the dean and chapter; after about twenty minutes consultation, they brought in their verdict as follows: "we find for the defendants on both issues."

An account of this decision was officially communicated to the chapter by the dean, who being now firmly fixed in the chair of the deanery, he resigned the

crown assert that the appointment of Synge proves a right in the crown, but it proves it rather to have been in the chapter, for Synge never was in possession of the deanery.

"The counsel for the crown having rested their case, the defendants then went into evidence in reply.

"They produced the roll of the court of Exchequer, which contains a judgment obtained against the crown; that the surrender obtained from the chapter by Bassenet was to all intents and purposes null and void; and they went into evidence relative to the appointment of Fuller, and have fully proved that the archiepiscopal see of Dublin was vacant in 1660, when he was appointed dean: therefore it is admitted that the crown, in 1660, did only exercise its prerogative right, which was not inconsistent with the defendants' claim.

"By way of dimunition of the evidence on the part of the crown, a chapter-book of St. Patrick's cathedral was produced from the College library, which shews that, at the time of Parry's election, there were only three members of the chapter present, besides Parry's brother. It was not evidence of very great importance, for Dr. Graves gave evidence, that there were other instances where acts were performed, when only four members were present. You will take into consideration whether such election was against their corporate rights: it is one of the points you will weigh in your minds.

"In order to shew that the constitution of the chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral, in electing a dean, is not so singular as was contended for on the part of the crown, the reverend Mr. Skelton, one of the chapter of Kildare, was produced, and he has given evidence that the deans of Kildare are appointed by the bishop, and elected by the chapter, in the same manner the deans of St. Patrick's are elected, and in the manner contended for by the defendants.

"Gentlemen, upon these evidences you are to decide, whether the defendants have established that prescriptive right for time immemorial, for which they contend; whether the archbishops of Dublin, for the time being, did use to grant letters of license to the chapter to elect a dean; and whether such election was afterwards approved of and confirmed by the archbishop of Dublin, and that then the dean was installed.

"In the determination of this question you are to consider, that it has been proved, by ancient statutes, the cathedral is of royal foundation; it appears also, by the same evidence, that it was largely endowed by several archbishops: very early evidence has been laid before you to prove that it was an elective benefice; the same mode of election has been uniformly practised; the defendants have been for a whole century in possession of that which they now claim to be their right, although, during that period, two attempts have been made to dispossess them of that right; the first by the patent to Edward Synge, which was not persevered in, and this it has been contended deserves to be considered as an abandonment on the part of the crown; the second was the case of Corbet, when the crown was defeated, and a verdict given in favour of the defendants.

"Gentlemen, in my apprehension, the possession for a century of the right claimed is strong evidence of the existence of that right: possession is evidence so strong as to deserve your serious consideration; that it was an elective benefice, the old instruments prove; no other mode of election but that contended for by the defendants has been proved by any direct evidence; there is no evidence that the deans were elected in the manner contended for by the counsel for the crown, in in pursuance of a license from the king; but there is evidence the contrary way, viz. of an election by chapter and confirmation afterwards by the archbishop: for the report of the commissioners to Henry VIII. seems, to my mind, to exhibit strong proof of the usage of elections, and explanation of the mode alluded to in the ancient acts, which seems conformable to that contended for on the part of the defendants. As to the deed of surrender by the chapter, giving up to the crown the possession, in the reign of Henry VIII. that has been directly answered by the defendants, who have produced the judgment of the court of Exchequer, which set it aside. With regard to Craike's case, it appears to me to be thus: there was a a letter from queen Elizabeth in his favour; it was, in my apprehension, an assumption by the crown of what the chapter claim as their right: had it been followed up by a patent it would have been a direct claim, but the manner in which he obtained possession has not been fully ascertained; however, there was no election by the chapter in the manner for which they contend. The other acts of the crown were, the grant to Culme of 17 James I.; to Parry by Charles II.; and to Seele by the same king; but there is no evidence that the last might not have been by virtue of the royal prerogative, in consequence of the promotion of his predecessor to a bishoprick. With respect to the appointments of Culme and Parry; if you are satisfied that the usage which has been insisted upon by the defendants is well proved to have existed antecedent to these grants by the crown, then these grants ought be considered as wrongful acts, as usurpations of the defendants rights; and although they did for a time disturb the possession, they are not, in my apprehension, to be considered as legal interruptions; not such sort of interruptions as should destroy the prescriptive right to which the defendants lay claim. As to the interruption by the deed of surrender, that is to be left entirely out of the case, as to any effect it could have towards the purpose for which it was produced, but some inferences may be drawn, from expressions in the deed, favourable to the defendants' claim; it grants to king Henry VIII. all rights of the chapter, all leases, immunities, &c.; now these expressions may perhaps account for the loss of books and papers belonging to the corporation, and furnish satisfactory reasons why the defendants are not now able to give you earlier evidence as to that prescriptive right which they assert did exist from time immemorial; moreover, evidence has been given that, at the time of the rebellion of 1641, many papers belonging to the chapter were lost or destroyed.

"Upon the whole of the evidences which have been laid before you—if you are satisfied that this mode of election, contended for by the defendants, has been used from time immemorial; if you believe the deanery of St. Patrick's to be an elective benefice, and that the deans were elected in the mode insisted upon by the defendants, and not by license from the king, (and indeed no such license has been given in evidence), you are bound to find for the defendants.—If you shall be of opinion, on the whole of the evidence, that the claim on the part of the crown is doubtful, you will observe that the defendants have been in possession above a century—as to the verdict of a former jury, it ought to have great weight with you, if you believe the question is equivocal."

After the learned judge had finished his charge, Judge Chamberlain addressed the jury in words which were so nearly to the same effect with those of his brother justice, that I have deemed it unnecessary to publish them. This coincidence of opinion, however, as it adds the sanction of the authority of this learned person, has the operation of confirming the decision which was at this time made upon the merits of this very important case.

precentorship into the hands of the archbishop, on the 30th of March, 1798.[c]

The dean and chapter, on the 24th of January, 1795, presented a petition to the lord lieutenant, and on the 6th of June another to the parliament, wherein they set forth the great inconvenience this cathedral, and likewise the poor manufacturing inhabitants in its neighbourhood had experienced, from the overflowing of the Dodder, and praying aid toward erecting a good and sufficient sewer; they mention that, during the same winter, boats were obliged to ply in the streets to relieve the distressed inhabitants.[1]

1800—On the 4th of July the dean and chapter voted a congratulatory address to his majesty, on his escape from assassination: to this an answer was shortly after returned, signifying the gracious manner in which it had been received.

On the 2d of August, the chapter, by unanimous suffrage, elected the dean to the curacy of St. Bridget's parish.

On the 11th of August in this year the second installation of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick was celebrated. His excellency the grand master, attended by his esquires, preceded by the officers of his household, and the esquires of the sovereign, went from the castle to the cathedral in his excellency's coaches, about the hour of one o'clock; his excellency and the knights founders only being in the mantle, habit, and collar of the order; the knights elect in their surcoats only with their caps in their hands, their esquires in full dress.

The ceremonial observed upon this occasion was the same that obtained at the original foundation of the institution, in 1783, the particulars of which have been already described in a former page of this volume.[d]

The roof of the nave of this cathedral being in a state of such decay as to threaten danger to those frequenting divine service there, it was found necessary to support it by scaffolding. The dean and chapter observing their funds to be incapable of restoring the church from its state of dilapidation, preferred a petition to his excellency, dated 24th of November, representing to his consideration the miserable state of its fabrick, and imploring his assistance in preserving from ruin this ancient and venerable cathedral: the answer from the viceregent to this address was received on the 28th of March following; the chapter were thereby referred to the legislature, as the only body who could grant the aid they solicited.[2]

1801—On the 30th of October the dean was chosen, by both chapters, custodee of the spiritualities of the see of Dublin, during the vacancy; it being registered that, on the next vacancy, the dean of Christ-church should be chosen to serve that office.[3] On the 12th of December following, Charles, Viscount Somerton, was enthroned in the archiepiscopal stall in the choir of this cathedral.[3]

1803—On the 17th of March the dean and chapter manifested their loyalty, by an address of sincere congratulation to his majesty, upon the preservation of his sacred life from the daring conspiracy which had been lately formed against the same, and against the constitution of this realm.[4]

[1] Min. of Chapt. [2] Min. of Chapt. [3] Min. of Chapt. [4] Min. of Chapt.

[c] The counsel employed upon this occasion were the most illustrious members of the Irish bar. The counsel for the crown consisted of the attorney and the solicitor general, the prime sergeant, James Whitestone, William Saurin, esqrs, and others. John Philpot Curran, Arthur Browne, William Smith, George Ponsonby, William Fletcher, William Plunket, Ninian Mahaffy, and William Vavasour, esqrs. were for the defendants; besides those persons, they were assisted with the advice, as chamber-council, of Patrick Duigenan, Beresford Burston, and Richard Frankland, esqrs.

[d] The following noblemen were on this day installed knights of this most illustrious order:

The earl of Carysfort, through his proxy sir Cha. Vernon, kt.
The earl of Ely, personally.
The earl of Clermont, through his proxy sir Geo. Shee, kt.
The earl of Ormond, personally.
Viscount Dillon, through his proxy the earl of Roscommon.
The earl of Altamont, personally.

1805---On the 25th of September his excellency the earl of Hardwick, lord lieutenant, visited the cathedral, and after having inspected it, he expressed an anxious desire to have it re-edified, and ordered Mr. Park, the architect, to make a plan and estimate for building a cathedral on the same site, and in the same style of architecture. It appears, however, that no further steps were taken in this important and necessary work; for, on the 2d of March, 1808, the chapter passed a resolution that a petition should be presented to the lord lieutenant, representing to him the decayed and dangerous state of this edifice; they likewise informed his excellency, that an estimate had been made by order of lord Hardwick, and that the duke of Bedford had declared he would, if he remained in the government, consider the repair or re-edification of this cathedral an object highly worthy of consideration: it was calculated that the sum of 16,000*l.* would be required to execute the necessary repairs; after which the greater part of the building would still remain in a state of decay, and that inasmuch as a building, in its appropriate style, might be erected for about four times and an half that sum, it would be truer oeconomy to erect a new building. They therefore requested his excellency's recommendation to the legislature, that they might obtain such aid as to his wisdom should seem meet.[5] [e]

1808---On the 3d of April, in this year, the top stone of the spire became dislodged, as it was supposed, by lightning; an accident which it cost the sum of 750*l.* to remedy. The chief item in the account was the immense scaffold, which was equal to what the edification of the spire itself would have demanded.[f]

[5] Min. of Chapt.

[e] As the particulars of Mr. Park's report upon the subject of the repair and re-edification of this cathedral, may furnish some useful information, I have thought proper to lay an abstract from his estimate before the reader.

Abstract from Mr. Park's Estimate and Report.

	£.	s.	d.
Repairing the pinnacles, viz.—New cut-stone pinnacles, 416*l.*—repairing and pointing the pedestals, 180*l.*—scaffolding 160*l.*	756	0	0
Taking down and re-building the defective parts of the south wall of the great nave,	2938	14	0
New roofing and slating the great nave,	1394	13	8
Repairing the roof over the north aisle of the great nave,	247	0	0
Gothic ceiling of the side aisles and the great nave,	1533	5	0
Repairing of roof of the south side aisle of the great nave,	281	10	0
Taking down and re-building the defective parts of the south-west bastion to the principal front,	229	8	6
Repairing cut-stone work round the front window of the choir, and the west window of the great nave, &c.	300	0	0
Repairing the stone columns and moulding of the gothic recess over the eastern window of the choir,	230	0	0
Taking down the defective or bulged parts of the west wall of the chapter-room, and re-building the same,	924	15	0
Estimate for a new gothic ceiling over the chapter-room,	390	0	0
Repairing roof over the chapter-room,	305	14	11
Repairing roof over east and west aisles of the chapter-room,	152	4	5
Rebuilding the church of St. Nicholas without in its appropriate cathedral stile,	5795	0	7
Repairing the roof over the choir,	331	16	8
Repairing the roof over the north and south aisles of the choir,	161	8	0
Sundry repairs, viz. Repair of six cut-stone gothic windows, on south side of the great nave, 70*l.*—repair of battlements on the same wall, 63*l.*—repair of 137 feet of gothic cornice on the outside, 34*l.* 5*s.*—repairing and pointing the battlements on the principal front, 130*l.*—repairing and pointing the battlements on the east side of the chapter-room, 50*l.*	347	5	0
Total expense of repairs	£16,318	15	9

Yet, notwithstanding all these repairs, says Mr. Park, the body of the building would still continue in an old and tottering state; to renovate the whole would, in the end, be truer oeconomy; this would amount to four and an half times the amount of what the repairs would come to. Mr. Park concludes his report by stating, that the present building stands on 272 squares of ground, which might be rebuilt for 270*l.* per square, amounting upon the whole to 73,440*l.* Another report of the same architect, dated the 3d of December, 1803, estimates the expense of re-edification at 300*l.* per square; total amount 81,600*l.*

Mr. Park, in his report, dwells particularly on the consequence of the decayed state of the pinnacles, which by their weight did give power to the buttress-arches to support the great south wall of the nave, which had, in consequence of this defect, receded two feet from the perpendicular; he states, likewise, that the stone architraves of the windows had been all eaten away, and the west wall of the chapter-room had bulged out much.

[f] The following curious narrative is extracted from the Dublin Evening Post of 21st June, 1808.

1809---On the 29th day of June in this year, the third installation of knights of the order of St. Patrick was celebrated in the choir of this cathedral.

His grace the duke of Richmond, grand master, having signified his pleasure that the procession should be made on foot, the knights, their esquires, and the officers of the order, having assembled at the castle, and the park guns being fired at 12 o'clock, the procession immediately moved in the following order:

Squadron of Cavalry.
Messengers.
Kettle-drums.
Pursuivants.
Pages.
Gentlemen at large.
Gentlemen of horse.
Gentlemen of the bed-chamber.
Drs. Graves and Magee, Chaplains.
Private secretary.
Steward and Comptroller.
Esquires, three and three.
Heralds.
Knights, two and two.
Usher. Genealogist. Ulster.
Secretary.
Earl of Mayo, bearing the sword of state.
Aid de camp. His grace the Grand Master. Aid de camp.
His train borne by Earl of March, Viscount Mt. Charles, and Hon. Mr. Wingfield.
Battle-axe-guards.
Her grace the Duchess of Richmond in her coach-and-six.
Squadron of dragoons.

The following streets through which the procession passed were lined with soldiers: Cork-hill, Dame-street, George's-street, Aungier-street, Bishop-street, Kevin-street, and Patrick-street.

The same ceremonial which had been observed on former occasions, was at this time adhered to, as to the installation of the knights; which ended, the procession returned to the castle in the same order in which it came: the knights, however, wearing their full habits.[g]

The chapters of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity having met on the 7th of August, they agreed, at a conference, that the dean of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity should be elected Custodee of the spiritualities, the see of Dublin

" Yesterday the scaffolding, which has been raised round the spire of St. Patrick's cathedral, in order to reach the top some time since disturbed by a thunder storm, having been completed to within about ten feet of the ball, a thoughtless poor wretch, who lives in Patrick-street, for a small wager determined to be the first who should reach the ball; he accordingly clambered up by his hands and knees, and to the extreme terror of a multitude of spectators, placed himself astride upon that part of the spire which the storm had bent into a horizontal position; he had scarcely done so, when, to the amazement and horror of those below, the whole gave way, and with the ball and about one ton of the stone-work, the unhappy wretch was precipitated in a moment; he fell upon the first scaffold, and was carried by the weight through the two next stages, when his clothes entangled in the timbers, and he was detained; the ball passed down to another stage of the scaffolding, and the stone-work, hurled from an height of 200 feet, was forced nearly a yard beneath the surface of the pavement in Patrick's close. The man soon extricated himself from his difficulties, descended exultingly to the street, and was carried in perfect health and safety to the next whiskey shop to celebrate this extraordinary exploit."

[g] The following noblemen were, on this day, installed knights:
The earl of Conyngham, in person.
The marquis of Waterford, in person.
The marquis of Headfort, by his proxy, the earl of Bective.
The earl of Roden, in person.
The marquis of Ely, in person.
The earl of Shannon, in person.
The earl of O'Neil, in person.

having become vacant by the death of Charles, earl of Normanton; but, upon his having declined to accept thereof, they unanimously elected Euseby, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, to that trust.—On the 29th of the same month the chapter received Charles, bishop of Kildare, procurator to his grace Euseby, archbishop of Dublin, and his suite, at the west gate of the cathedral, and having led him to the choir, enthroned him there in due form.[6]

1810—Dean Verschoyle was, by letters patent dated the 2d of May, promoted to the bishoprick of Killala, and was consecrated on the 6th in this cathedral. On the 3d of May, it was voted, at a full meeting of the dignitaries and prebendaries, that the following address should be presented by the register.

" My Lord,

" It is with mingled emotions of concern and satisfaction, that we, the chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, take leave of you as our dean, having witnessed, for a period of sixteen years, the most honourable and gentleman-like deportment towards every member of the chapter, as well as the most strenuous efforts to support its rights, and advance its interests. In your promotion we will endeavour to forget our loss, and be assured that in the elevated station to which your lordship has been advanced, you are attended with our regret, our respect, and our regard.

Signed by order,
W. D. Rooke." [7]

On the 7th of May, the following answer, from the bishop of Killala, was read to the chapter:

" Gentlemen,

" I was placed in the deanery of St. Patrick's by your suffrages; in the discharge of its duties I have been assisted by your advice, and supported by your cheerful concurrence: now when I am called, however unworthy, to a higher station in the church, it is truly gratifying to my feelings to receive the testimony you give of your approbation of my conduct; I beg you to accept of my warmest thanks for your kindness to me, and to be assured that I carry with me towards you, individually, the esteem and attachment of a friend and a brother.

Deanery-house, May 1810. James Killala." [8 h]

Sect. VII. John William Keatinge, *Dean.*

1810—The reverend James Verschoyle being promoted to the bishoprick of Killala, the chapter, on the 7th of May, elected the reverend Richard Ponsonby, Precentor, to be President of the chapter, until they should be provided with a dean. On the 2d of June the reverend John William Keatinge presented the king's letters patent, dated the 31st of May, conferring that dignity upon him,

[6] Min. of Chapt, [7] Min. of Chapt. [8] Min. of Chapt.

[h] The dean informed the chapter, that a portrait of dean Corbet had been presented by his granddaughter; and that the executor of dean Cradock's widow had likewise presented his portrait. For these donations the chapter returned thanks.

Dean Cradock is represented in the robes of the order of St. Patrick, of which order he was the first register. The portraits of dean Verschoyle and dean Keatinge have been since added to those above mentioned.

which being with due reverence admitted, he was forthwith installed by the president; but some informality having happened, that ceremony was again performed on the 29th of the same month.

John W. Keatinge, the son of Michael Keatinge, esq. of Millecent, in the county of Kildare, was born in Molesworth-street, Dublin, on the 18th of May, 1769: he entered at Queen's-college, Oxford, on the 27th May, 1789, but never took any degree at that university. Being ordained into holy orders, he was nominated, in 1795, chaplain [a] to the Irish house of commons, by his maternal uncle the right honourable John Foster, who was at that time speaker. He was the last person that held that office; and having been recommended by the house to the government for promotion, he was, in 1809, promoted to the deanery of Tuam.

1812—On the 30th of June a contract was entered into, and received the approbation of the chapter, whereby the roof of the great nave was conditioned to be rebuilt for the sum of 1509*l.* 6*s.* In the next following year a contract was signed, for repairing the roof of the chapter-house and choir; both these works have been, since that time, happily accomplished. The completion of these great and necessary improvements is recorded by an inscription, placed on the first column on the south side of the nave. [b]

Dean Keatinge [c] died on the 6th of May, 1817, and was interred in the south aisle of the nave of this cathedral, in a tomb which had been appropriated to his family, by the chapter, in 1811. The following inscription, upon a plain marble slab, marks the place of his sepulture:

Underneath
Lie
The Lamented Remains
of the
Very Rev[d].
John William Keatinge, D. D.
Dean of this Cathedral.
He died
May 6th, 1817,
Aged 47 Years.

His attached Friend,
Rev[d]. Robert Handcock, D. D.
Dedicates this Tablet
To his Memory.

[a] Some time after he had attained to this situation, the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him, by the heads of the university of Dublin: this token of respect for their chaplain, being a compliment usually paid by that body to the house of representatives.

[b] See the inscription in page 10.

[c] Keatinge was thrice married; first, to Miss I. Clements of the county of Cavan, who died without issue; secondly, to Miss M. Nugent, of Bob's-grove, county Cavan; she died on the 21st March, 1811, and was buried in the dean's vault, in the south aisle of this church; thirdly, to Miss Mary A. Hobson, of Muckridge-house, county Cork. By his second wife he had two sons and two daughters, and by his third wife three daughters, who survived him.

CHAPTER VI.

Annals of the Cathedral from the death of Dean Keatinge, in 1817, *to the end of the year* 1819.

Sect. I. ELECTION TO THE DEANERY CONTESTED.

On the 10th of May, 1817, the chapter assembled, and the death and interment of their dean having been reported to them by the verger, they proceeded to elect a president.

The honourable and reverend Richard Ponsonby, Precentor, from motives of personal delicacy, as he was himself a candidate for the vacant chair, did desire to wave, what he considered to be his right, being elected president of the chapter during the vacancy of the deanery; and accordingly he proposed, that the reverend James Saurin, Archdeacon of Dublin, should be chosen; to this proposal the chapter unanimously agreed.

The president and chapter then voted that a petition should be presented to the archbishop for license to elect a dean, and it having been notified to them, on the 13th, that license was issued, they fixed on the 2d of June for the day of election, and decreed that a public citation, sealed with the chapter seal, should issue, to be affixed to the door of the chapter-house, notifying the same; moreover the president and chapter ordered, that a particular notice, of the time and place appointed for election, should be served on those dignitaries and prebendaries who were absent.[1]

On the 2d of June nineteen dignitaries and prebendaries were personally present; the prebendaries of Swords, Clonmethan, Wicklow, Tipperkevin and Rathmichael, who were absent, appointed proxies; the first four having delegated their powers to the archdeacon of Dublin, and the last to the prebendary of Dunlavan. The president and chapter then decreed that they should proceed to election, by way of compromise limited and confined, and chose for compromisors, the prebendaries of St. Audoen's, Mallahidert, and Stagonil, who having accepted the burthen of such compromise, and taken the votes of those present, they declared the honourable and reverend John Pomeroy, Prebendary of Monmohenock, to be duly elected, who forthwith gave his assent and consent to the said election. The president and chapter then deputed the same persons to present to the archbishop of Cashel, coadjutor to the archbishop of Dublin, the dean elect, together with their decree of election.

In taking down the votes of the canons, upon this occasion, the compromisors accepted the votes of those absent, which had been tendered by their proxies: of the members present, ten voted for the honourable and reverend Richard Ponsonby, Precentor; eight for the honourable and reverend John Pomeroy, Prebendary of Monmohenock, and one member gave in a blank ballot: the majority of those present had, therefore, declared for the precentor, but, as four of the absent canons had, in their procurations, nominated the prebendary of Monmohenock, and but one the precentor, the majority of the whole chapter had voted for the prebendary of Monmohenock:[a] the compromisors, deeming these last to be legal

[1] Min. of Chapt.

[a] This matter appears from the declaration of the prebendary of St. Audoen's: it having been decreed, at a chapter-meeting of the 11th of June, that he should "declare what number of votes appeared on the day of election, and for which candidate they were respectively given." Min. of Chapt.

votes, framed their report accordingly, and the decree of the chapter was made out in conformity with their decision. The precentor, however, entered a solemn protest against the admission of the votes of those persons, and in this instrument he declared them to be "null, and void, and illegal."

The decree of election having been presented in due form to the archbishop's vicar-general, the right worshipful, and now the right honourable Dr. Radcliff, the customary citation, "*contra omnes oppositores*," was issued from the consistorial court of Dublin; then Mr. Ponsonby appeared by his proctor, H. F. Stock, to oppose the archbishop's confirmation of the election, which had been reported to him by the decree above mentioned, which alleged that Mr. Pomeroy had been duly elected by the chapter: he likewise exhibited a pleading, termed re-conventional matter,[b] which was contested negatively by the proctor for the chapter, and by Mr. Tilly, the proctor for Mr. Pomeroy.

The parties on both sides being desirous to have a decision on the merits of the case, with as little delay and expense as possible, agreed, with the concurrence of the judge, that all pleadings and proofs usual in such cases should be dispensed with, and that the decision should be made on a statement mutually agreed upon; which statement was framed, and, being signed by the proctors of all parties, was filed in the court. The issue was thus in a manner joined, upon the validity of those proxies which had been transmitted from foreign parts: for, of those executed within the realm of Ireland, there was one on each side, the respective merits of these last were not, therefore, contested, inasmuch as a decision upon that part of the question would not have altered the case.

The cause came to a hearing before Dr. Radcliff, on the 1st July, 1817, when the counsel for the opposer, upon whom the *onus probandi* was thrown, insisted that the election of a dean, being the head of a collegiate and cathedral church, and the principal of an ecclesiastical corporation, ought to be regulated by the canon law, which law was expressly referred to by the acts, and by the decree of election; and that the canon "QUIA PROPTER" (Dec. Greg. Lib. I. tit. 6. cap. 42,) was that by which this election should be regulated and conducted.[c] By that canon,

[b] The opposer, in this instrument, adduced several arguments in support of his cause; but as the arguments and evidences of both parties are hereafter set forth in the judgments of the respective courts, I shall in this place notice only those material points which were the chief grounds whereon the cause rested.

[c] That the reader may be better enabled to weigh the merits of this case, I shall lay before him the words of this celebrated decretal, together with the gloss or comment thereupon.

The words of the Decretal are as follows:

"QUIA, PROPTER diversas electionum formas, quas quidam invenire conantur, et multa impedimenta proveniunt, et magna pericula imminent ecclesiis viduatis; Statuimus, ut, cum electio fuerit celebranda, presentibus omnibus qui debent, et volunt, et possunt commode interesse, assumantur tres de collegio fide digni, qui secrete et sigillatim vota cunctorum diligenter exquirant, et in scriptis redacta, mox publicent in communi, nullo prorsus appellationis obstaculo interjecto; ut is collatione habita eligatur, in quem omnes, vel major et sanior pars capituli consentit. Vel saltem eligendi potestas aliquibus viris idoneis committatur, qui vice omnium ecclesiæ viduatæ provideant de pastore. Aliter electio facta non valeat, nisi forte communiter esset in omnibus quasi per inspirationem absque vitio celebrata. Qui vero contra præscriptas formas eligere attentaverint, eligendi ea vice potestate priventur.

"Illud autem penitus interdicimus, ne quis, in electionis negotio, procuratorem constituat, nisi sit absens in eo loco de quo debeat advocari, justoque impedimento detentus venire non possit: super quo, si opus fuerit, fidem faciat juramento: et tunc, si voluerit, uni committat de ipso collegio vicem suam.

"Electiones quo clandestinas reprobamus; statuentes, ut, quam cito electio fuerit celebrata, solemniter publicetur."

Decret. Greg. Lib. I. *De Electione, &c.* Tit. VI. cap. 42.

The gloss or comment upon the words "*ecclesiis viduatis*," of the canon "*Quia propter*," is as follows:

["*Ecclesiis viduatis*"]—"Per hoc videtur quod loquitur tantum de electionibus prælatorum, id est episcoporum, non canonicorum. Sed nunquid extendimus istam constitutionem ad omnes dignitates, etiam ad non cathedrales, et ad plebenatus, et ad alias dignitates quæ prælatos habent in ecclesiis collegiatis? Non videtur, cum ecclesiæ propter illas dignitates non dicantur viduatæ, cum habent episcopum.—Satis dici potest quod non extenditur ad alias dignitates, sed tantum ad episcopatus, et regulares prælaturas, (supra eodem "ne pro defectu"); tamen *de facto* bene extenditur ad alios dignitates, et *de jure* etiam bene potest intelligi constitutio ista de illis prælatis qui habent jurisdictionem generalem in ecclesiis collegiatis; quia tales, *sponsi quodammodo* appellantur, (21. q.—21. 2. "Sicut in unaquaque"): sed non debet intelligi de dignitatibus seu personatibus in ecclesiis cathedralibus; quia, in vacatione illarum dignitatum non dicitur ecclesia viduata cum habet episcopum, qui solus est ibi maritus." *Bern.*

The following gloss upon the canon, "*Sicut per formam scrutinii*," &c. (Sexti Decret. Lib. I. *De Electione et Electi po-*

proxies, (a sort of delegation which at common law likewise is totally inadmissible, in acts requiring deliberation and judgment,) are only allowed under certain qualifications and restrictions, namely, that no absent person shall eonstitute a proxy, unless he be in that place from whence he ought to be cited; and moreover, that such person must be hindered by a just impediment, the nature of which impediment ought to be expressed, and duly verified: that in the instruments exhibited as proxies at this election, none of these requisites had been complied with, and being on that account null and void, they ought not to have been counted, and the opposer, having the majority of legal votes, should have been decreed duly elected; and they accordingly prayed the court that the decree should be altered, and that the name of Mr. Ponsonby should be substituted for that of Mr. Pomeroy, and that the election should then receive the archbishop's confirmation.

The counsel for Mr. Pomeroy contended, on the other hand, that the canon "*quia propter*," did not apply,[e] and ought not to regulate elections of this sort; that it was only used in the elections of bishops, and other high dignitaries of the church, and that the dean of St. Patrick's was not such a dignitary: they contended that the chapter had not adopted that canon as their rule of election, but had admitted proxies upon former occasions.

After a patient hearing of the pleadings on both sides, which occupied the greater portion of seven days, the learned judge proceeded, on the 18th of July, to pronounce sentence of judgment[f] in this cause. He dwelt much upon the nature of the citation customarily used upon those occasions, which, being affixed to the door of the chapter-house, and not intended to be personally served, appeared to him to be that species of process which is stiled an "edict;" used for the summons of persons who may be resident out of the jurisdiction, to give them an opportunity of propounding their interest; and which, though posted within the jurisdiction, is directed, not only to the members of the chapter residing within it, but likewise to absent electors. He judged that this form of invitation did prevent the application of the decretal "*quia propter*,"[g] which,

testate. Tit. VI. cap. 21.) gives us some further information upon the subject.

"Nota quod ista decreta locum habent in iis electionibus in quibus debet servari forma decretalis '*quia propter, etc.*' in genesi. Et, secundum Bernardum, decretalis illa locum habet in electionibus episcoporum, vel inferiorum prelatorum qui presunt in collegio, et per quorum mortem ecclesia dicitur viduata, in aliis non.—Hostiensis autem illam intellexit etiam in quocunque beneficio, vel canonia, cujus electio ad plures, ut ad collegium pertinet, &c."

[e] It is a remarkable fact, that the chapter were altogether ignorant that there was any particular canon which should regulate their proceedings in the election of a dean; they and their predecessors were led into this error about the year 1745; it originated in the following curious circumstance. Some person was employed to copy from the books, and to translate, the customary decree of election; when he came to the words *quia propter*, (which were not distinguished from the text by any mark,) not knowing that they were the title of a particular canon, he found it impossible to translate them, but deeming the sense very good without them, he thought proper to leave them out; so that the words of the decree ran thus: "Capitulo Gen. Concil. de viis et modis eligendi, per unum de canonicis nostris circumspectè exposito," instead of the following, viz. "Capitulo Gen. Concil. *quia propter*, de viis et modis, &c."—See the decree of Fyche's election, Append. Numb. XIV.

The chapter having, ever since, made this corrupt translation the rule by which to direct their proceedings, it is a matter of wonder that they have not been guilty of greater errors: however, there was not, during all that interval, a contested election, therefore there was no person to dispute the regularity of their proceedings, and the matter accordingly passed *sub silentio.*

[f] As the decision of the consistorial court was afterwards reversed by the court of delegates, I do not think it necessary to recite the whole of the judgment, pronounced by the learned judge upon this occasion; but only such parts as are of most importance, and upon which the sentence was chiefly grounded. It will be found upon a comparison, that the contrariety in the decisions of the two courts arose more from a difference between the evidences which were produced, than from any other cause. It was not sufficiently proved in the court below that the chapter had always regulated their elections by the canon "*quia propter*"; that they had never, except through ignorance, and where there was no person to dispute the matter, admitted votes by proxy at the election of a dean; neither were the high privileges, exempt jurisdiction, and prelatic power of the dean, sufficiently proved; yet it was upon those matters the decision was grounded, which decreed that the canon applied, not only *de facto* but *de jure*, to elections of that dignitary. The act of Parliament, of 14th Edw. IV. and the bull of Leo X. published in Numb. XI. and XIII. of the appendix to this volume, were not at that time known.

[g] The learned judge explained the modes of election, pointed out by the decretal, in the chapter "*quia propter*," (Greg. Decret. Lib. I. Tit. VI. cap. 42.) considered with the chapter "*cum expediat*," (Sexti Decret. Lib. I. Tit. 6.); which explanation it may be necessary to add, that the objections urged may be rightly understood

all throughout, had personal summonses in contemplation; he conceived that the regulations prescribed by that canon were not so stubborn as not to bend to the local regulations and constitution of the electorial body; and that it never had, in this country, the force of an act of parliament or positive law, to such an extent as to incapacitate an elector, out of the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, to vote by proxy: that this public edict, affixed to the door of the chapter-house, had, by the usages of the chapter, been substituted in the place of personal citation; and that it cited not only the present, but expressly all absent members to assist at the election, without taking any notice of the places of their residence, or of any particular place from whence the absent ought to cited. It appeared too, that the absent members could, generally speaking, constitute proxies, and that there were precedents to warrant their so doing.[h] Their charter also appeared to contemplate the absence of the members of the chapter, at their benefices, and even their occasional residence in foreign parts, on account of study, or some other necessary cause, and that even without the license of the chapter.

The learned judge gave it as his opinion, that the canon "*quia propter*" did not apply, *de jure*, to the election of the dean of St. Patrick's, but only to the election of prelates, whether secular or regular, having general jurisdiction, by whose death or resignation the church might be said to be "*viduata*"; not to the election of inferior dignitaries, or prelates of collegiate churches; because that those churches

With the first mode of election therein mentioned, "*per inspirationem*," we have nothing to do. When the second, "*per scrutinium*," obtained, all the votes were known and published, and the election was made by the chapter at large; the third was, "*per compositionem*," when the electors used to delegate certain of their body, to make the election in their place and stead, engaging themselves to accept such persons as the compromisors should elect. This delegation was sometimes absolute, when the power of election, without regard to individual suffrage, was vested in the delegates; or limited and confined, the compromisors not being entrusted with absolute discretion and capricious choice, but bound to elect him who had the votes of the "*major et sanior pars capituli*"; such votes were not, however, to be given openly, but in secret, to the compromisors, who ought not, and were not bound, to discover for whom the individual electors gave their votes; full confidence being reposed in the compromisors, that they would faithfully collect the votes, and truly report the election.

The learned judge declared it to be his opinion, from several passages of the decretals which had been cited, that if the decision of the compromisors was questioned, there could be no other appeal but to the oaths of the compromisors or the major part of them, if called for by the superior; and that even then they could not be called on to disclose, for whom any individual elector voted. He declared likewise, that, supposing the chapter of St. Patrick's must necessarily resort to an election by way of scrutiny, or that of compromise, it might have been competent to them to chose which they would adopt; and if the choice was open, according to the opinions of the canonists, the opposition of a single member was sufficient to exclude the mode of compromise; upon this principle, "*nemo invitus debet privari jure suo*," because by it the whole right of election was absolutely transferred from the members to the compromisors; and he cited as authority, Lancellot, Instit. Juris Civil. et Canon. Lib. I. *de Elect.* Tit. VI. verbo *omnium*. He observed likewise, that in the present case it was considered necessary to have a resolution of the chapter made, which resolution was unanimous, to proceed by way of compromise; "a mode," said the learned judge, "seldom, if ever, anciently resorted to by ecclesiastical bodies, unless where the members were desirous to have their votes concealed, lest they should incur the displeasure of some prince or superior, seeking to influence their election, as the archbishop may have formerly attempted in this chapter."

[h] It seems to have been a matter assumed, upon this trial, that it was customary with this chapter to admit absent members to vote by proxy at elections of their deans; it appeared, however, when the business was afterwards more deeply investigated, that this practice obtained only in latter times, when the chapter, having lost sight of their true privileges, had admitted, through ignorance, new rules and customs; but no opportunity had occurred, until the present time, of correcting those errors, because, from the period that a proxy was first mentioned to have been tendered, which was in the year 1745, there had not been, until the present occasion, any contested election. The particulars of the election of dean King, in 1688, are recorded upon the books of chapter minutes; they furnish incontrovertible proofs that proxies were not then deemed admissible. The election took place immediately after the visitation, upon which occasion proxies were tendered and admitted; but in the business of election, where the vote of every member is recorded, there is no mention made of those who had appeared by proxy at the visitation. This incident furnishes a direct proof that they were not held to be admissible, and it is further strengthened by the consideration, that this election was held in very turbulent times, when very few members were present; the chapter acted on this occasion in direct opposition to the opinions of the then existing government, in whose power they were, there can be no doubt, therefore, but they would have been glad, if it could have been done, to confirm their acts with the authority of their absent brethren, who, being beyond the reach of power, would have gladly embraced this opportunity of adding strength to a measure so conformable to those principles which forced them to desert their country, and which they could do without any personal hazard.

It appeared upon the trial before the court of delegates, hereafter to be mentioned, that there was no instance of a proxy, legally constituted, at any election of a dean of St. Patrick's: that of Fowler, in 1793, which was relied upon in this present case, was found to be quite informal: "it was," as the learned Mr. Justice Day remarks in his judgment, "not a proxy to vote for a dean, but to act for the absent member 'in all capitular meetings of the dean and chapter.'"—See hereafter in page 476, note n.

could not be said to be *viduatæ* so long as they had a bishop;[i] but being often, and with great propriety extended, *de facto*, (not *de jure*,) to elections to those dignities, and having been in this case, *de facto*, applied, he held that the chapter, having resolved to have it, they were bound to follow it, so far as did respect the formula of compromise limited and confined, whether it was or was not applicable, *de jure*.

Upon the whole, therefore, of this part of the case, the learned judge declared it to be his opinion, that the summonses not being personal, but by way of edict, to absent persons wherever they might be, there was no particular place from whence they should be personally cited; and that wherever they might be was the place from whence they ought to be summoned; and that the decretal did not apply.[k] And, to the argument adduced, that the decree of election proved the canon was expounded in the chapter-room, and therefore it ought to be adhered to *in omnibus*, the learned judge replied, that the canon treated likewise of the forms of election, which, and not the admission of proxies, was the subject of the chapter's deliberation; "the canon as to the '*viis et modis*' of the election was expounded;" and it is not to be inferred, that the chapter intended to regulate their proceedings, *in omnibus*, by the letter of a canon not applicable in principle.

The learned judge having decided that the members of the chapter, although absent in foreign parts, might nevertheless vote by proxy at the election of a dean, he in the next place weighed the objections which had been brought against the instruments themselves.

The chief objections urged against the forms of these instruments were, 1st, that the particular nature of the impediment, alleged as an excuse, had not been specified in the proxy; and 2d, that they contained no clause, authorising the proctor to swear to the truth of the alleged impediment. With regard to these the learned judge decided, that there having been no dissatisfaction expressed, by the majority of the chapter, with the excuses of absence stated in the proxies, there could be no objection to them on that score: and as to the second, which was grounded upon that part of the decretal which required the proctor, "*si opus fuerit*," to swear to the truth of what the absent canon alleged, he remarked, not only that no affidavits of absent electors had ever accompanied their proxies, and that the majority of the chapter had not thought fit to require such a verification, but moreover, that the oath required by the canon was the oath of

[i] The learned judge cited for his authorities, Lancellot Instit. Juris Canon. *de Elect.* Tit. VI. d. & VII. c.—Gonsalez, *de Elect. &c.* pag. 323, and the gloss or commentary on the decretal itself '*quia propter*;' at the words "*ecclesiis viduatis*."—Gonsalez expressly lays it down, that "*hæc constitutio locum habet tantum in electionibus prælatorum, ecclesiarum tam cathedralium quam regularium, non autem in electione dignitatum inferiorum, vel prælatorum ecclesiarum collegiatarum*;" and the commentary gives the reason, "*enim ecclesiæ, propter illas dignitates, non dicuntur viduatæ cum habent episcopum*," which, properly speaking, abbots had not over them; and then it adds, "*sed de facto*," (not *de jure*,) "*bene extenditur ad alias dignitates*."—The learned judge, however, admitted, that the petitions to the archbishop, which preceded the elections of Fyche and King, recite, that, by the death of their dean, the church had become "*viduata*."

[k] The learned judge declared it to be his opinion, that the ground for the Roman ordinance was the prevention of delays, and not a principle of incapacity of choice by absent members; that as personal summonses were required by the decretal, it of necessity limited the distances to which it was required that those summonses should be sent: for if any member intitled to a summons did not receive one, he might avoid the election made in his absence, as done "*in ejus contemptum*." Since, therefore, there was a necessity of giving personal notice, it was consequently circumscribed, "*quia periculum est in mora*;" and the privilege of substituting proxies was also circumscribed, so that if the member was out of the limits, he was not noticed or acknowledged as an elector during such absence, and the admission of his proxy would have been an inconsistent acknowledgment of him as a voter, whom the law, for prudential motives, did not recognize as such.

[l] The learned judge remarked, that in Oughton, Ordo Judic. Tit. 69. a book of practice compiled since the reformation, there occurs a precedent of an oath, *in animam domini*, taken from the syndic of a corporation, or privileged person, verifying the personal answer of the corporation, which could not itself be sworn, or of the privileged person; but he observed that the rules of practice, stated by Oughton, were transcribed from Weisembecius and other writers on the Roman code, and that the canons of our church, in the only instance noticed by them of the use of such an oath, express marked disapprobation of it; nevertheless it continued the practice, after the reformation, that persons proving testaments in certain cases, gave special proxies to others, empowering them to take the usual oath of administration on the soul of the executor; but the 132d canon

the proctor, to be made "*in animam domini*," a sort of oath which he judged to be contrary to the principles of the religion established by the Reformation, as the religion of the state; which would furnish a question whether such an oath could be permitted in these countries, although they did receive the decretal as a part of their code.

The learned judge, therefore, declared it to be his opinion, that the opposer had not shewn, from precedent or principle, any just impediment to the archbishop's confirmation of the person whom the chapter had decreed to have been elected, and he accordingly pronounced the sentence of confirmation.[m]

The sentence of confirmation having been pronounced by the court, the opposer's proctor appealed, on the acts, to the king in his high court of chancery; upon which a commission was issued, which delegated a power to determine this cause to the following persons, or to any three of them, viz. the honourable Robert Day, 2d J. K. B.; the honourable William Fletcher, 2d J. C. P.; the honourable Arthur Moore, 3d J. C. P.; Thomas Ball and Thomas Ellis, Esqrs. Masters in Chancery.

The cause came to be heard before the judges delegate, on the 5th of May, 1818. They were occupied the greater part of eleven days in the examination of evidences, and hearing the pleadings of counsel on both sides; on the 20th of June the pleadings were closed, and on the 4th of July the court pronounced their judgment,[n] reversing the sentence of the court below, and substituting the Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby, for the Hon. and Rev. John Pomeroy.

of 1603 in England, and the 78th canon of 1634 in Ireland, reciting the mischief, prohibited the practice. The learned judge therefore concluded, that this foreign institution, not being agreeable to right reason, was probably exploded by the common consent of the chapter, if ever it was received by them; and he gave it as his opinion, that the consent of the chapter, expressed by a bye-law, might lawfully annihilate the practice.

There is an instance among the records of Christ-church cathedral, in the business of an installation by proxy of an absent dignitary, of an oath *in animam domini* being taken by the proctor. The baptismal vow, which is made by the sponsors for the infant, has some remote resemblance to this practice which is now become obsolete, but which, perhaps, obtained pretty generally throughout Christendom before the Reformation.

[m] Giving the opposer a reasonable time to certify his appeal, if he should be advised to interpose it. The learned judge declared, "that, even were the law of the case more doubtful, he would think it a safer course, so much time having elapsed, not to withhold the confirmation of an election certified under the chapter seal as the chapter act, the archbishop not having, as he did apprehend, the power of substituting, as duly elected, a person not presented to him for confirmation under the seal of the chapter."

[n] The same reasons which I alleged in page 459, note b, for giving the charge of the learned judge, in the case of the contest with the crown about the right of election to this deanery, have induced me to give in this place the judgment of the presiding justice, the honourable Robert Day; namely, that the evidences and arguments are more correctly and succinctly detailed therein, than in the statements of the respective advocates; moreover, they have the advantage of being elucidated by the comments of the learned judge and his brethren.

The judgment of the court, as delivered by Mr. Justice Day, was in substance as follows:

"This is an appeal from the sentence of doctor Radcliff, judge of the Consistorial and Metropolitical court of the archbishop of Dublin, to the court of Delegates, appointed for the special purpose of this appeal, under the great seal of Ireland, pursuant to the statute of Henry VIII.

"Upon the death of Dr. Keatinge, the late dean of St. Patrick's, the parties to this cause declared themselves candidates for that dignity; and the chapter of St. Patrick's, in whom the patronage and right of electing to the deanery are vested, having assembled on the 2d of June 1817, proceeded to hold the election according to the usage of that church, agreeable to the forms and regulations ordained by the celebrated canon '*quia propter*,' and after a careful exposition, by one of the prebendaries, *de viis et modis elegendi*, prescribed by that canon. Upon that occasion it appears, from the acts of the chapter, that nineteen only of the prebendaries attended, besides the president; of whom ten voted for the appellant, eight for the respondent, and the remaining elector put in a blank ballot: so that, had the right of voting been limited to the members then actually present, Mr. Ponsonby, the appellant, stood elected by a majority of two.

"The compromisors, however, (for the election was by compromise limited and defined) and after them the president, conceived themselves bound to receive and count the votes of five absent members of the chapter, who had sent in special proxies: they conceived the members to be as competent to vote, by proxy, from whatsoever place they might happen to be in, as to give their votes in person: the president accordingly received the five proxies, four for Mr. Pomeroy, and one for Mr. Ponsonby; which gave to the former, upon the gross poll, a majority of one.—Such shortly are the facts of the case.

"The general question which arises upon the record is this: whether the votes, given in this election by proxy, were legal and admissable? If they were, then the declared election of Mr. Pomeroy was good and valid, and must be confirmed. If, on the other hand, those proxies were illegal, null, and void, then the majority of legal votes was with Mr. Ponsonby; he was the candidate '*in quem major et sanior pars capituli consentiebat*,' and he was duly elected.

"Two propositions are contended for on the part of the appellant. 1st. That the election of the dean of St. Patrick's comes within the operation of the canon '*quia propter*,' and has always been governed and regulated by it. 2d. That the canon expressly, and in language the most peremptory, forbids the use of proxies in the election of this dignitary, except in strict conformity to its rules. Both these propositions the appellant is bound to sustain.

"With respect to the first. That proposition strikes me to be

1818—13th April; the reverend James Saurin, late Archdeacon of Dublin, attended at the meeting of chapter on this day, and communicated to them that his majesty had been graciously pleased to promote him to the deanery of Derry, and that a patent had passed the great seal to that effect, in consequence of which

the clearest perhaps of any, that has been discussed through this tedious cause. This canon, *de Electione Prælatorum*, is one of the most important of all the decrees or canons of the great council of Lateran, which assembled at Rome in 1215; canons which, so far as they are not contrariant or repugnant to the law of the land, continue to be part of, and embodied into our law, in ecclesiastical matters. (See Vaug. 327.—Gibs. 27.—1 Blacks. Com. 83.)—The statute of Henry VIII. (25th Eng. 28th Ir.) sanctions and confirms the authority of the canon law throughout the realm, so far as it is not repugnant to the municipal law; and it is expressly laid down by lord Hale, in Hardr. page 101. 'that the council of Lateran, was a general law received in England.' Now it is admitted, that this canon has invariably regulated the election of dignitaries, of the higher orders. Indeed it has been found so beneficial, that, in point of *fact*, it was adopted in the election even of the inferior dignitaries, '*de facto bene extenditur ad alias dignitates*;' but *de jure*, and according to the sound construction of the canon, it has been long confined to the higher order of prelates; namely, to bishops, to regular prelates or abbots, and to such prelates or ordinaries as have general jurisdiction in collegiate churches.

"Now, to shew that this dignitary comes within the canon it is enough to establish, what I think has been most satisfactorily done, that the dean of St. Patrick's is a prelate of the third class.—It is admitted that St. Patrick's is a collegiate, as well as a cathedral church, and the dean is the immediate ordinary, pastor, or prelate of it; for *prelate* is a term not confined to bishops. Thus in Decret. Greg. L. I. Tit. VI. cap. 7, note m. '*Anathema est mucro episcopi; archidiaconi vel alii* prælati, *non possunt excommunicare.*' The dean possesses a very general and exclusive jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, throughout the manor and district of St. Patrick's: he grants probates, administrations, and marriage licences, within his peculiar jurisdiction: now those officers only, who have episcopal jurisdiction, can grant licences for marriage; for so ordains the 101st canon, as referred to in 1 Gibs. 428. 'Faculties and licences shall be granted only by such as have episcopal authority, or ordinaries exercising of right episcopal jurisdiction in their several jurisdictions respectively.' This power of granting licences, inherent in the dean of St. Patrick's, is one of the criterions of episcopal authority. (See Godolph. Repertor. Canonic. Append. p. 13.) He acknowledges no fealty or subjection to the archbishop, save as metropolitan, in like manner as all suffragans do to their archbishop; '*subjectus sed non subditus*' are the words of archbishop Alan in his note to the decree on Fyche's election;* all the prebendaries swear canonical obedience to him; and in the old statute lately discovered amongst the rolls of parliament, 14 Edw. IV. cap. 5,† the dean is stated by the legislature to be 'the *ordinary immediate* of St. Patrick's, and has obedience, cure, and jurisdiction over the four dignitaries, and other divers canons, and all other ministers of said church;' and all the peculiar privileges granted by king John, and by several bishops, and confirmed by the popes, as is set forth in the statute, called '*Dignitas Decani et omnium Canonicorum Sancti Patricii*,' which privileges the archbishops of Dublin have repeatedly invaded; all these are confirmed to him by that statute of Edward, under heavy penalties. Now, that statute was enacted A. D. 1475; and we find the dean treated as the ordinary, or *prelate* of that church, in the first decree of the election of a dean, which remains extant on the records of St. Patrick's, fifty years after that statute was passed, namely, in that which followed Geoffry Fyche's election, in 1529: the decree assumes throughout, that the dean is pastor of that collegiate church, and that by his death the church is *widowed*, '*pastore mortuo ecclesia est viduata;*' and this is the language which the canons apply to the higher prelates; and accordingly we find that the form and course prescribed by the canon '*quia propter*' was carried on throughout this whole election, the canon itself having been carefully expounded, '*circumspecte exposito*,' by one of the canons at the capitular meeting.—In a book of excellent historical authority, we find that Bassenet was elected successor to Fyche in 1537, (See word Basnet, Biog. Brit. Vol. I. 'pages 538, and 539.) 'This promotion,' says the author, gave him rank almost equal to the episcopal.' And in a note upon the text, the jurisdiction of the dean is called '*quasi episcopalis.*' (ibid, note C.) 'He is lord of a manor round the cathedral and has a seneschal, &c.' And we find in the same book an extract from Ware's Annals of a remarkable fact: 'Archbishop Brown (of Dublin) having received an order from Lord Thomas Cromwell for removing all superstitious images and reliques from the churches of his diocess, removed them from all his *parish* churches; but the cathedral of St. Patrick's not being under his jurisdiction, as ordinary, but under the *dean* alone, he could make no alteration there, but through the *dean* in person.' (Ib. 539.)

"But it is objected that the archbishop of Dublin is the *sponsus* and pastor of that cathedral; being so stiled in some authorities cited on behalf of the respondent. It is objected also, that the dean's jurisdiction is limited and not general: so also might it be objected that the archbishop of Dublin is the chief ordinary of St. Patrick's, which I have found in Dyer, Vol. III. page 382. To these several objections the gloss on '*quia propter*' furnishes a sufficient answer; it observes, that, '*de jure bene potest constitutio ista intelligi de illis prelatis qui habent jurisdictionem generalem in ecclesiis collegiatis, quia tales prelati sponsi quodammodo appellantur.*' So also, being but, '*quasi episcopalis*,' the dean's jurisdiction, it is true, is not *universal*, but it is *general* within the limits of his own peculiar: it is exclusive over laymen, as well as ecclesiastics, although confined within narrow limits; and this is all that is required. And then, as to the passage in Dyer; every archbishop is the *chief* ordinary in his province; he is the ordinary of the whole province; '*habet ordinariam jurisdictionem in jure proprio, et non per deputationem*;' in ecclesiastical causes he visits and receives appeals from inferior jurisdictions, (Co. L. 96.—2 Inst, 398—Wood's Inst. 25.); but every suffragan is the *immediate* ordinary, and as such regulates and orders the churches and clergy of his diocess, and this dean is stiled so in that newly recovered statute, the 14th Edw. IV. 'the ordinary immediate' of his peculiar.—It would be a curious and irreconcileable solecism, that the archbishop should be ordinary of that church, or peculiar, in which he himself actually holds a prebend subordinate to the dean, the prebend of Cullen; and which, if he qualified, would subject him to the authority and controul of the dean: and so it did actually happen in the case of Archbishop Marsh, who was installed in his prebend, and took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean. ‡

"It has been objected, that the dean is ordinary of the *chapter only*, and *not of the church* of St. Patrick's; but what is this but a distinction without a difference?§ He is the head of the clergy of St. Patrick's church; i. e. of the prebendaries of that chapter. He visits the clergy exempt from episcopal interference. In Fyche's decree he is stiled '*pastor ecclesiæ*,' and he is *quodammodo sponsus* of the church, and not of the chapter. The sentence of the court of Delegates in the case of King, chancellor of St. Patrick's, and afterwards arch-

the archdeaconry of Dublin, and likewise the presidentship of the chapter, had become vacant. The chapter accordingly elected the reverend Hosea Guinness, Chancellor, to be their president.[1]

[1] Min. of Chapt.

bishop of Dublin, against Worth, dean of St. Patrick's, incontrovertibly establishes the jurisdiction of the dean of St. Patrick's to be exclusive of the chapter: for in that case, Dean Worth pronounced Dr. King contumacious, for not appearing at his visitation; against which sentence King protested. This became the subject of much litigation; but the visitatorial power of the dean, exclusive of the chapter, was fully recognized and established by the court of Delegates: and accordingly, in a document extracted from the capitular records now before the court, dean Swift is stiled 'Ordinary of the cathedral church of St. Patrick's;' and as such, pursuant to the proclamation of the lords justices and privy council, directs, by a document under *his own seal*, that 'certain insertions shall be read at all times of prayer in *our* said cathdedral:' thus acting independently of the chapter, and of the archbishop, and exercising in truth episcopal authority in 'his' cathedral, in the same manner as the several bishops did in their respective diocesses. In a word, then, the dean is a prelate of a collegiate church, having a general jurisdiction within his district; and the canon, not only *de facto*, but *de jure* applies to the election of this dignitary. Not only the proceedings in Fyche's decree of election, in 1529, (the earliest we have,) but those in King's, in 1688, refer in express terms to that constitution or canon; and in every succeeding election upon record, not excepting the present, the practice and course of proceeding has uniformly been regulated by, and has precisely conformed to it. The learned judge below does himself admit, that the canon '*quia propter*' was *de facto* applied to the late election, but denies that it applies *de jure:* an opinion which I confess Ishould not have had the courage to utter, in the face of uniform usage beginning with Fyche's election, 300 years ago (the first precedent upon record,) when the canon law was at least as well understood, and much more intensely studied than in our time; and when the decree of that election was preserved and recorded, as the legitimate course of proceeding in the case of this prelate, by the unfortunate and learned archbishop Alan, though plainly restrictive of his own episcopal jurisdiction. Indeed it is a duty which I owe to that learned and acute judge, (for whose opinions and judgment no man entertains more respect than myself) to observe, that this court has been furnished with some original documents of great value, which, had they been laid before him, would probably have had considerable influence upon his judgment.

"The second proposition contended for by the appellant is; That the canon '*quia propter*' denies to prebendaries, circumstanced as some of the absent members of the chapter were in the present case, the use of proxies, in the election of prelates.—The canon consists of three clauses, of which two only apply to this case. The first is that which prescribes and regulates the mode of electing prelates; that clause which appears, from the best authorities and the language even of the legislature, to be applicable *de jure* to the dean of St. Patrick's, and which, accordingly, has *de facto* been acted upon, and, by express reference to it, acknowledged in all the decrees of election of those prelates upon record. The second is the prohibitory clause, interdicting, in emphatic language, the use of proxies in the election of prelates, except under the peculiar circumstances therein mentioned: the clause is short, and too clear for sophistry to perplex it. '*Illud autem penitus interdicimus, ne quis in electionis negotio procuratorem constituat, nisi sit absens in eo loco de quo debeat advocari, justoque impedimento detentus, venire non possit; super quo, si opus fuerit, fidem faciat juramento.*'

"Under the ecclesiastical law the use of proxies is general, legitimate, and familiar: after great deliberation it was decided, by the King's-bench in England, that in the election of a canon residentiary it is competent for a canon to vote by proxy, (I. T. R. 652. Buller J. *Bishop of Chichester's case*); but in the grave and important concern of electing a prelate, it was very wisely decided, by the councils and popes, that this sacred trust should be exercised with all possible discretion and deliberation; that the holy office of prelate should not be filled, without giving to the electors the fairest opportunity of discussing, on the spot, the pretensions of the several candidates, to an office upon the faithful discharge of which the well being of the church might be presumed mainly to depend. Indeed the election could not be said to be made by the community, if all the electors were, separately and singly to give their consent, without being assembled as a chapter: for their consent ought to be given in common, and in a collegiate manner, like a body-politic. (Ayl. Parerg. 242.) This canon, therefore, committed such sort of elections to those members who attended personally, excluding expressly all proxies, save of such electors as were within the jurisdiction, but might happen to be detained by sickness, or such other impediment as was proved to the satisfaction of the chapter, to be sufficiently weighty to disable them from attending in person. I use the strong word *disabled*, '*venire non possit;*' for the only impediments stated in the books are, '*ubi ægrotat,*' and, '*timore hostium;*' and though I am willing to admit that these impediments are put but as instances, still they are instances of so absolute and imperative a nature, as to shew that it was not a slight apology but a substantial obstruction, '*gravissimum impedimentum,*' that should excuse absence. The ecclesiastical as well as the municipal law enjoins residence, and, both canons and statutes are full of penal provisions, to meet every evasion of the laws, and to enforce obedience to them. A vicar, if required by his bishop, takes an oath of personal residence; every incumbent, *ex vi termini*, is a resident: so also at common law, if a parson be chosen to a temporal office, he may have the king's writ, '*quod non eligatur in officium; quia non est consonum quod is qui pro salubri statu animarum continue deservit, in secularibus negotis compellatur.*' It is an indispensable and sacred duty, essential to the welfare of the flock, that the shepherd should be in the midst of them; essential to the promotion of piety, morality, and good order in this world, and to the salvation of souls in the next; '*ne, pro defectu pastoris, gregem lupus invadat.*' (Decret. Greg. *de elect.* L. I. Tit. VI. cap. 4.) If in a judicial, if in a temporal office, incumbency and a personal discharge of duty be required, how much less can such attendance be dispensed with, in the case of a spiritual benefice with the cure of souls! And most necessary of all must it be, in the case of a college of clergy, the very condition of whose appointment and tenure may well be said to be residence. The chapter are essentially the council and advisers of the ordinary, in his care and superintendence of the church; and being therefore presumed to be at hand, are stiled canons *residentiaries*. In this corporation, so early as 1227, only seven years after the constitution of the deanery, *absent* canons were, by an ordinance of this chapter, to forfeit one-fifth of their prebends, and the whole of their commons, to the residentiary canons, 'that those who serve the altar might live by the altar;' and an act of Edw. IV. confirmed, in 1468, another ordinance of the dean and chapter, by which it was ordained, that all the profits of absent prebendaries should be distributed among those resident, except a trifling sum to the absentee to clothe himself:

Sect. II. The Hon. Richard Ponsonby, *Dean.*

1818—On the 8th day of July the register of the court of delegates appeared before the chapter, to whom he read the sentence of that court, relative to the election of a dean: this decree having been thus notified in form, the honorable and reverend Richard Ponsonby was forthwith installed Dean.

Richard Ponsonby is the third son of William Brabazon, late Lord Ponsonby of Imokilly, by Louisa Molesworth, fourth daughter of Richard, the third Viscount Molesworth. The second son of this marriage was the gallant Sir William Ponsonby, K. C. B. who received the thanks of both houses of parliament

"*de maintener son habite.*" Each canon had his own appropriate stall in the church, as each fellow of a college has in his chapel, and this stall, with his commons which were provided for him, plainly imported residence within the precincts or *pomærium* of the church.

"This interdictory clause, therefore, is plainly grounded upon that radical and fundamental principle of the christian church, residence; indispensable, but peculiarly so and above all, in a collegiate church. It denies, in the election of bishops and the higher order of prelates, the right to vote by proxy, except under very peculiar circumstances—'*penitus interdicimus.*'—What the sphere or limit of the jurisdiction may be, within which the elector may act by proxy, it is not perhaps so easy to determine (as has been well observed by Dr. Staples at the bar) as what it is not; it is plain there must be some definite district, from whence every absent member of the chapter is intitled to be summoned, some place '*de quo debeat advocari.*' What that precise *locus* or place may be, is not agreed upon; probably, in the case before us, every canon, resident within the precincts and jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, or perhaps those at their respective benefices, the corps and glebe of each canon, ought to be summoned; for I observe, not only in the charter, but in one of the articles of the concordat between the archbishop and the dean of Saint Patrick's, confirmed by Leo X. ‖ (that curious document furnished by Mr. Mason, for the first time, to this court), that the occasional commorancy of each canon at his glebe, was contemplated by the canon law. But, whatever the limits of the place may be, it is certain that, according to Burn, 'no such person should constitute a proxy in the business of [such] an election, if absent in a foreign country, or the like.' (Burn, Eccle. Law, Vol. I. page 280, *Cathedral.*)

"The chapter, in the present case, ordered, not only the usual citation to be affixed on the door of the chapter house, but 'that a paticular notice of the time and place appointed for the election, be moreover given to the other dignitaries and prebendaries who were absent;' an exact copy of the order which was made at every former election, for almost a century past. Now, though this court rejected the evidence, offered by the appellant, of such personal notice having been actually served, as not having been duely proved, yet the foregoing entry itself demonstrates it to have been the custom of the chapter, which is quite sufficient in this case, independent of the presumption necessarily arising, that, in the absence of any allegation to the contrary, every thing has been done that ought to be done. Indeed it is agreed that, 'previous to holding canonical elections, it is necessary that the electors should be personally cited; and that if an absent elector, who ought to be cited, was not personally summoned, he might question the election, as '*in ejus contemptum.*' (Dr. Radcliff's judgment.) But, could it be expected that the summoner was to follow the prebendary to Bruges, to serve him with this personal citation, or to hunt after him in any 'foreign country' where he might think proper to retire, and absent himself from his benefice and spiritual duties? Neither was he, if absent, although in England, intitled to be served; for England, *pro tanto*, is 'foreign' to us, as long as no common process runs between the two countries. And therefore I confess I cannot see upon what ground or analogy it has been said, that this second, or interdictory clause of the canon, ought to be rejected, whilst the first clause, prescribing the mode and course of election, is admitted, to the very letter, to be operative and binding. Certainly, in the case of a statute, it would startle a common-law lawyer to hear it argued, that one of its clauses was law, but that another, in the very same statute, because it happened to have been rarely acted upon, had ceased to be law.

"If therefore the canon, '*quia propter,*' and its several clauses, be a part of, and embodied in our ecclesiastical law, it bears directly upon the case before us, aud extinguishes three of the five votes delivered by proxy. Those three prebendaries were not in any place from whence they '*ought to be cited.*' They were in foreign countries, and therefore not warranted to constitute proxies.—Of the two remaining proxies, executed in Ireland, one voted for each party, and are not questioned, and upon the validity of these we are not called upon to decide.

"Again, the impediment itself, '*justum impedimentum,*' ought to be set out in the instrument of proxy; that the chapter, who are to judge, may see that what is advanced is not an idle pretence for absence, but a solid substantial excuse. '*Nec debet,* 'says the gloss,' *procurator dicere, dominum a loco de quo debet vocari justo impedimento detentum, sed verba facti, scil. tali in loco, et, tali impedimento, detentum, puta, tali infirmitate, vel talibus inimicitiis.*' Thus, in an indictment grounded upon the swindling act, it would not be deemed sufficient by the common-law courts, to charge the offender, generally, with having obtained money or goods by false pretences, but the false pretences must be set out, specifically, upon the record, that the court may be enabled to judge of their sufficiency in law, otherwise the indictment is bad. Here the impediment stated in the several proxies is, 'necessary business;' whereas each instrument should, in my mind, have stated the specific 'business' which detained the canon. This is in truth to make the elector himself, and not the chapter, judge of the impediment, and the sufficiency of his own excuse.

"Thus then, three of the proxies, who had been counted for the respondent, must be rejected; they having been sent by prebendaries, each in a foreign country at the time of his contituting them.

"With respect to the argument of a custom, which has been brought forward to establish the form of proxy in this case, namely, its being conformable to that which appears upon the books, as used at the election of dean Fowler, it does not apply, not even though we should allow that one solitary instance, and of such recent date, sufficient to establish a custom. It was not, in fact, a proxy to vote for a dean, but to act for the absent member in all 'capitular meetings of the *dean and chapter.*'

"Upon the whole matter I feel no scruple in declaring myself clearly of opinion, and that opinion is moreover confirmed by the unanimous concurrence of my brethren, that the votes by proxy of the three absent prebendaries were null and void; and

for his heroic conduct, and who lost his life at the glorious battle of Waterloo: to his memory a monument has been erected in the cathedral of St. Paul, at the public expense. Richard, the subject of this memoir, was educated at the university of Dublin, and was admitted into that seminary, a fellow-commoner, in March 1791, where he obtained the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. Being ordained into holy orders, he was collated to the prebend of Tipper and the union of parishes thereto annexed, on the 2d of December, 1795: on the 7th of August, 1807, he was promoted to the precentorship of this cathedral, by letters patent; and he continued to hold that dignity until his election to the deanery. Besides these promotions, in the cathedral of St. Patrick, he obtained other benefices in other diocesses of Ireland, and at present enjoys, along with his deanery, the the rich rectories of Carnew, in the diocess of Ferns, and of Tallow in that of Lismore, to which last he was presented by his near relative, the Duke of Devonshire.[a]

that the appellant was duly elected, he having a majority of the votes of the eighteen canons who were present, and who voted upon this occasion.

"If then, we are of opinion that the appellant was duly elected, what has the court to do but to declare him to be so, and to decree that his election be confirmed? If we were merely to avoid the election of the respondent, and to send the parties back to harrass one another in a new election, what is there to hinder the chapter from re-admitting those illegal votes, and so on, *toties quoties*? We should disobey the canon which expressly commands, '*ut ultra tres menses ecclesia prælato non vacet*;' (Decret. Greg. *de elect.* Tit. VI. cap. 41,) and we should incur the risque, or rather the certainty of a lapse. The pope has frequently substituted, and confirmed the election of one candidate, although he had but a minority of votes. Corvinus says, (*de electione*, p. 14,) '*si alterius partis numerus duplo major sit, ejus electio valet, si sit idoneus; si non, confirmabitur electio personæ idoneæ a minore parte factâ.*' And some of the particular instances, where the pope confirmed the election of unsuccessful candidates, are enumerated in the passages of the decretals referred to by doctor Staples; (See Decret. Greg. *de electione*, Tit. VI. cap. 22, cap. 33, cap. 35, cap. 36.) These authorities, therefore, fully establish the power to confirm, upon an appeal, the election of any candidate who ought to have been elected; and that without reference to the power of substitution arising from the right of patronage in the pope as head of the church, as was contended to be the case on the part of the respondent. Indeed, if this was not the law, the discussion of the fitness and unfitness of the candidates and voters would, in almost every case, be quite idle and nugatory.

"Now, as all ecclesiastical power, which was exercised by the pope before the reformation, has devolved, under the statutes of Hen. VIII. upon the king, who, by his commission, has delegated all his power in the present case to this court, and has commanded us to proceed 'in this business of appeal with all its incidents, emergents, dependents and things annected or connected thereto whatsoever, summarily and plainly, and without the strict formalities of judicature, attending only to the truth of the matter, and regarding only mere equity; and having heard all things propounded, or to be propounded on either side, to decree what is just and equitable in the premises to be done, and what we shall so decree, to cause by all lawful means to be observed,' we shall proceed to declare the sentence of the court."

The sentence of the court was then published, whereby the appeal and complaint of the appellant was decreed to be just and lawful, and for just and lawful cause made and interposed, and the sentence of the consistorial court was revoked, and declared null and void.—The court decreed likewise, that the president and chapter of the collegiate and cathedral church of St. Patrick had, on the 2d of July, 1817, proceeded duly and lawfully to the election of a dean, and that the greater number of votes had been given for the appellant in this cause; and that he was, as he ought by right to have been, duly elected. The court did therefore approve of and confirm the election of the appellant, the honourable and reverend Richard Ponsonby, as dean of the cathedral and collegiate church of St. Patrick, nothing effectual having appeared to the contrary, &c.—he having assented to the same, and having taken the several oaths, and subscribed the several declarations appointed by the statutes and ordinances of this kingdom; and also having taken the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop of Dublin, and bishop of Glendaloch, and his successors; and done all other matters which the law requires. Having thus, by their delegated authority, approved of and confirmed the aforesaid election, they decreed likewise the said appellant, so elected and confirmed, to be inducted and installed into the real, actual, and corporal possession of the said deanery, and all its rights, members, appurtenances, privileges, jurisdictions, and so forth.

* See this document in Append. Numb. XI.

† See an *Inspeximus* of this statute in the Append. Numb. XIV.

‡ The learned judge has committed some mistake in noting down this circumstance. There is no instance on the books of chapter minutes, (which however go no farther back than the era of the restoration,) of the archbishop having taken his seat in the chapter by right of his prebend of Cullen. The incident to which the judge alludes is noticed in pages 202 and 203 of this volume; the archbishop held the treasurership in commendam: it was as Treasurer he took his seat in the chapter, upon that occasion, and swore canonical obedience to the dean: this instance, however, sufficiently establishes the principle.

§ The objection here alluded to was made by Dr. Moore, and was the most ingenious point made by the advocates on that side; he remarked that the dean could not visit the chapter but through themselves, the learned advocate therefore said, that as the Dean could not censure without the vote of the majority of the chapter, he could not be considered as, properly speaking, the ordinary of the chapter: the objection was however overruled by the production of the evidence which the learned judge alludes to.

‖ See this document in Append. Numb. XIII.

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[a] Richard Ponsonby married his own cousin-german, Frances, second daughter of the right honorable John Staples of Lissane, by Henrietta, eldest daughter of Richard, third Viscount Molesworth. His sister, Mary-Eliza, is married to Earl Grey.

1819—On the 27th of May the fourth installation of knights, of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, was celebrated in this cathedral.[b] The procession to the cathedral was on foot, and in the form and manner usually observed upon those occasions: the ceremonial of installation, which took place within the choir, was incomparably more magnificent, and better arranged,[c] than it had ever been on any preceding occasion: the splendor of the exhibition was greatly increased by the circumstance of the female spectators being all dressed in the colours of the order.[d]

[b] There were four noblemen installed knights upon this occasion, all of whom graced the ceremony by their personal attendance.

The marquis of Thomond.
The marquis of Sligo.
The earl of Enniskillen.
The earl of Longford.

[c] The ceremonial was chiefly regulated by sir William Betham, dep. Ulster, king of arms, to whose skill and taste in matters of this nature the improvements are, in a great measure, to be attributed.

The prelate and chancellor of the order appeared by their proxies, the archbishop of Tuam, and the bishop of Down; as those persons had not appeared on any former occasion, either in person or by any representative, the appearance of the procession was much improved.

After the installation, on the 31st of May, the new knights gave a magnificent entertainment at the Rotunda, consisting of a ball and supper, to those of the nobility and gentry who were at that time resident in Dublin.

[d] By an ordinance made in February, 1819, the following days were decreed to be observed hereafter as collar-days, by the knights and officers of the order of St. Patrick, viz.:

January 1,	New-year's day.
January 6,	Twelfth day.
February 2,	Candlemas day.
February 24,	St. Matthias.
February 26,	Queen's birth day.
March 17,	St. Patrick.
March 25,	Our Lady's day.
April 23,	St. George.
April 25,	St. Mark.
	Ascension day.
May 1,	St. Philip and St. James.
May 29,	Restoration of the royal family.
June 4,	King's birth-day.
June 24,	St. John Baptist.
June 29,	St. Peter.
July 25,	St. James.
August 24,	St. Bartholomew.
September 21,	St. Mathew.
September 22,	King's coronation.
September 29,	St. Michael the Archangel.
October 18,	St. Luke.
October 25,	King's Accession.
October 28,	St. Simon and St. Jude.
November 5,	Gunpowder plot.
November 30,	St. Andrew.
December 21,	St. Thomas.
December 25,	Christmas day.
	Holydays in Easter week.
	Holydays in Whitsun week.
	Trinity sunday.

APPENDIX, &c.

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.

NUMBER I.

Charta JOHANNIS *Archiepiscopi super fundatione Ecclesiæ S. Patricij, et Canonicis instituendis in eadem.* E regist. antiq. voc. "Dignitas Decani etc." pag. 1. e regist. Alani fol. 20. et charta Phil. et Mar. irrot. anno XI. Eliz. Reg.

JOHANNES, Dei Gratia, *Dublinensis* Ecclesie Minister, Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie Filiis ad quos presens charta pervenerit: eternam in Domino salutem—Cum studia literarum per orbem latum floreant, et earum professores multiplices tam in Divino quam Humano jure, preter *Hiberniam*, habeantur in regnis singulis; minus erudite simplicitati Gentis *Hibernie* providere cupientes, Decrevimus, Auctore Deo, de assensu et consensu Sancte Romane sedis et Principis nostri *Johannis* Comitis *Moreton*, Ecclesiam *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* instituere Prebendariam et in ea probate vite et litterature Collegium facere Clericorum, qui pro honeste conversationis forma ceteris sint in exemplum vivendi et pro litteratura sint simplicioribus eruditioni. Potens est enim Deus, si juxta desiderium nostrum cultibus divinis inservierint, principia nostra meliori fine consummare; ut sit Ipse nobis merces, eterna pro Gratiâ suâ, qui Inspector est cordis et novit judicare si que fecimus, de proposito provenerint sanctitatis. Ad publicam igitur notitiam omnium desideramus pervenire, Nos, Divine pietatis intuitu, dedisse et concessisse ad Communiam Canonicorum Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* de *Dublin.* Ipsam Ecclesiam *Sancti Patricij* cum omnibus Decimis et obventionibus Altaris et Cimiterij. Dedimus eis ad augmentum communie sue, Ecclesiam *Sancti Nicholai* in villa *Dublin.* Concessimus etiam Ecclesiam *Sancte Brigide* que in suburbio Civitatis *Dublin.* sita est, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: Et Capellam de villa *Richardi Norren:* Et Capellam de villa *Willielmi Kryk*, et *Ade Roothe* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: Et Pensionem quinque solidorum de Capella de *Crumelin:* Et Ecclesiam de *Donachmore:* Et Ecclesiam *Sancti Kevini* cum omnibus decimis et pertinentiis suis: Et omnes decimas de terra *S. Kevini* de dominico nostro; cum omnibus decimis totius terre *Sancti Patricij;* et de nemore ejusdem terre quantum sufficit ad furnum communie sue, et ad sepes illorum claudendas, et aream ad furnum faciendum: Et communem pasturam terre *S. Kevini;* Et tres partes omnium oblationum que proveniunt de processionibus que fiunt in Septimana Pentecostes in parochia nostra. Dedimus item eisdem Canonicis omnes decimas Molendinorum nostrorum que in presenti tenemus vel in posterum poterimus adquirere, exceptis decimis molendinorum nostrorum de *Swerdes.* Preterea concessimus eis omnes decimas de dominico nostro de *Ballymore*, preter decimas lane nostre; Et omnes decimas de dominico nostro de *Radcula*, et decimam acram de propriis pratis nostris ejusdem Ville. Ad hec dedimus eisdem octo areas circa cimiterium ad edificia facienda, mediante tali conditione, quod Canonicus qui primus construxerit edificia in area sua, medietatem sumptuum positorum in Edificiis suis relinquat in testamento in decessu suo cui voluerit. Qui vero substituetur ei in Prebendam, solvat pretium illius medietatis infra annum, et reliquam medietatem habeat gratis; et illa domus assignetur in perpetuum illi Prebende; si vero solvere noluerit, Capitulum solvat, et habeat usum fructuum totius edificij donec redemptum fuerit per illum vel per alium qui habeat hanc Prebendam. Preterea, si Canonicus decesserit, a die obitus sui per integrum annum habeat Prebendam suam cum omnibus fructibus et pertinentiis, et communia sua cedat annuali suo faciendo per totum annum. Et si forte Canonicus intestatus decesserit, arbitrio Canonicorum disponatur de rebus suis que eum contingerent si decesserit testatus. Canonicus de nullo negotio ecclesiastico quod ad personam suam pertineat, respondeat, nisi in Capitulo *Sancti Patricij.* Et si Canonicus transtulerit se ad partes transmarinas, vel alias, causa studij vel ob aliam causam necessariam, cum licentia Capituli sui, habeat Prebendam suam cum communia; Si vero

sine licentia recesserit, tantum amittat communiam. Concessimus etiam predictis Canonicis, quod Prebende eorum sint immunes a visitatione et procuratione Archidiaconi, et quod non suspendantur nisi judicio Capituli *Sancti Patricij;* Et quod Presbiteri eorum Prebendarij non sequantur nisi duo generalia capitula Archidiaconi, videlicet, proximum post festum Sancti Michaelis, et proximum post octabas Pasce, [nisi ipsi deliquerint, tunc sequantur communia capitula donec causa illa terminetur, qui astricti erunt per sacramentum Archidiaconi *Dublin.* quum ei presentabuntur per ullam causam in parochiis suis ad eum pertinentem ei celabunt ob quam causam, sequentur capitula si opus fuerit, jurabunt etiam quod Synodalia terminis statutis reddent.] Archidiaconus non ullum Capellanum Prebendarium presumat suspendere in capitulo suo, nec extra, nisi judicio duorum Canonicorum qui custodient communiam *Sancti Patricij* vel aliorum duorum qui interesse poterint.

Hijs Testibus [S. Abbate S. Thome Dublin. R. Priore S. Trinitatis. W. Archidiacono Dublin. D. Priore Hospitalis S. Johannis. Elia Canonico S. Augustini. Magistro Thoma Rohn Decano Dublin. R. Decano de Swerdes. Gregorio Decano. Matho. Andrea. Willielmo. Greg. Alex. N. Capell. Osb. Cassel. W. de Marisc. Simone Cumin. Roberto de Crumelin. Willielmo de G. et multis aliis.]

N. B. Verba uncis inclusa non inveniantur in charta Phil. et Mar. nec. in Al. regist.

Number II.

Celestini III. *Bulla pro confirmando Ecclesiam ipsam, decimas, etc. collatas clericis S. Pat. a Jo. Comyn Archiepiscopo Dublin:* A. D. MCXCI. E regist. Dign. Dec. pag. 11.

Celestinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Clericis Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* de *Dublin.* Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Justis petentium desideriis dignum est nos facilem prebere consensum, et vota que a rationis tramite non discordant effectu prosequente complere. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino Filij, vestris justis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu; Ecclesiam Ipsam cum decimis et omnibus tenementis et possessionibus suis, sicut a venerabili fratre nostro *Johanne Dublin.* Archiepiscopo vobis juste collata est: Et Ecclesias cum decimis et aliis possessionibus vobis et Ecclesie *S. Patricij* ab eodem Archiepiscopo traditas, sicut juste concessa sunt: Videlicet, Ecclesiam de *Swerdes* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Glemmethan* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Hirlandsie* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Fineglas* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Clandolkan* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Imelach* [a] cum capellis suis et decimis et messuagio persone: Ecclesiam de *Kyllescopsanctan* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Stahelach* [b] cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Donnachimelecha* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Tehgunnil* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam *Sancti Nicholai* de *Dublin*: Ecclesiam de *Balimore* cum pertinentiis suis: Ecclesiam de *Dovenaumore* [c] cum pertinentiis suis: Decimas de dominico Archiepiscopi apud *Sanctum Kevinum:* Decimas omnium molendinorum de dominico ejusdem Archiepiscopi, sicut ea omnia juste et sine controversia possidetis, Auctoritate vobis Apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Dat. Lateran. Kal. Aprilis. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[a] Alias Tavelagh, Al. Reg. [b] Alias Stahney, Al. Reg.
[c] Hodie Yago, sic dicit Alanus.

Number III.

Bishop Osmond, under the sanction of William the Conqueror, founded the Church of Sarum about the year 1096. The Dignities and Canonries there established, were endowed by him, with considerable privileges. About a century after, the Conqueror of Ireland sanctioned the establishment of a similar College in the metropolis of that Kingdom; the fundamental rules and statutes of each were precisely the same: privileges similar to those enjoyed by the earlier establishment were extended to the younger Sister.

The following Extracts are intended to illustrate the nature of those ordinances and privileges.

sect. i.

Consuetudines et Statuta Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis. E regist. capituli Glasguen. in Bibl. juridica Edinburg. pag. 2.

Viris venerabilibus et discretis W. Decano, et Capitulo *Glasguen.* Ecclesiae, R. Decanus et Capitulum *Sarisburien.* Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quum nobis supplicastis humiliter ac devote, ut libertates et approbatas consuetudines, quibus utitur ecclesia nostra, ad vestram, et ecclesiae vestrae informationem vobis scribere curaremus; vestris supplicationibus inclinati, praesens scriptum vobis transmittimus, personas et earum officia, dignitates et consuetudines, quibus Ecclesia *Sarisb.* ordinatur et regitur juxta institutionem felicis memoriæ *Osmundi,* ejusdem ecclesiæ fundatoris et episcopi praesens tractatus explanat. Quatuor itaque sunt personae principales in Ecclesia, *Sarisb.* Decanus, Cantor, Cancellarius, Thesaurarius. Quatuor Archidiaconi, videlicet Archidiac. *Dorset. Berksir.* et duo *Wiltesir.* praeterea Subdecanus et Succentor--Decani officium est, cum omnibus canonicis et vicariis in

animarum regimine et morum correctione praeemineat, causas omnes ad capitulum spectantes audire et judicio capituli terminare, excessus clericorum corrigere, et delinquentium personas juxta delicti quantitatem et personarum qualitatem digna animadversione punire. Canonici ab Episcopo institutionem, a Decano vero possessionem de praebendis accipiunt. Decani est etiam Canonicis jam institutis ecclesiae communiam suo jure conferre, et eis stallum in choro, et in capitulo locum assignare. Vicarias etiam vacantes ad praesentationem Canonicorum praesentium, vel ex justa et rationabili causa de licentia Decani et Capituli ob quamcunque causam absentium de clericis idoneis ordinare; verum si ultra mare, absente canonico quacunque de causa, Vicaria aliqua vacaverit, Decanus Vicariam sua auctoritate citra assensum ipsius Canonici, cui voluerit clerico idoneo poterit conferre. Praeterea nullus clericorum de superiore gradu, vel de secunda forma in choro admittitur, nisi auctoritate Decani —Cantoris officium est, Chorum in cantuum elevatione et depressione regere, cantores et ministros altaris in tabulam ordinare. Ad illum etiam pertinet puerorum instructio et disciplina, et eorundem in choro admissio et ordinatio. Praeterea in majoribus festis duplicibus tenetur interesse regimini Chori. Praeterea in omni duplici festo rectores chori de cantibus injungendis et incipiendis tenetur instruere. Praeterea omnes cantus ab Episcopo incipiendos ipsi Episcopo in propria persona tenetur injungere—Cancellarii officium est in scholis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare, et terminare, sigillum Capituli custodire; literas et chartas componere, et literas in Capitulo legendas legere; lectores in tabula notare; omnes etiam lectiones ad missam, quae non scribuntur in tabula, tenetur injungere—Thesaurarii officium est ornamenta et thesauros ecclesiae conservare; luminaria administrare, magnum etiam cereum paschalem; sacristas quoque suis expensis tenetur Thesaurarius exhibere; campanas Ecclesiae congrue suspensas in statu congruo conservare, et earum usibus necessaria providere. Ornamenta etiam Ecclesiae suis expensis reficere, panem, vinum, aquam, et candelas singulis altaribus Ecclesiae, excepto parochiali, administrare; incensum, carbonem, stramen, juncum, et mattas statutis temporibus per totum annum Ecclesiae comparare—Subdecani officium est, si Decanus defuerit Ecclesiae, vices ejus supplere, curam Archidiaconatus in urbe et suburbio gerere—Succentoris officium est vices cantoris absentis supplere, scholam cantus per officialem suum regere —Si quis Canonicorum sive ad dedicationem ecclesiarum sive alias cum Episcopo ejusdem Ecclesiae fuerit, partem oblationis, sicut alius capellanus, habebit. Item, si Episcopus ecclesias vel capellas Praebendarum dedicaverit, nihil ibi percipient capellani Episcopi, nec alii, nisi solus Canonicus, cujus fuit Praebenda. Quando vero aliquis constituitur Canonicus, debet jurare coram fratribus, praesente evangelio, se dignitates et consuetudines *Sarisb.* Ecclesiae inviolabiliter observaturum.

Dignitas Decani et omnium Canonicorum est; Ut Episcopo in nullo respondeant, nisi in Capitulo Cathedrali Ecclesiae *Sarisb.* et judicio tantum ejusdem Capituli pareant. Habent etiam curiam suam in omnibus praebendis suis, et jurisdictionem Archidiaconalem, ubicunque Praebendae assignatae fuerint in dioecesi *Sarisb.* sive in ecclesiis, vel decimis, vel terris, ita quidem ut nulla exigentia omnino in dono, vel assisa, aut aliqua alia consuetudine ab Episcopo vel aliquo alio fiat in praebendis eorum, vel omnes libertates eorum et omnes dignitates plenarie et pacifice habeant, quas praedictus *Osmundus* Episcopus in eisdem praebendis habuit, cum eas in suo haberet dominio. In quibus Episcopi et Archidiaconi nec visitationem, nec procurationem ratione visitationis, nec pecuniarum auxilium hactenus habuerunt; sic enim obtentum est ex libera et approbata consuetudine a tempore, cujus non extat memoria. Eisdem etiam libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudet Ecclesia nostra in ecclesiis, terris, et decimis ad communiam ipsius infra *Sarisb.* dioecesim assignatis, quas habet in praebendis infra eandem dioecesim existentibus, exceptis quibusdam ecclesiis de novo ad communiam assignatis, in quibus praemissas libertates nondum obtinuit. Praeterea noveritis, quod communia Ecclesiæ nostrae inter residentes tantum clericos, vel qui pro negotiis Capituli sunt absentes, distribuitur secundum consuetudinem hactenus approbatum. Istud etiam notorium est, quod libera electio Decani ad Canonicos Ecclesiae pertinuit a tempore Beati *Osmundi* praedicti. In cujus rei testimonium praesens scriptum Capituli nostri sigillo roboravimus. Dat. *Sarisb.* die ascensionis Domini, anno gratiae MCCLIX. E Wilk. Concil. Vol. I. pag. 741 & seq.

SECT. II.

Statuta facta in Ecclesia Sarisbur. per Esmundum Episcopum ibidem. E regist. Dign. Dec. pag. 181.

Super residentia Canonicorum facienda ita provisum est, videlicet. Quod quarta pars Canonicorum per totum terminum statutum continuam annuatim faciat residentiam, una cum quatuor Personis Ecclesie, que secundum constitutionem bone memorie *Osmundi Sarisb.* Episcopi continuam facere tenentur residentiam, exceptis illis Canonicis qui per Regem, Archiepiscopum, Episcopum exempti sunt.

Si quis vero statutis terminis suam non poterit th* rationabili causa ostensa facere residentiam, quintam portionem prebende sue, secundum ipsius valorem et ratam estimationem residentibus vel ad alios usus secundum concilium Decani Ecclesie necessarios, absque omni contradictione prestabit.

Si quis Canonicorum seu Vicariorum forinsecorum ante *Letare-Jerusalem* obierit, et terram Prebende sue seu Vicarie propriis sumptibus excoluerit, vel ad excolendum tradidit, qui fructus anni percipiet labore illi qui terram excoluit, sine aliqua diminutione, refundet ad valorem precii illius diei in quo Canonicus decedit. Si vero idem Canonicus

Prebendam suam ad firmam liberaverit et ante *Letare-Jerusalem*, vel post, firmarius decesserit, et terram Prebende propriis sumptibus excoluerit, Canonicus sive alius fructus recipiens, mortuo laborem plenarie refundet. Item, si Canonicus dominica qua cantatur *Letare-Jerusalem* decesserit, vel infra festum Sancti Michaelis, idem Canonicus habebit omnes fructus terre tam seminate, quam ad illum terminum seminande, et etiam fenum preter illud.

In hoc . . . . . *desunt Cætera.*

Ordinatio Joan. Comin Archiep. pro observandis hisce statutis in Ecclesia Sti. Patricij. E regist. Dign. Dec. p. 61.

Universis Christi Fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit: I. Dei Gratia, *Dublinen.* Ecclesie Minister, Salutem et Benedictionem.

Noverit universitas vestra Nos concessisse, et hac presenti carta confirmasse Canonicis *Sancti Patricii Dublin.* omnes libertates quas habent Canonici Seculares *Sarisburien.* in Ecclesia sua Collegiata, quam in eorum Præbendis et pertinentiis suis.

Et ut hec nostra concessa eis rata permaneat, ipsam presentis scripti testimonio roboravimus. Hiis Testibus, etc.

Beside the rules above-mentioned, I find three others relating to the Canons of *Salisbury*, published by *Bishop Osmond* among the other constitutions of his Church, which, by the charter of Archbishop *Comin*, must likewise have been extended to the Canons of *St. Patrick*, although they are not laid down in the Dign. Decani, where the entry of those statutes has been left unfinished. These three rules are printed in *Dugdale's Monast. Anglic.* Tom. III. pag. 375, and are as follows:

Præterea concessi eis medietatem totius oblationis, quæ super principale offertur altare, exceptis ornamentis: et totam oblationem cæterorum altarium. Sepulturam insuper totam cum oblationibus, quæ Episcopo missam celebranti offeruntur, præter auri medietatem in eadem ecclesia.

Si quis autem Canonicorum, sive ad dedicationem ecclesiarum, sive alias, cum Episcopo ejusdem ecclesiæ fuerit, partem oblationis, sicut capellanus, habebit.

Ad hæc etiam duas partes Præbendæ Canonici defuncti, in usum concessi cæterorum Canonicorum, et tertiam partem in usum pauperum per unius anni spatium.

The last rule is altered in the charter of the Canons of *St. Patrick;* there the Archbishop ordained that the Prebend of the deceased Canon should be enjoyed by his heirs for the space of one year after his decease; and that the commons belonging to him should be applied towards defraying the expense of performing his anniversary

SECT. III.

Epistola Decani (Thomæ de Chaddesworth) *et Capituli Sti. Patricii Dublin. Decano et Capitulo Sarisb. pro Statutis eorum transmittendis. circiter* A. D. MCCLXXXV. E regist. Dign. Dec. pag. 17.

Viris Venerabilibus et Amicis in Deo, dilectis Decano et Capitulo Ecclesie *Sarum. Thomas de Chaddesworth* Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* Salutem et fraterne caritatis semper augmentum in Domino.

Cum deceat domum Dei talibus statutis et consuetudinibus decorari, quod ministrantes in ipsa Deo devotius et honestius possint famulari, et abjectis vitiis insudare virtutibus: Nos, Ecclesiam vestram statutis variis virorum catholicorum studio diligenti et deliberatione provisis, tanquam margaritis ornatam ab antiquo cognoscentes, vestram qua possumus precum instantia deprecamus dilectionem, quatinus super petitionibus, quas vobis infra presentes inclusas transmittimus, per litteras vestras sigillo vestro communi signatas, nos certos reddere dignemini, ut Ecclesiam nostram ad honorem Dei et *Sancti Patricij*, in terra quasi deserta et hostile fundatam, per vestra statuta salubria et approbata, regulare et honorifice regere valeamus, vestris enim precibus et exortationibus in hijs que vobis et Ecclesie vestre cedere poterunt ad honorem in partibus *Hibernie* et condescendere, maxime desideramus.

Valeat vestra confraternitas per tempora longa.

Petit Capitulum *Dublin.* ut scribatis ei qualem et quem communiam habeant Privilegiate Persone.

Item, de Canonicis commorantibus cum Rege sive Episcopo, si communiam habere debeant.

Item, si Canonici percipiant communiam, si non interfuerint matutinis.

Item, quid debeat cedere in usus Canonicorum de Prebendis defunctorum.

Item, si aliquid certum constitutum sit pro delicto Canonicorum vel Vicariorum.

Item, de habitu et honestate Clericorum chorum ingredientium.

Item, si Canonicus obierit, quid et quantum habere debeat de Prebenda sua.

Item, de dignitate Decani et aliorum Personarum: Et si Decanus percipiat unciam auri pro Installatione; et Capitulum XL solidos pro refectione unius diei.

Item, super conditione Vicariorum.

Item, de custodia et usu Sigilli; et si Cancellarius aliquid percipere debeat pro sigillo.

Item, de stolis conferendis.

Item, de oblationibus percipiendis in capella Episcopi et de dedicationibus ecclesiarum; Si Canonici presentes inde percipere debeant.

Item, de Stallis Personarum et Canonicorum, si communia sint omnibus.

Responsio Decani et Capituli Saresb.

Viris Venerabilibus et Amicis in Deo, dilectis Decano et Capitulo *Dublin.* W. Decanus et Capitulum *Sar.* Salutem et fraterne caritatis semper aug-

mentum in Domino; veram credimus illam esse dilectionem, et Christi glutino copulatam, quam non utilitas rei familiaris, non palpans adulatio, set Dei timor, et zelus decoris Domus Domini conciliant in Christo.

Intelleximus ex litteris vestris quod benignitas vestra multo desiderio ad complexum nobis mutue caritatis occurrit.

Intelleximus etiam vestre dignationis de nobis estimationem et judicium, et de judicio estimationis vestre gloria nobis crescit non modica, et de confidentia gratie vestre securitas ad omnes preparatur eventus. Magnum sequidem est, judicium simul et gratiam meruisse prudentum, quia alterum illorum illustrat ad gloriam, alterum vero proficit ad proventum. Et quia querentes bonas margaritas, postpositis aliis multis eque vel plus nitentibus, Ecclesiam nostram tanquam singulariter pretiosam margaritam, juxta vestram estimationem, preposuistis, et ad exemplar institutionis et informationis novelle Ecclesie nostre pre ceteris eam elegistis.

Ad gratiarum nos congerimus actiones, et totum devotionis affectum quem possumus vobis impendentes; rogamus obnixe ut devotiones vestre ergo nos non repescat affectus; et qui unius moris effecti sumus in Domo Domini, per eandem sicut vobis placuit institutionum observantiam: alter ad alterius opportunitatis promptior existat.

Et ad majorem nascentis amicitie confederationem, mittimus vobis responsa, ad singula que fuerunt a nobis quesita.

Scriptum et [a] vestra petitionis una cum responsis nostris vobis transmittimus, ut dilucide possitis perspicere, quanta dilectionis affectione vestrum fuimus mandatum executi.

Bene et diu valeat universitas vestra.

Primo, fuit a nobis quesitum; Quam et qualem communiam percipiant in Ecclesia *Sarrum* quatuor Persone Privilegiate, scilicet, Decanus, Cantor, Cancellarius et Thesaurarius? Ad quod taliter respondemus. Quod tam in pane et servisia quam in pitanciis et aliis distributionibus que fiunt de communia, duplicem portionem percipiunt. Alij autem utpote Archidiaconi et Canonici simplicem tantum.

Circa secundum quesitum; sciatis, quod Canonici commorantes cum Rege vel Episcopo nichil percipiunt de Communia.

Circa tertium quesitum; sciatis, quod Canonici presentes in ecclesia nichil amittunt de communia sua, etiamsi non interfuerint matutinis.

Circa quarto et septimo quesita, quia conjuncta sunt, conjuncti respondemus; videlicet, Quod due partes Præbende Canonici defuncti, si decesserit ante mediam quadragesimam, cedunt in usus Canonicorum residentium, tertia parte remanente defuncto, de qua tertia parte tenetur ministrare stipendia vicarij sui. Si vero Canonicus obierit post mediam quadragesimam, habebit fructus sequentis autumpni; et preterea tertiam partem fructuum secundi anni; et Communia [b] percipiet illo secundo anno duas partes; et de utroque anno respondebit defunctus vicario suo, pro stipendiis suis.

Circa quinto quesitum; sciatis, quod nulla certa pena statuta est pro delicto Canonicorum vel Vicariorum; set arbitrarie sunt pene secundum delictorum modum, et moderationem Decani et Capituli.

De habitu vero Clericorum ingredientium chorum, ita optentum est in Ecclesia *Sarr.* Ut quilibet sub capa nigra sup pellicio utatur; et illi qui sunt in superiori gradu utuntur pilleis nigris tantum. Qui vero in secunda forma sunt, pilleis non utuntur.

Utrum autem Decanus percipiat unciam auri pro installatione Canonici, et Capitulum XL solidos pro refectione unius diei? Sciatis, quod in constitutionibus Ecclesie nostre sic invenitur scriptum, set non est modo apud nos observatum.

Quod autem quesitum est de conditione Vicariorum? Sciatis, quod Vicarius in ordine Presbyteratus ministrans suscipit de Canonico pro quo ministrat pro stipendiis suis, XL solidos per annum; Diaconus vero XXX solidos; Subdiaconus vero duas marcas. De Communia vero nostra suscipit quilibet eorum unum Denarium diurnum, qui non auferetur ab eo, dummodo matutinis interfuerit.

De custodia vero Sigilli sic est apud nos; Quod Sigillum servatur sub duabus clavibus, quarum unam habet Decanus, alteram vero Cancellarius. Potest autem Cancellarius de antiqua consuetudine exigere duos solidos de carta; set quia non tantum a malo, set a specie mali abstinendum esse dinoscimus, non requirit hic de cetero Cancellarius.

Item, Magister Stolarum a Cancellario ponitur, qui hanc habet auctoritatem in Ecclesia *Sarr.*

Item, si Canonicus interfuerit dedicationi Ecclesie, quam fecerit Dominus Episcopus, suam portionem si voluerit de oblatione percipiat; de Capella vero Episcopi nichil.

Item stallum Persone; in ejus absentia, nullus audebit Canonicorum intrare, nec in eo residere, set servabitur vacuum usque ad adventum Persone, nisi aliqua Privilegiata Persona venerit, que in eo fuerit ob reverentiam suam per Decanum collocata, vel per aliquam Personam, si Decanus absens fuerit.

[a] vestræ. [b] communiæ.

SECT. IV.

Charta Henrici *Archiepiscopi, quod Prebendæ etc. sint immunes a Senagiis et Procurationibus tam Archidiaconi quam Decani.* Ex Orig. Charta. Et e regist. Dign. Dec. pp. 10 et 39.

Universis Christi Fidelibus, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, H. Dei Gratia, Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* eternam in Domino Salutem.

Ad Universitatis Vestre notitiam volumus pervenire quod ad decorem domus Domini et locum habitationis Glorie Ipsius, et Beate Virginis, Beati Petri et Beati Patricij *Dublin.* preter alia que eidem loco et Canonicis nostris ibidem Deo servientibus, pro possibilitate nostra, divina inspirante gratia, contulimus; statuimus et ordinamus; Quod Prebende *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* et Capelle pertinentes ad

ipsas, et Ecclesie Communie sue, immunes sint a senagiis et procurationibus tam Archidiaconi quam Decani: Et quod Canonici habeant placita de familia sua tam Clericis quam Laicis, et de ipsis qui inhabitant sanctuaria Ecclesiarum Prebendarum, tam Clericis quam Laicis.

Et quod Decanus *Sancti Patricij*, vel alius Canonicus quem Capitulum assignaverit, habeat placita Ecclesiarum et Capellarum pertinentium ad Communiam, et due partes cedant in usus nostros et successorum nostrorum, et tertia pars, quam consuevit Archidiaconus percipere, in usus Communie *Sancti Patricij*.

Statuimus etiam, quod Archidiaconus predictus non possit Ecclesias vel Capellas Ecclesiarum Prebendarum vel Communie, sive ipsarum Capellanos vel Clericos suspendere, sine consensu nostro vel successorum nostrorum.

Ut autem que predicta sunt robur obtineant, et firmitatem futuris temporibus, presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus.

Hiis Testibus, Domino Reginaldo de Cornill. Gervasio de Cornill. Johanne de Lond. Humfrido de Erlonde. Magistro Johanne de Merleburg. Mag. Hugone Fistico. Domino Philippo Capellano. Warino de Fiffakre, et Rogero de Felda, Clericis. Reginaldo Capellano. Magistris Johanne de Stafford et Will. de Lychefeld et multis aliis.
Sigillo Avulso.

SECT. V.

Charta LUCÆ *Archiepiscopi de jurisdictione et absentia Canonicorum; secundum usum Sarisb.* A. D. MCCXXXV.—E regist. Dign. Dec. p. 9 et p. 40.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit; LUCAS, Dei Gratia, *Dublin.* Ecclesie minister humilis, Salutem eternam in Domino.

Cum ea, que ad honorem Dei et Ecclesie a predecessoribus nostris rite et canonice statuta sunt et concessa, pia debeamus devotione confovere, ac ea, ut majori firmitate subsistant, quantum cum Domino possumus stabilire, inspecta canonica ordinatione bone memorie H. Predecessoris nostri Dublin Archiep. et ejusdem confirmatione, ex sincera devotione quam circa Ecclesiam *Beati Patricii Dublin.* specialiter gerimus,

Concedimus, quantum in nobis est, et presenti scripto confirmamus dilectis in Christo filiis Decano et Canonicis *Sancti Patricii Dublin.* secundum ordinationem *Sarresburiensis* Ecclesie, juxta cujus institutiones et consuetudines approbatas, dicta Ecclesia *Beati Patricii* dinoscitur esse fundata, ut, secundum dicte Ecclesie *Sarresbur.* ordinationem, habeant libere et absolute in perpetuum, omnia placita et perquisita Parochianorum suorum, tam Clericorum, quam Laicorum, in ecclesiis suis Prebendalibus, et in Ecclesiis omnibus communie sue cum earum pertinentiis, salvo unicuique jure suo.

Volumus etiam concedimus et confirmamus, quod Decanus dicte Ecclesie, et successores sui in perpetuum, in prebendis Canonicorum absentium dicte Ecclesie, nisi quos nos vel successores nostri super hoc specialiter duxerimus ad tempus eximendos, vel quos dicti Decanus et Capitulum, secundum consuetudinem Ecclesie sue justa de causa abesse permiserint, supradictam jurisdictionem plenissime exequantur.

Quod, ut futuris temporibus perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, presentem paginam sigilli nostri munimine, cum necesse fuerit, universitati nostre porrigendam duximus consignandam.

Dat. apud *Clontarreuf*, tertio Id. Augusti, anno consecrationis nostre, septimo.

Hiis Testibus, N. Episcopo Cloherens. I. Episcopo Arddahadens. N. Abbate S. Thome Dublin. Fratre Briano, capellano nostro; H. Clerico Offic. Glindelacen. Magistro Johanne de Shippeham, et Stephano Prudume, clericis nostris, et aliis.

SECT. VI.

Charta RICH. DE FERRINGES *Archiepiscopi, de immunitatibus Canonicorum, et Procuratione solvenda.* A. D. MCCCIV. E regist. Dign. Dec. pag. 59. Et e regist. voc. "Crede Mihi" fol. 108.

Universis Christi Fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, RICHARDUS, Dei Gratia, *Dublin.* Ecclesie Minister, humiliter, Salutem eternam in Domino. Cum ea que ad honorem Dei et Ecclesie a predecessoribus nostris favorabiliter sunt concessa et statuta pia devotione debeamus confovere, ac ea ut majori firmitate subsistant quantum cum Deo possimus stabilire: Inspectis concessionibus, ordinationibus et statutis venerabilium Patrum *Johannis, Henrici* et *Johannis*, predecessorum nostrorum *Dublin.* Archiepiscoporum, ex sincera Devotione quem circa Ecclesiam *Beati Patricij Dublin.* specialiter gerimus; Concedimus, et presenti scripto confirmamus, dilectis in Christo filiis Decano et Canonicis Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* predicte; quod Prebende eorum et Capelle pertinentes ad ipsos et Ecclesie Communie sue sint immunes a senagiis et visitationibus et procurationibus tam Archidiaconi quam Decani, prout in literis predictorum *Johannis, Henrici* et *Johannis*, predecessorum nostrorum, plenius continetur. Volumus tamen et Ordinamus, quod per Decanum et Capitulum Canonicus idoneus eligatur, vel Clericus aliquis per Capitulum deputetur, qui Cancellos Prebendalium Ecclesiarum, ac Capellas ad ipsas pertinentium, Ecclesiarum Communie sue et ministros earundem, quotiens opus fuerit, supervideat, et defectus quos invenerit, tam in ornamentis, libris, quam cancellis et edificiis, ad easdem Ecclesias Prebendales pertinentibus, et eorum ministris, Decano et Capitulo representet, ut secundum eorum communem assensum fiat in premissis correctio salutaris. Et si que pena pecuniaria pro dictis defectibus fuerit infligenda, in usus fabrice

Ecclesie predicte *Sancti Patricij*, eorundem judicio committatur: dicto vero Canonico sive Clerico, dum sic laborat, expense provideantur rationabiles de Communia.

Ordinamus insuper et Statuimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris, quantum in nobis est, quod Archiepiscopus, quicunque pro tempore fuerit, per seipsum personaliter, (Canonicis et non aliis associatis qui secreta Capituli conscribant) Decanum et Capitulum, quotiens opus fuerit, et saluti animarum expediens, per Decanum visitet, et correctiones faciat salutares per eundem; Pena tamen transgressorum, si qui reperti fuerint, infligenda, si fuerit pecuniaria, in Fabricam Ecclesie *Beati Patricij*, sicut dictum est superius, assignetur. Et ne aliqua cupiditatis vel lucri temporalis affectio surrepat, immo salus solum queratur animarum, et spirituale lucrum cumuletur, tantum procuratione unius diei, tam pro Ecclesia Cathedrali in qua personaliter extiterit officium visitandi, quam pro Ecclesiis Prebendalibus, et Ecclesiis ad Communiam Canonicorum pertinentibus, sit contentus; quam procurationem sic taxari volumus et ordinamus ut summam decem marcarum [a] ullatenus non excedat.

Volumus insuper et Concedimus, dictis Decano et Capitulo quod omnes libertates in literis predecessorum nostrorum contentas, quibus hactenus usi sunt, habeant et possideant in futurum. In Cujus rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Dat. apud *Swerdes*, die veneris proximo post festum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli. Anno Domini MCCCIV.

[a] viz. 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. *Ir*. vel 5*l*. *Ster*. Et sic hodie.

Number IV.

Charta Henrici *Archiepiscopi Dublin. pro fundatione Quatuor Dignitatum etc. circiter* A.D. MCCXX. E regist. Dign. Dec. pag. 5.

Universis Christi Fidelibus, ad quos presens Scriptum pervenerit, H. [a] Dei Gratia, *Dublin*. Archiepiscopus, Salutem in Domino.

Hibernicana Ecclesia rudis olim et in sacris institutionibus minus erudita, cum ad sui decorem, ad Dei etiam cultum venustiorem, salubriorem ordinationem deposceret, assumptus ad regimen *Dublin*. Ecclesie, I. recolende memorie predecessor noster, in vinea Domini operator extitit officiosus, et negotiator pervigil ad talenti dupplicationem per diei sui pondera et estus in ea studuit laborare vigilanter; Qui inter cetera pietatis opera, que ad Dei gloriam et laudem, ad decorem domus Domini et ad informationem Ecclesiastice Discipline propriam exercuit diligentiam, Ecclesiam *Beati Patricii*, *Dublin*. in edificationem divini ministerii et aliorum instructionem, Prebendariam instituit: tunc tamen, nonnullis omissis, tam ex novitate ordinationis, quam exilitate facultatis, que maxime congruere viderentur ad perfectiorem ipsius ordinationem.

Quia vero, Summa Bonitas, Deus, totius bonitatis finis et origo, apud quem nulla rerum angustia, sicut potens in omnibus per aspirationem pie operationis excitat affectum, ita per subsequentem gratiam opus inchoatum producit ad effectum; Nos in ipsius misericordia omnem nostram fiduciam ponentes, qui in ordinis dignitatem successimus, et officii sollicitudinem affectantes in Domino, desideramus ordinationis primeve supplere defectum, et ut divinorum administratio in eadem Ecclesia debitis regatur observationibus, et sollempnibus celebretur officiis, Personatuum Dignitates in ipsa ordinare.

Et quidem cum juxta verbum Prophete, os bovis triturantis claudendum non sit: Et secundum sapientis sententiam, minime conveniat facultas modica, et dignitas sumptuosa; ut fructus labori respondeat, et honus mitiget remuneratio: Nos, ipsis Dignitatibus, in sustentationem eorum qui eisdem Dignitatibus deservient, certos reddituum proventus perpetua stabilitate duximus assignandos, successive personis ipsis perpetualiter possidendos, et in usus eorum convertendos.

Unde; Dominum *Willielmum Filium Guydonis*, in eadem instituimus Decanum, ad electionem ejusdem Capituli; quam eis, ut de gremio ejusdem Ecclesie ydoneam sibi eligant Personam, liberam concedimus inperpetuum et [b] confirmamus; cui electioni interesse volumus, tanquam Canonicus; cum in eadem Ecclesia Prebendam habeamus. Assignantes eidem *Willielmo*, et Decanatui suo, et successoribus suis, Prebendam suam de *Clondakan* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; Et terram de *Clonwanwyr*, et de *Kilbery* cum omnibus libertatibus suis et liberis consuetudinibus ad dictam terram pertinentibus: Et Ecclesiam de *Clonwanwyr*, et de *Kilbery*, cum suis Capellis cum vacaverint: Ecclesiam etiam de *Clonardmacgory*, et ejus Capellas cum vacaverint.

Et Magistrum *Philippum de Bray*, in eadem Ecclesia Precentorem instituimus; ita ordinando, ut Prebenda sua de *Luske* cum Ecclesia de *Ardrie*, et cum Ecclesia *Sancti Andree Dublin*. cum pertinentiis earum, quum vacaverint, illi et successoribus suis, ac Precentorie, cedat inperpetuum.

Instituimus etiam Magistrum *Thomam de Castello* in eadem Ecclesia Cancellarium. Prebendam suam de *ffynglass*, cum Ecclesia *Sancti Martini Dublin*: et cum Ecclesia de *Kyllachegar*, et pertinentiis suis, cum vacaverint, ipsi Cancellarie supradictoq: *Thome* et successoribus suis perpetualiter assignantes.

Ordinamus etiam Magistrum *Radulfum de Brystoll* in eadem Ecclesia Thesaurarium: statuentes, ut Prebenda sua de *Clonken*, cum Ecclesia *Sancti Audoeni Dublin*. et cum Ecclesia *Sancte Marie* juxta Castellum *Dublin*. et cum carucata terre de *Tachkery* ad ipsam Ecclesiam spectante, cum aliis suis pertinentiis quum vacaverint, ipsi Thesaurarie eidemq; *Radulfo* et successoribus suis, perpetualiter cedat et assignetur.

Concessimus autem ad augmentum Communie dicti Capituli, Ecclesiam *Beati Nicholai* infra muros *Dublin*. sitam, quam Predecessor noster, I. felicis memorie, eidem confirmavit, quam etiam *Gilebertus*

Comyn tenet; reddendo inde annuatim unam libram Cere dicto Capitulo, in die Beati Patricii, nomine pensionis.

Ut autem hec nostra ordinatio supradicta et concessio, perpetue firmitatis robur obtineat, ad ipsius stabilitatis firmitatem, presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine duximus roborandum. Testibus Canonicis dicti Capituli. [Et magistris Johanne de Taunton. Et Ricardo de Werminstre. Galfrido de Torvilla. Magistro Petro et Philippo Capellanis. War: et Rogero Clericis.] Et multis aliis.

[a] Henricus de Loundres. [b] *Supple*, potestatem.

N. B. Verba uncis inclusa non inveniantur in exemplari hujus Chartæ ad pag. 5. regist. Dign. Dec.

Number V.

Taxatio Præbendarum Ecclesiæ S. Patricii. Anno ab Incarnatione MCCXXVII. Ex Al. regist. f. 194.

Universis Christi Fidelibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Capitulum *S. Patricij Dublin.* Salutem in Domino et orationum suffragia.

Noveritis quod anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCXXVII. et Anno Regni Hen. Regis Anglie undecimo, facta est subscripta taxatio Prebendarum Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* de communi consensu Capituli. Presentibus, Domino W. Decano. Magistro Thoma, Cancellario. Roberto Luttrell, Thesaurario. G. de Turvell et Magistro R. de Gnowissale Archidiaconis. W. de London. Magistro de Bristoll. J. de Tantun. W. de Pyro. Rob. de London. G. Simme. R. de Lichfield. Ita quod quinta [a] pars uniuscujusque Prebende cujuslibet Canonici non residentis cedat in usus ipsius Ecclesie, sumpta Communia in usus residentium, (ut de altari vivant, qui altari deserviunt)

Mone [b] x. marc. pena ejusdem II. marc.
Donlovan XV. marc. pena ejusdem III. marc.
Dovenaghmore XV. marc. pena ejusdem III. marc.
Ballymore XX. marc. pena ejusdem IV. marc.
Kilkevin alias *Tipper* [c] x. marc. pena ejusdem II. marc.
Dunethymelach XL. marc. pena ejusdem VIII. marc.
Novum Castrum XX. marc. pena ejusdem IV. marc.
Tathsagard x. marc. pena ejusdem II. marc.
Killmesantan XV. marc. pena ejusdem III. marc.
Clondolchane cum pertinentiis suis VI^{XX}. marc. pena ejusdem XXIV. marc.
Tathtoin [d] XL. marc. pena ejusdem VIII. marc.
Clonkene XL. marc. pena ejusdem VIII. marc.
Rathmichell XX. marc. pena ejusdem IV. marc.
Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis C. sol. pena ejusdem XX. sol.
Castrumknock XL. marc. pena ejusdem VIII. marc.
Fineglas L. marc. pena ejusdem X. marc.
Howth XX. marc. pena ejusdem IV. marc.
Swerdes C. marc. pena ejusdem XX. marc.
Kilmehoth [e] XV. marc. pena ejusdem III. marc.
Luske IV^{XX}. marc. pena ejusdem XVI. marc.
Prebenda R. Marishall, que est de Bursa, V. marc. pena ejusdem I. marc.
Prebenda Magistri P. [f] C. sol. pena ejusdem XX. sol.

Ut igitur istud negotium deliberatione tantorum virorum firmatum robur firmitatis obtineat, predictum Capitulum suspirans ad operis tanti comsummationem et onerosi laboris sustentationem, presens scriptum concordi voto, sigillo suo fecit communiri. Valete.

Notæ Alani.

[a] En pro Synkdymes, in Lincoln Sepdymes; ubi Aleyn fuit Canonicus et habuit Prebendam de Asgarby.
[b] Mone duplex.
[c] Jam Nil de Tipperkevin.
[d] Alias Tawney.
[e] Forte Glenmethan.
[f] En duo Canonici Supernumerarii.
Ecce Johannes in suo collegio Clericorum instituit XIIJ Canonicos, sed Henricus in sua Cathedrali ordinavit XXIJ Prebendas.

Number VI.

Pacis Compositio. E regist. Alani fol. 21.

Ricardus Ferringes Dublinen. Archiepiscopus, Anno Domini MCCC, inter Ecclesias *S. Trinitatis* et *S. Patricij Dublin.* pacem composuit ordinando prout sequitur.

Imprimis, quod Consecratio et Inthronizatio Archiepiscopi fiat in Ecclesia Cathedrali *Sancte Trinitatis*, cum professione [a] que sequitur ad talem professionem peragendam.

Item, quod Ecclesie Predicte sint ad invicem Cathedrales etiam Metropolitice: ita quod Ecclesia *S. Trin.* tanquam Major, Matrix et Senior, in omnibus juribus Ecclesie seu negotiis preponatur.

Item, quod Crux, Mitra et Annulus pontificalis cujuslibet Archiepiscopi ubicunque obeuntis, pro eorum custodia assignentur eidem Ecclesie *S. Trin.* pro privilegio Cathedratici honoris.

Item, quod Corpus cujuslibet Archiepiscopi defuncti alternis vicibus sepeliatur in dictis Ecclesiis, nisi aliter disposuerit in sua voluntate.

Item, quod consecratio Crismatis et Olei in die Cene Domini, et solemnitates Penitentium sint in Ecclesia *S. Trinitatis.*

Item, quod dicte Ecclesie Cathedrales et Metropolitice sint Una, et in omnibus libertatibus pares habeantur: Et quod, sede vacante, Prior et Conventus habeant eandem libertatem et jurisdictionem in Ecclesijs suis ruralibus, quam habet Decanus in parochialis Prebendatis.

Item, quod si alterutra partium contravenerit huic ordinationi, licebit alteri parti redire ad suum pristinum statum.

Clamitat etiam Ecclesia Cathedralis Sancte Trinitatis, Privilegia Subscripta.

Imprimis, quod sede vacante, mittantur ab utroque Capitulo Regi Anglie, ad intimandam mortem ultimi incumbentis Archiepiscopi.

Item, quod si Electus post confirmationem olim (sed hodie post provisionem apostolicam ad regiam commendationem) redierit, aut alias venerit non con-

secratus, semper consecretur in Ecclesia Cathedrali *Sancte Trinitatis*, tanquam in matrici.

Item, ubicunque Suffraganei ejusdem Ecclesie consecrentur, statim post consecrationem accedant ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem *S. Trin.* pro juramento obedientie prestando, una cum oblatione Cappi Choralis in quo professionem fecerint.

Item, quod Litere Papales, post provisionem Electi *Dublin.* directe Priori et Decano et dictis Capitulis, remaneant in thesaurario Ecclesie *S. Trinitatis.*

Item, oblationes penticostales inibi fiant et pro fabrica ipsius convertende.

Item, quod Synodus, sede vacante, alternis vicibus in dictis Ecclesiis Cathedralibus celebrentur.

Item, quod Prior et Decanus similiter[b] et semel ordinati, procedendo principalem locum post Archiepiscopum, et Capituli dictarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium ordinati similiter[c] et semel, bini et bini conjunctim, in processionibus etiam procedant.

Item, quod predicationes, in Adventu Domini, Septuagessime et Quadragessime, fiant in Ecclesia *Trinitatis.*

Item, quod Provinciale Concilium incipiatur et finiatur in Ecclesia *Trinitatis.*

Item, quod, sede vacante *Dublin.* dicta Capitula habeant jurisdictionem Archiepiscopalem, et Archidiaconi Archidiaconalem.

Item, quod Ecclesia *Trinitatis*, tanquam Major, Matrix et Senior, in omnibus Concionibus, Congregationibus, Synodis et aliis seu instrumentis quibuscunque preponatur, et vox Prioris primo post Episcopum accipiatur: sede tamen vacante, primam habeat vocem in omnibus premissis.

Item, quod post obitum Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* totus preparatus sue capelle disponatur et dividatur secundum dispositionem dictorum Capitulorum *Sancte Trinitatis* et *Sancti Patricij* ad honorem et utilitatem dictarum Ecclesiarum.

Item, sigillum Officialis, sede vacante, custodiatur in thesauro Ecclesie *S. Trin.* et ibidem custodiantur legata, relicta ab Archiepiscopo defuncto, suo successori, usque ad creationem futuri Archiepiscopi.

Item, quod statim, cum devoluta fuerit jurisdictio, sede vacante, ad dicta Capitula, creetur Officialis Capituli secundum formam conventionis inter dicta capitula facte; ac redditus ex custodia Spiritualitatis et Spiritualis Jurisdictionis, sede plena, dividatur etiam secundum modum dicte conventionis.

Item, quod nullum istorum privilegiorum fiat in alio loco, nisi per consensum et assensum dictorum Prioris et Conventus; ne ex augmentatione vel diminutione eorundum falsitas inseratur in futurum.

Item *Nota*, quod post obitum *Ricardi Talbot*, Archiepiscopi (1449) erat Crux *Dublin.* Archiepiscopi impignorata cum *Jno. Whyte scis.* pro quinque marcis per *Johannem Streynshuen* alias *Barbor*, et oportebat Priorem *St. Trinitatis* et Conventum ejusdem luere per diffinitionem *Michaelis Tregure*, successoris proximi dicti *Ricardi*, qui, quum sentit honorem et commodum, sentire debet et onus.[d]

[a] Processione. [b] Sil. in Orig. [c] Sil. in Orig.

[d] *Nota Alani*—"Verum ego Alanus (Johannes 7^mus.) propriis expensis reparavi tam crucem quam baculum, dando uncias ferme centum argenti de meis; igitur orate pro anima mea. I. D."

Number VII.

SECT. I.

Bulla Universitatis Dublin.[a] A.D. MCCCX. Ex Al. regist. fol. 76.

Clemens Quintus etc, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Apertis glorie sue thesauris innumeris, qui clavem omnis scientie secum habet, Summus Pontifix, rerum omnium Magister et Dominus, eos qui sibi cogitationes preparant veritatis incomparabilium scientiarum divitiis larga facit pietate locupletes, illis salubre[b] doctrine documenta largitur, et ipsorum sincera precordia, velut aromatibus preciosis, virtutum reficit ubertate, ut in suavitatem grate fragancie[c] se in celestibus offerant, et aliis odorem divine justitie manifestent. Nos enim, qui ad dandum plebi fidelium scientiam salutarem deputati sumus a Domino, studio diligentis indagationis exquirimus, qualiter in domo Dei, que Omnipotentis Ecclesia columpna et firmamentum veritatis existit, eruditos nutrire filios valeamus, qui sciant in ea salubriter conversari, radiis claritatis eluceant, legem superne[d] majestatis exquirant, justitiam diligant et custodiant veritatem, indoctos erudiant, lapsos corroborent, confirment debiles, temporalia proinde regendo disponant, nuntient predicando, celestia demonstrent peragendo vite rectitudinem universi, et, velut Stelle, mansuri in eternitates perpetuas, luce resplendeant actionum.

Oblata, siquidem, nobis Venerabilis Fratris nostri *Johannis de Lecke* Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* petitio continebat, quod, licet nonnulli Doctores seu Baccalaurei saltem in theologie facultate, aliique in grammatica, suis artibus magistri legentes in terra *Hibernie* habeantur; in eadem tamen terra, vel *Scotie*, *Mannie*, aut *Norwagie* partibus, que ipsi terre viciniores existunt, scolarum Universitas vel generale studium non habebatur, propter quod pauci reperiuntur in terra ipsa viri decorati scientia literarum; quare Archiepiscopus supradictus nobis humilliter supplicavit, quod cum, de prefata terra *Hibernie*, quam oceanum mare circumdat, ad aliquod studium generale, nisi eodem mare transacto, absque gravi periculo patere non possit accessus: in civitate *Dublin.* infra ipsius terre limites constituta, que propter commoditates et utiles conditiones ipsius habilis redditur ad habendum hujusmodi studium generale, ipsum stabiliri studium, de solita benignitate Sedis Apostolice dignaremur.

Nos, igitur, ejusdem Archiepiscopi supplicationibus inclinati, ac volentes, ut ex terra ipsa viri perit fecundique scientiis prodeant, qui terram eandem velut ortum irriguum, ad exaltacionem catholice

fidei, honorem Matris Ecclesie ac fidelium commoda populorum perfundere valeant salubribus documentis, Apostolica auctoritate Statuimus, ut in eadem Civitate *Dublin.* si id de suffraganeorum ipsius Archiepiscopi consilio et consensu processerit, sit scolarium Universitas, et in qualibet scientia et facultate licita, de cetero studium generale, illudque perpetuis vigeat temporibus, in eadem, in quo magistri docere ac scolares in eisdem facultatibus audire libere valeant et studere, et qui ad Doctoratus honorem fuerint assumendi in qualibet facultatum ipsarum licentiam optinere.

Nulli, igitur, omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri statuti infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli, Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum in prioratu *Cransallo* prope *Malansanam*, *Vasconen.* Dioc. iii. Idus Julij. Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

[a] *Nota Alani*—Cujus Originale comburitur, concremata Ecclesia *Ste Trinitatis Dublin.*
[b] *Seu potius*, Salubris.
[c] *Potius*, Fragrantie.
[d] *Vel*, Supreme.

SECT. II.

Ordinatio ALEXANDRI *Archiepiscopi, pro Universitate Dubliniensi.* Ex Al. regist. fol. 76.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos ALEXANDER DE BYKENORE, permissione divina *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, Volumus, Concedimus et Ordinamus, de consensu et assensu Capitulorum nostrorum *Ste. Trinitatis* et *Sti. Patricij Dublin.* magistris et scolaribus Universitatis nostre *Dublin.* Quod magistri, actu-regentes dicte Universitatis, possint eligere Cancellarium, Doctorem in sacra pagina seu jure canonico: ita quod, si in altera Ecclesiarnm nostrarum *Ste. Trinitatis* vel *Sti. Patricii* ejusdem loci, in dictis scientiis fuerit aliquis, doctoratum in ejusdem facultatibus adeptus, in Cancellarium pre omnibus ceteris per eosdem eligatur: et si, quod absit, in electione ejusdem Cancellarij fuerit discordia, quod tunc fiat electio majoris partis dictorum regentium in numero duntaxat: et, Cancellario dicte Universitatis cedente vel decedente, alius infra quindecim dies eligatur, et idem electus nobis et successoribus nostris, presentibus, seu vicariis, nobis vel illis in remotis agentibus, sede *Dublin.* plena, et sede vacante Custodi spiritualitatis ejusdem, pro confirmatione obtinenda, infra quindecim dies a tempore electionis presentetur, pro confirmatione sua petenda et obtinenda.

Volumus ad hec, quod duo Procuratores, actu-regentes, cum fuerit copia magistrorum regentium, simili modo ut prius eligantur: et quod ijdem procuratores, cum Universitas predicta Cancellario carnerit, vices suppleant ejusdem Cancellarij: et si electio Cancellarii infra quindecim dies celebrata non fuerit, extunc devolvatur jurisdictio ad Officialem curie *Dublin.* sede plena, vel, sede vacante, ad Custodem spiritualitatis, quousque Cancellarius electus fuerit et confirmatus, vel saltem aliquod non obsistat canonicorum quominus debeat confirmari.

Concedimus etiam, quod dictus Cancellarius habeat jurisdictionem spiritualem in magistros et scolares, ubi Actor et Reus sunt de Universitate predicta, et in eorum familiares, et approbationem et reprobationem testamentorum eorundem magistrorum, scolarium et familiarium, ac dispositionem bonorum eorundem si intestati decesserint; ita, tamen, quod mulcte ipsis delinquentibus, judicende, et emolumenta inde et ex quacunque alia causa, de jurisdictione predicta, provenientia, in cista quadem Universitatis predicte reponantur, convertenda in utilitatem dicte Universitatis communem, secundum dispositionem Cancellarii et magistrorum, et quod duas claves ciste habeant Procuratores, et tertius nominatus per Cancellarium, et inde dicti Procuratores, bis in anno, coram Cancellario et magistris regentibus, compotum reddere teneantur, vel coram deputatis seu deputandis ab eisdem.

Jurisdictionem vero nostram, et Decani nostri *Sti. Patricii* predicti, in familiares nostros et Canonicos ecclesiarum predictarum et ad eorum familiares, et super glebam Prebendarum existentes, nullatenus a nobis seu ab ipso Decano abdicantes: proviso tamen, quod pro officio Cancellarii et ejus oneribus supportandis, pro loco et tempore, secundum Universitatis facultates, honorifice ordinetur.

Si, vero, Cancellarius predictus vices suas aliquibus vel alicui committere voluerit in causis specialiter et universaliter cognoscendis, facultatem eidem concedimus per presentes; et si ab eisdem commisariis appelletur, primo ad eundem Cancellarium et regentes appelletur, qui, per se in dicta causa appellationis cognoscant, vel per alias illa vice: a quibus si secundo appelletur, ad Nos vel Officialem curie nostre, seu Custodem, ut premittitur, ipsa appellatio interponatur.

Licenciandi, insuper, Baccalaurei in facultate quacunque presententur Cancellario predicto et magistris regentibus, qui, si sufficientem numerum, pro tempore per ipsos ordinandum, obtinuerint magistrorum in eadem facultate literature, ut quoad illos et alios aliarum facultatum, pro moribus deponentium quibus credi volumus, si jurati de credulitate deponant (non obstante minoris partis numero magistrorum contradictione) licentientur; alioquin per gratiam transeant Universitatis; et, si quis contra licenciandum in quacumque facultate aliquid objecerit, et illud in forma juris non probaverit, eo ipso habeatur pro maliciose opponente, et preter refusionem dampnorum et expensarum parti faciendarum, Universitatis privilegio privetur ad tempus, vel imperpetuum, prout Cancellario et regentibus visum fuerit, habita consideratione ad qualitatem rei objecte, et conditionem utriusque persone.

Concedimus, etiam, pro nobis et successoribus nostris; quod Cancellarius, de consilio magistrorum regentium, et non regentium si necesse fuerit, sta-

tuta condere possit ad honorem et pacem Universitatis, et ad scandala dirimenda, que contingere poterint in eventu, et illa statuta debent nobis et successoribus nostris presentari, et per nos et eosdem successores confirmari.

Ordinamus, etiam, quod Nos et successores nostri eligere possumus secularem in theologia regentem, vel de quacunque religione, qui in Ecclesia nostra *Sti. Patricij* prefata actualiter legat in sacra pagina, sine alicujus contradictione vel calumpnia, perpetuis temporibus in futuro; ac, nobis vel illis successoribus nostris agentibus in remotis, quod Cancellarius hoc faciat vice nostra et eorundem successorum, eo non obstante, quod scolas ffratrum Predicatorum ac Minorum duximus canonizandas.

Et, quod Cancellarius electus, et a nobis et successoribus nostris confirmandus, juramentum nobis et successoribus nostris prestet fidelitatis.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum, una cum sigillis capitulorum nostrorum *Ste. Trinitatis* et *Sti. Patricii Dublin.* predictorum, presentibus est appensum. Dat. *Dublin.* decimo die ffebruarij, Anno Domini, millessimo trecentesimo vicesimo, et consecrationis nostre, quarto.

Number VIII.

Ordinatio Archiepiscopi et Capituli Sti. Patricii, de casibus, in quibus Archiepiscopus debeat visitare dictum Capitulum. A. D. MCCCLIX. E reg. Dign. Dec. pp. 61 et 178.

In Dei Nomine, Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod, Anno Domini ab incarnatione ejusdem, secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesie *Anglicane* et *Hibernicane*, millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo nono, indictione tertiadecima, mensis Octobris die undecima, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri, Domini Innocentii, Divina Providentia Pape, sexti, anno septimo; Constitutus personaliter venerabilis in Christo pater ac dominus, Dominus *Johannes*, Dei Gratia, *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, in loco capitulari Ecclesie Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij, Dublin.* in sua visitatione, quam disposuit, ut dixit, ibidem exercere; coram quo patre (in presentia mei, Notarij Publici infrascripti, et testium, subscriptorum ad hoc vocatorum, et rogatorum) comparuerunt omnes et singuli Canonici dicte Ecclesie, presentes personaliter, et absentes per procuratores suos, excepto domino *Willielmo de Bromleye* Decano ejusdem Ecclesie, tunc absente, et in partibus *Anglie* notorie degente, et adversa valetudine graviter languente, ac ad partes *Hibernie* tunc redire, ut publice referebatur, penitus impotente: Et cum idem Pater paraverat se personas dicti Capituli visitaturum, ex parte dicti Capituli, coram dicto Patre, fuit allegatum et propositum, quod Ecclesia *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* antedicta, ac omnes et singule Dignitates et Prebendarij ac Canonici in eadem, per sedem Apostolicam, ac per predecessores dicti Patris quam plures, diversis literis apostolicis bullatis, et aliis literis, munimentis et instrumentis, predecessorum dicti Patris, extiterant a fundatione predicte Ecclesie, et existunt in presenti, sufficienter munite, et muniti, et a Visitatione Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* qui pro tempore fuerit, in hac parte liberi, et maxime Decano dicte Ecclesie presente; de quibus eidem domino *Johanni* Archiepiscopo, ex eo presertim, quod, diu ante dictum Archiepiscopatum per eundem adeptum, erat Canonicus ejusdem Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij*, et ad hujus privilegia et statuta observanda juratus; ac etiam post et tunc temporis innotuit vel innotescere deberet, et innotescebat ad plenum, ac etiam extitit facta fides; ac, ad instar Ecclesie *Sarisburiensis*, predicta Ecclesia *Sancti Patricij* fundata existit, cum omnibus suis juribus, statutis et libertatibus universis, que ipsum dominum Archiepiscopum non lateant, nec latere poterint; pronunciatumque fuerat, et exstat finaliter et diffinitive, tam per predecessores suos in contradictorio judicio, quam per judices delegatos Sedis Apostolice, pro et super juribus et libertatibus et possessionibus eorundem Decani et Capituli Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* predicte, que quidem pronunciationes seu sententie in rem transierunt judicatam: predictaque Ecclesia *Sancti Patricij*, ac omnes et singule dignitates et prebende ac Canonici in eadem, pacifice, quiete et inconcusse fuerunt a tempore, cujus contrarij memoria hominum non existat, liberi, et in possessione dictorum jurium, statutorum et libertatum: inter cetera continentur, quod Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* qui pro tempore fuerit, dignitates vel prebendas dicte Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* visitare non debeat, nec debebit, nisi per Decanum dicte Ecclesie duntaxat; et, si que fuerint corrigenda, corrigere, nisi in Capitulo, pro quocunque crimine, vel excessu reperto in aliquem canonicum corrigendo, nullatenus tempore visitationis vel alias debeat respondere, aut citari debeat ad respondendum pro hujus commissione; sed reperta, judicio Decani et Capituli, debeant terminari: quibus, coram dicto patre allegatis, ac ipso certiorato super eisdem allegatis premissis, Idem pater, dominus *Johannes* Archiepiscopus dixit et protestabatur expresse, quod tunc, nec ante, in aliqua sua visitatione precedente, vel postea, hujus visitationem in premissis vel circa ea exercuit vel nitebatur exercere; nisi ob defectum Decani dicte Ecclesie absentis, et non exercentis officium suum in hac parte, vel non visitantis prout decuit vel decet; nisi forte aliqua per apellationem devolverentur coram se vel suis Commissariis; vel essent comperta aliqua, que sub correctione dicti Decani cadere vel ad ipsum spectare non possint.

Acta sunt hec, anno, indictione, mense, die, loco et pontificatu ante-dictis. Presentibus, Magistris Willielmo de Gayslee, predicte ecclesie canonico; Johanne Actehayes, perpetuo vicario unius portionis de *Luske.* Nic. de Chedlyngton, rectore de Kilmatalwey, Publicis Notariis. Domino Johanne de Northampton, perpetuo vicario alterius portionis de *Luske.* Domino Hugone Marter, Domino Philippo Leymor, Domino Roberto Gonys, vicariis in eccle-

sia *Sancti Patricij* antedicta, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Number IX.

Pardonatio concessa, anno secundo Hen. IV. Johanni Prene, pro acceptando Decanatum S. Patricii Dublin. per provisionem Papalem. Irrot. Anno Quinto Hen. IV. Ex Rot. Turr. Bermingh. Dublin.

Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex *Anglie* et *Francie*, Dominus *Hibernie*, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Sciatis, quod, cum dilectus nobis *Johannes Prene*, Decanus Ecclesie Cathedralis *S. Patricij Dublin.* in terra nostra *Hibernie*, unus Auditorum causarum S. Palatij sanctissimi in Christo patri, Bonifacij, Pape moderni, Decanatum predictum, qui est beneficium electivum, vigore provisionis Sedis Apostolice ad presens pacifice optineat, ut accepimus; Nos, de gratia nostra speciali, pardonavimus eidem *Johanni* ac executoribus et subexecutoribus Bulle gratie predicte, necnon notarijs, procuratoribus et summonitoribus suis in hac parte, transgressiones, contemptus et mesprisiones per ipsos et eorum quemlibet in premissis contra statuta Provisorum facta, et quicquid ad nos pertinet in hac parte, et etiam statum et possessionem, quos idem *Johannes* habet in Decanatu predicto, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus; nolentes quod ipse super possessione sua Decanatus predicti, ratione alicujus juris vel tituli, quod vel qui nobis competit, seu nobis aut heredibus nostris in futurum competere poterit; seu, quod prefatus *Johannes* aut dicti executores, subexecutores, notarij, procuratores vel summonitores, seu eorum aliquis, ratione aliorum premissorum aut eorum alicujus, per nos vel heredes nostros seu ministros nostros quoscunque, futuris temporibus impetantur, inquietentur, molestentur in aliquo, seu graventur, statutis predictis aut eorum aliquo non obstantibus--In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud *Westm.* nono die Martij, anno regni nostri secundo. Per Ipsum Regem.

Number X.

Charta pro creandis Prebendis de Kilmatalway, Sti Audoeni Dub. et Sti Patricii in Wykinglo etc. A. D. MCCCCLXVII. Ex Alani regist. fol. 154 et e Charta Phil. et Mar. irrot. xi Eliz. Reg.

Edwardus,[a] Dei Gratia, Rex *Anglie* et *Francie*, et Dominus *Hibernie*, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Supplicarunt nobis per petitionem suam carissimo Consanguineo nostro, *Johanni* Comiti *Wigornie*, Deputato carissimi Fratris nostri *Georgii*, Ducis *Clarencie*, locum nostrum Tenentis terre nostre *Hibernie*, ac Dominis, Spiritualibus et Temporalibus ac Communibus, terre nostre predicte, in Parliamento nostro apud *Dublin.* die veneris proximo post festum *Sancti Nicholai* Episcopi, anno regni nostri septimo, coram prefato Deputato tento, ac ab inde ad villam de *Drogheda*, usque ad diem Jovis proximum post festum Purificationis Beate Marie ad prox. tunc sequentem adjornato et continuato exhibitam, venerabilis in Christo pater, Michaell[b] Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* ac dilectus nobis in Christo, *Johannes* Alen, Decanus et Capitulum Collegij nostri *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* Quod cum nobiles Progenitores nostri ex nimia devotione ac notabili largitate et habundantia in augmentationem divini cultus, viginti quatuor Canonicis Cathedralibus una cum nonnullis aliis ministris dictum Collegium dotaverunt; de quibus Decanus et Precentor, Cancellarius ac Thesaurarius, tanquam postes et columpne ejusdem Collegij, ad eorum quemlibet in gradu suo regendum, necnon duo Archidiaconi, viz. Archidiaconus *Dublin.* et *Glyndelacens.* ad Archiepiscopum inde pro tempore existentem, ut diaconi sui, tam in divino servitio interius assistendum, quam ad jurisdictionem suam exterius in Diocesi sua supportandum, constituti fuissent. Iamque tempore elapso, nuper, per *Hibernicorum* inimicorum, et *Anglicorum* rebellium continuam guerram infra dictam terram habitam, beneficia, exitus et proficua Precentorie et Thesaurarie dicti Collegij ac Archidiaconatus *Glindelacensis*, in ipso Collegio secunde, quarte et sexte majorum dignitatum, in et de dicto Collegio et Ecclesia post Decanum, adeo modici valoris existunt, quod Precentorem Thesaurarium et Archidiaconum *Glyndelacensem* predictos, in divino cultu, hospitalitate, ceterisque oneribus, fundationibus dictorum nobilissimorum Regum et Principum, ac gradibus beneficiorum predictorum, convenienter, nequeunt supportare absque hujusmodi remedio, quod ad hoc apponitur. Super quo, predicti Decani et Capituli sui, alteriusque Capituli *Sancte Trinitatis Dublin.* advisamento, unam partem fructuum et proficuorum dicte Rectorie et Prebende *de Luske* ex parte Precentoris, ad dictam Cantoriam sive Precentoriam; et aliam partem ex parte Decani, ad Thesaurariam dicte Ecclesie; et Prebendam ac Rectoriam de *Le Newcastell de Lyones* cum suis pertinentiis, ad Archidiaconatum *Glyndelaciensem* predictam, dictus Archiepiscopus univit et appropriavit, ad proximam vacantiam ipsarum, et earum cujuslibet, ingredi et occupari juxta formam predictam, et per Precentorem, Thesaurarium ac Archidiaconum predictos, et licitos successores suos in perpetuum. Per quas, unionem ac appropriationem et consolidationem, numerus personarum dicti Collegij non erat, nec erit diminutus; ea de causa, quod ecclesia de *Kilmatalwey*, ecclesia *Sancti Audoeni Dublin.* et ecclesia *Sancti Patricij de Wykenglo* cum suis pertinentiis, exitibus et proficuis, in tres canonicales Prebendas in dicto Collegio, ad supplendum et perimplendum numerum personarum, primeve fundationis omnium nobilissimorum et victoriosissimorum fundatorum create, facte et incorporate existunt. Super quo habita consideratione, qualiter dictorum fundatorum extitit intentio, pro susten-

tatione et supportatione divini cultus et hospitalitatis in dicto Collegio; ac, quod quilibet honor et onus cum exitibus et proventibus jure positivo concorditer largius remunerari debent; ac etiam non est conveniens juri naturali infantem ex patris patrimonio venerari, patremque penuria perire; etiamque felicis recordationis *Richardus*,[c] nuper *Dublin*. Archiepiscopus, per licentiam et divisionem Prebende de *Swerdes*, sex parvos Canonicos et sex Coristas, in augmentationem divini cultus, et ad numerum personarum in dicto Collegio, competentem possessionem Prebendario de *Swerdes* pred. et successoribus suis reservando, instituit, et hoc pro communi utilitate dicti Collegij honorabiliter approbavit, ratificavit et confirmavit. Volumus dictas uniones, appropriationes et consolidationes dictarum Prebendarum *de Luske* et *Newcastell de Lyones* cum suis pertinentiis, ad precentoriam et thesaurariam, archidiaconatum et quamlibet ad alteram; creationem et institutionem Prebendarum de *Kilmatalway Sancti Audoeni* et *Sancti Patricij* de *Wykkelow*, ad numerum Canonicorum dicti Collegij primeve fundationis, inde concorditer, supplendum et perimplendum, prout predictum est recitatum, auctoritate Parliamenti predicti confirmare, approbare, ratificare et judicare esse validum in lege in perpetuum, absque impedimento seu impetitione.

[a] Quartus, *scilicet*. [b] Michael Tregury. [c] Ricardus Talbot.

Number XI.

Confirmatio Edwardi *Regis, hujus nominis* IV. *de Dignitatibus, Consuetudinibus etc. de quibus cavetur Statutnm, "Dignitas Decani et Aliorum Canonicorum."* A.D. MCCCCLXXIV.—E Rot. Canc. et regist. voc. Dign. Dec. pag. 75.

Edwardus, Dei Gratia, Rex *Anglie* et *ffrancie* et Dominus *Hibernie*, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem.

Inspeximus quendam actum sive ordinationem in Parliamento nostro apud *Dublin*. die veneris proximo post festum Sancti Patricij ultimo preterito, coram perdilecto consanguineo nostro, *Thoma Fitzmorice* Comite *Kyldarie*, Deputato carissimi Fratris nostri *Georgij*, Ducis *Clarencie*, locum nostrum Tenentis terre nostre *Hibern*. tento ad requisitionem Comit. terre nostre *Hibernie*, editum, et in rotulis Cancellarie nostre terre predicte irrotulatum, in hec verba.

Item, al requisition des Communes, pur ceo, que la Cathedrale Esglis de *Seint Patrick Divelin* est del fundacion del Roy *Johan*, et diversez Erchevesques cesst as savere, *Johan*, *Lucas* et *Henrie* ount confermez et honourablement endowez, oue graundez possessions, libertees, estatutes, ordenaunces, constitucions et loialx custumes, lezquex, al enstaunce del avaunt dit *Henrie*, par nostre Seint Pier le Pape, furent confermez, diversez foitz et formablement ordeine, oue iiij Dignitees et aulters diversez Chanons; des queux le Deane, pour le temps esteaunt, est ordinaire immediate de eaux et de chescun de eaux, et de eaux et touts aulters ministres del dit Esglis, ad oubedience, cure et jurisdiction, hors del temps que nule memorie courte; et, especialment, accordaunt a une Estatute, appelle, Dignitas Decani et Omnium Canonicorum est &c, lequelle Estatute eneffect voet; que le Deane, ne nule aulter Chanon, en nule maniere judicial, cause ou causes, devoient respoundre al jugement le Erchevesque de *Divelin*, ou citation, sinon taunt soulment "in Capitulo et judicio Capituli": le quele jugement est de estre entendue del Erchevesque et le entier Chapitre, ou alterment le greindre et salubre partie del dit chapitre; et que, en suppletement del necligence del Deane, et en causes des Apelis et nule aultere. Des queux fundacion, estatutes, libertees, ordinaunces, et loialx custumes, les dits Deane et Chapitre sount et ount estez in peasible possession, jesques al temps del benoit memorie, *Michel*, ore tarde Erchevesque del mesme: en quele temps, une varience et discorde fuit eue par entre luy et le dit chapitre (Mestier *Philipp Norreys* cele temps esteaunt Deane) sur le dit Estatute, Dignitas Decani, &c. le dit matier de varience et discorde de estre determine et finisshe, fuit mise al jugement del benoit memorie et honourable Pier *John White* adonques Abbe del Monasterie de *Seint Marie* juxte *Divelin*, Meistier *Thomas Walshe* et Meistier *Richard Rowe*, par consente de lez avaunt dits parties; Les queux Abbe *Thomas* et *Richard* ount ajuges et decrees pur la possessione et droite dez ditz Deane et Chapitre; sicome il pluis pleinement appiert, par le processe del dit Abbe. Et lez ditz Deane et Chapitre ount issint continue et lour fundacion, droite et possession jesques al temps del tres reverend Pier en Deu *Johan* ore Erchevesque del mesme; par que les dits fundacion, libertees, estatutes, ordenaunce et custumes sount bien pres outerment destruez et pervertez par diverse hastief voluntarie, et nient droit ou regle processe fait par le dit Erchevesque, envers Meistier *John Allyn*, ore esteaunt Deane, et Chapitre, contrarie a les premisses.

Sur que les premisses, gracieuxment considerez, et comment la dit Esglis est del fundacion de nostre Soveraune Sire, le Roy, et que par tiele enjust et nient droite ou regle processe, divine service est plusiours foits enterrupte, et issint le praier pur le state de nostre dit, Souveraune Sire, et le ames de sez pluis noblez Progenitcurs est retrahe: Ordeine est, Enacte et Establie par auctorite du dit Parliament, que lez ditz fundacion, libertees, estatutes, ordinaunce, constitucions et loialz custumes, et especialment la constitution, appelle, Dignitas Decani et Omnium Canonicorum, &c. come il est desuys reherse, oue toutz aulters libertees, estatutes, constitucions, ordenaunce et loialx custumes, come ils furent grauntez al primere temps par le dit Roy *Johan*, quaunt il fuit Comit de *Moretoune* et Sire de *Irland*; et auxi par lez avaunt ditz, Erchevesquez *Johan* et *Henrie*; et confermez, ordeinez et statutes par lez Seint Pieres, *Innocent* et *Nicholas*, Papes al courte de *Rome*; et la declaracion del dit Abbe, soient ratifiez, appro-

vez, confermez et grauntez: et que, par la dit auctorite, ordeine est, enacte et establie, que si le dit ore Erchevesque ou ses successours, lour officiers ou ministers, ou ascun aulter person, ou persons attemptent, contrarie al dit estatute appelle, DIGNITAS DECANI, et toutz aulters loialx estatutes et custumez del dit Cathedrale Esglis, quil ou quils qui issint attemptent, si sovent come ile ou ils issint fount, forfaitent xx Lib. moite au Roy, nostre Soveraune Sire et sez heires, et le aulter moite a ascun person ou persons, queaux voilent suer pur le Roy et luy ou eaux, devaunt ascun juge ou juges de nostre dit Soveraune Sire, sez heires ou ministres, et devaunt ascun aulter juge de recorde, si bien deins franchesie come dehors, et que nule protection, brief de privilege, essoyn, excomengement, ne nulle aulter delaie soit allove en la dit accion, ne accions. Et pur ceo, que le dit ore Ercheveque, malicieuxment et voluntariment, ad deprive le dit Meisteir *John Allyn*, ore Deane del dit Cathedrale Esglis; pur ceo, que les ditz Deane et Chapitre steount et demurrount pur lour fundacion, estatutez et loialx custumes, hors de temps de memorie, ewez et usez: De quele sentence le dit ore Deane ad a nostre Seint Pier, le Pape, appele, et sez benefice, terres, biens et chateux, desouth la proteccion de nostre dit Seint Pier et le Apostaill, misez: Ordeine est auxi, et establie, par la dit auctorite, que le dit ore Deane, son benefice de Deanrie, terres, biens, chateux soient desouth la proteccion de nostre dit, Soveraune Sire; et que nulle person ne persons enteruptent sur son dit benefice, ne nulx proffites, ne issues preignent ne receivent, pendaunte la dit appele; et que ile ou ils queux, qui pendaunte la dit appele, enterruptent sur son dit benefice, ou ascuns issues ou prouffites eut preignent ou receivent, par la dit auctorite, soient hors del proteccion le Roy, nostre Soveraune Sire, et forfaitent a nostre dit Soveraune Sire et sez heires, touts sez, ou lour, terres, biens et chateux, et son corps, ou lour corpses, al volunte du Roy.

Nos, autem, Actum sive Ordinationem predictum, ad requisitionem *Johannis Allyn*, Decani Ecclesie Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* et Capituli ejusdem Ecclesie, tenore presentium, duximus Exemplificandum. In cujus rei Testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste prefato Deputato, apud *Dublin.* quinto die Julij; Anno regni nostri, quartodecimo.

NUMBER XII.

Testamentum JOHANNIS ALLYNI. A.D. MDV.
Ex Alani regist. fol. 156.

In Dei nomine Amen. Ego, JOHANNES ALLEYN, Decanus Ecclesie Cathedralis *Sti Patricii Dublin.* licet eger corpore, compos tamen mente; considerans itaque quod *** veniet sero, an media nocte, an galli cantu, an mane, quamobrem generaliter preceptum est, vigilare; obitumque ordinatione testimentaria cupiens prevenire, in hunc modum meum facio, condo, dispono et ordino Testamentum.

Imprimis, committo animam meam peccatricem gratie et misericordie Jesu Christi, Plasmatoris et Redemptoris mei et totius generis humani; Beatissime Virgini Marie, matri sue, et omnibus Sanctis; corpus vero meum, in Ecclesia Cathedrali predicta ante pedes Ymaginis *Sancti Patricii*, que stat in navi ejusdem Ecclesie, ante sive juxta columpnam borealem Solii Sancte Crucis sive Crucifixi ibidem.

Item, do et lego unum messuagium cum pertinentiis, quod habeo in *Dyveleke*, in vico quo itur de Prioratu ad Ecclesiam *Sancti Kevini* ibidem situatum, in quo due domus sunt noviter edificate, pro quibus nunc annuatim recipio in redditibus viginti solidos, ad usum et sustentationem pauperum et infirmorum, in domo, quam novitere dificavi in vico *Sancti Kevini Dublin.* infra dominium de *Sancto Sepulcro* inhabitantium.

Item, do et lego unum messuagium, quod habui de *Davide Begge* de *Dyveleke*, et viginti acras terre arrabilis, et tres stangas prati cum pertinentiis in *Dyveleke* predicta et *Kerraneston*, ac omnia messuagia, terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis, que habeo in *Thornton* in parochia de *Skryne*, ad usum pauperum in dicta domo commorantium, et ad continuam reparationem ejusdem domus, et ad emendas vestes et alia necessaria pro pauperibus supradictis.

Item, lego domino meo, Domino *Waltero* Archiepiscopo *Dublin.* pro approbatione et insinuatione hujus mei Testamenti, centum solidos currentis monete, pro quibus promisit et obligavit se, pro approbatione et insinuatione predicta, fore contentum: ac me et executores, seu fidei commissos, administratores aut commissarios meos et omnia bona mea ab ulteriori impetitione, compoto seu ratiocinio et exactione, ceterisque molestiis, vexationibus, aut perturbationibus quibuscunque ordinariis, quovismodo imposterum in ea parte fiendis, acquietavit penitus et exoneravit imperpetuum; prout ex literis ejusdem Domini *Dublin.* sigillo suo, ad majora quo utitur, roboratis, plenius poterit apparere.

Item, volo et lego, quod Summa sive Repertorium utriusque juris Domini *Petri*, quondam Episcopi *Brixensis*, in duobus voluminibus, in decenti forma, cum aliis voluminibus (carius quo poterint) vendantur; et omnes pecunie ex precijs ipsorum et omnium aliarum rerum mearum venalium, non datarum, nec legatarum, provenientes, post solutionem debitorum et legatorum meorum (si que supra fuerint) remaneant et conserventur, et ad usum, utilitatem, necessitatem et sustentationem pauperum et infirmorum, presertim degentium in domo per me pro eis constructa et edificata, exponentur in relevamen indigentie et succursum necessitatis eorum. Et, quantum ad heredum meorum Institutionem (prophetica verba sequendo) dico, quod "Dominus, pars hereditatis mee et calicis mei, tu es qui restitues hereditatem meam michi:" propterea, pauperes Christi heredes instituo, quibus lego specialiter domos quas pro eisdem edificare incepi, et turrim quam edificavi in vico *Sancti Kevini* unacum adjacenti messuagio, quod comparabam de *Roberto Tynbegh* (necnon Burgagia que habui ex donis *Eustace de Confie* et *Roberti Talbot*)

cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra dominium de *Sancto Sepulchro;* quendam etiam annuum censum seu redditum quinque solidorum, in et de uno messuagio cum pertinentiis, quod concessi Ecclesie *Sti Secundini de Donsaghlyn* pro manso inibi Vicarij imperpetuum. Non tamen quoscunque pauperes, sed fideles catholicos, bone fame, honeste conversationis et *Anglice* nationis, et precipue de natione *Alynes, Barrettes, Begges, Hillis, Dillones* et *Rodiers* in *Midens.* et *Dublin.* diocesibus originem trahentes, quos volo in dicta domo fore recipiendos, et pre ceteris anteferri.

Volo, etiam insuper, quod receptio, admissio seu institutio, et etiam amotio et destitutio pauperum hujusmodi in domo predicta, fiant cum diligentia per Decanum et Capitulum predicte Ecclesie Cathedralis pro tempore existentes; ita tamen, quod pro reparatione, admissione seu institutione alicujus pauperis in ipsa domo, nulla fiat exactio vel receptio pecuniaria, aut alia quecunque temporalis: sed hujusmodi receptio, admissio et institutio gratis omnino fiant, Dei amore et intuitu Caritatis: et hujus Testamenti supervisorem et fidei commissum seu commissarium facio predilectum confratrem meum, Magistrum *Robertum Sutton*, Archdiaconum *Dublin.* xij. die Decembris 1505.

Number XIII.

Bulla confirmatoria Leonis X, *venerabilibus patribus Midden. Waterforden. et Leglinen. Episcopis, quæ vulgo dicitur,* Dignitas Decani et Omnium Canonicorum. A.D. MDXV. E regist. voc. Dign. Dec. pag. 85 et iterum pag. 101.

Leo Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Venerabilibus Fratribus, *Midden.* et *Waterforden.* ac *Leglinen.* Episcopis, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Hodie a nobis emanarunt littere, tenoris subsequentis.

Leo Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Inter fideles quoslibet, presertim quorum fides et devotio in nostro et apostolice sedis conspectu continue refulget, pacem et concordiam vigere et augeri, sinceris desiderantes affectibus; illa, que, propterea proborum virorum interventu, ordinata fuisse dicuntur, ne in recidive contentionis scrupulum relabantur, cum a nobis petitur, apostolico munimine roboramus: sane pro parte venerabilis fratris nostri, *Willielmi*, Archiepiscopi *Dublin. Hibernie* Primatis, et dilectorum filiorum, moderni Decani et Capituli Ecclesie *Dublinen.* nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat; quod cum alias inter dictum *Willielmum*, et nonnullos ejus predecessores, Archiepiscopos *Dublinen.* ex una, et prefatum, ac qui pro tempore fuerit, Decanum et Capitulum dicte Ecclesie ex alia, partibus, super jurisdictione in omnes et singulos Canonicos ejusdem Ecclesie, ac clericos et laicos in glebis seu terris eorundem Canonicorum, domicilia sua habentes; nec non Vicarios perpetuos et Capellanos in ecclesiis prebendalibus eorumdem Canonicorum commorantes; ac in causis ipsum Decanum concernentibus; et correctione Canonicorum, etiam infra jurisdictionem ipsius Archiepiscopi delinquentium; ac modo procedendi contra singulos Canonicos, aut ministros ejusdem Ecclesie, in causis ad correctionem seu determinationem ejusdem Archiepiscopi, etiam per viam Appellationum, et negligentiam dicti Decani spectantibus; necnon modo et forma visitandi Decanum et Capitulum, ceterosque ministros majoris et aliarum Ecclesiarum predictarum; ac approbatione et insinuatione testamentorum, et aliarum ultimarum voluntatum Canonicorum, ceterorumq: ministrorum, clericorum et laicorum predictorum, etiam ab intestato, in alterius partium predictarum jurisdictione decedentium; et modo observandi sequestrationes, ab Archiepiscopo, seu Decano, predictis, pro tempore factas; ac excludendi *Hibernicos*, natione, aut moribus, vel sanguine ab ipsa Ecclesia; admittendique institutos per eundem Archiepiscopum ad dignitates vel canonicatus ejusdem Ecclesie; necnon forma inquirendi de vacatione Prebendarum, et habilitatibus personarum ibidem admittendarum; ac aliis consuetudinibus dicte Ecclesie: que omnia, quelibet partium predictarum, ad se Archiepiscopus videlicet de jure, Decanus vero et Capitulum prefati, de antiqua consuetudine, spectare asserebant; differentie questionum materie et dissensiones exorte fuissent, et graviores exoriri formidarentur: partes predicte post multas altricationes et appellationum hinc inde ad nos et sedem predictam interpositiones; volentes litium anfractus evitare, ac laboribus et expensis parcere, necnon dicte Ecclesie *Dublinen.* et illius personarum tranquillo et prospero statui imperpetuum consulere; intervenientibus venerabili fratre nostro, *Dermitio* Episc. *Kylmoren.* ac nonnullis aliis probis viris, ipsarum partium communibus amicis; necnon de expresso consensu dilecti filij *Richardi Skyrret*, Prioris alterius Ecclesie Metropolitan. *Ste Trinitatis Dublinen.* Ordinis Sti. Augustini, ad quandam honestam et amicabilem compositionem, seu concordiam, et transactionem, appellationibus predictis renunciandis, devenerunt; prout in quodam instrumento publico desuper confecto, (cujus tenorem in cancellaria apostolica diligenter inspici, et omissis caracteribus, et signis Notarij inde rogati, de verbo ad verbum, presentibus inseri fecimus) plenius continetur. Quare, pro parte *Wilhelmi* Archiepiscopi et moderni Decani ac Capituli predictorum, nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut compositioni seu concordie ac transactioni predictis, pro illarum subsistentia firmiori, robur apostolice confirmationis adjicere, ac alias in premissis oportune providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur (qui, inter singulos fideles, pacem et concordiam vigere et foveri sinceris desideramus affectibus) *Wilhelmum* Archiepiscopum, et modernum Decanum, ac Capitulum prefatos, et eorundem Capituli singulos, a quibusvis, excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliisq: ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis a jure, vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus

quomodolibet innodati existunt, ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, compositionem, seu concordiam, et transactionem, predictas, ac prout illas concernunt, omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta, et inde secuta quecunque, ex certa scientia, Auctoritate Apostolica, tenore presentium Approbamus et Confirmamus, ac presentis scripti patrocinio Communimus, illaque omnia et singula per partes predictas, et earum quamlibet, inviolabiliter observari debere decernimus; supplentes omnes et singulos defectus, tam juris quam facti, si qui forsan intervenerint in eisdem; non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac dicte ecclesie juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Tenor autem dicti instrumenti talis est.

Universis Alme Matris Ecclesie filiis, has litteras nostras visuris vel audituris, *Wilhelmus*, miseratione Divina *Dublin.* Archiep. *Hibernie* Primas, Salutem in Auctore Salutis, ac perpetuam rei geste memoriam. Plena periculis, exosa discordia multotiens excandescere facit patrem in filium, et filium in patrem, ac exsurgere servum in dominum, et subditum in majorem; hinc rerum provenit consumptio, afflictio gentium et attritio, ire et odia suscitantur, que omnia in pacis tranquilitate exulant, ac sub providi regiminis moderaminę penitus excluduntur: Quamobrem ab olim inter nonnullos predecessores nostros, Archiepiscopos *Dublinen.* et jam dudum noviter inter nos, parte ex una, et confratres nostros Decanum et Capitulum ac Canonicos singulosq: ministros Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis *S. Patricij Dublinen.* conjunctim et divisim, ex parte altera, super certis articulis infrascriptis, viz. Jurisdictione Decani, quam asseruit se habere, ex antiqua consuetudine dicte Ecclesie in Canonicis, cujuscunq: dignitatis sunt aut preminentie, ceterisq; ministris omnibus et singulis ipsius Ecclesie, clericis et laicis in glebis eorundem domicilia sua habentibus, vicariis perpetuis ac capellanis in suis ecclesiis prebendalibus commorantibus; item causis personam Decani concernentibus; item correctione Canonicorum infra jurisdictionem nostram delinquentium; item modo et forma procedendi contra Canonicum vel ministrum dicte Ecclesie, in causis spectantibus ad correctionem seu determinationem nostram; etiam per viam appellationis, aut casu negligentie Decani; item modo et forma visitandi dictos, Decanum et Capitulum ceterosq: ministros dicte ecclesie ac aliarum ecclesiarum prebendalium; item approbatione et insinuatione testamentorum Canonicorum ceterorumq: ministrorum dicte ecclesie nostre, clericorum quoque et laicorum in glebis eorumdem commorantium infra vel extra jurisdictionem unius vel alterius testantium, vel ab intestato decedentium; item modo observandi sequestrationem a nobis aut a Decano faciendam; item *Hibernicis* natione, moribus et sanguine a dicta nostra ecclesia excludendis; item modo admittendi institutum per nos ad aliquem Dignitate mvel Prebendam in eadem Ecclesia nostra; et forma inquirendi de vacatione Prebende, et habilitate persone presentate; et aliis consuetudinibus Ecclesie nostre prefate, orta materia questionis; tandem interveniente clarissimo viro, *Geraldo* Comite *Kyldarie*, Deputato Domini Regis in *Hibernia*, cum assistentia venerabilium virorum, dominorum videlicet Episcopi *Kylmoren.* et Principalis Justicarij Domini Regis in *Hibernia*, qni, zelo interne caritatis accensi, precisis radicitus dissidiorum vepribus, et letigiorum anfractibus omnino subductis, lites et discordias detestantes, prosperitatem, honorem et concordiam, in Ecclesia Dei semper affectarunt, et nituntur confovere. Post tractatus autem varios de super premissis omnibus et singulis habitos, consideratis fundationibus, ordinationibus, libertatibus et consuetudinibus laudabilibus, quodam statuto quod dicitur "Dignitas Decani et omnium Canonicorum, &c." ac statutis aliis, cum variis documentis dicte Ecclesie diuturnis temporibus usitatis, observatis; ac, pensatis pensandis, spretisq: jurgiorum ambagibus, renunciatis appellationum ubicunque factarum, seu dependentium ab eisdem hinc inde interpositarum et querularum beneficiis, Divina inspirante Gratia, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, ac Decano et Capitulo, singulisq; canonicis, et ministris prefate Ecclesie pro se et successoribus suis, de nostro et eorum ac alterius Capituli nostri Ecclesie Cathedralis *S. Trinitatis Dublinie* communicato assensu, et consensu unanimi, sub forma et modo infrascriptis, ad honorem Dei et utilitatem Ecclesie, de et super premissis omnibus et singulis, pax sive concordia est salubriter facta, et pro perpetuis futuris temporibus in forma que sequitur stabilita et concorditer ordinata.

I. Inprimis, siquidem, concordatum est, quod cognitio correctioq; et determinatio omnium causarum ecclesiasticarum, omnium Canonicorum Ecclesie Cathedralis predicte, cujuscunq: conditionis, status et preeminentie fuerint, pariter et parvorum Canonicorum et Vicariorum choralium, ceterorumq; omnium ministrorum Ecclesie predicte, nec non et clericorum ac laicorum in glebis Decani seu Canonicorum commorantium, ad Decanum et Capitulum primo loco pertineant; exceptis Apostasie, Scismatis, Symonie et Heresis ac Homicidij criminibus; necnon et omnibus criminibus, privationem beneficij, depositionem seu degradationem de sua natura requirentibus; si per Archiepiscopum ad hoc agatur, tunc jurisdictio in hujusmodi causis, et cognitio earumdem, ad Archiepiscopum pertinebit; ita quod procedat cum consensu vel consilio Capituli, prout inferius notatur: sin autem ad correctionem tantum, sive actum sive agendum fuerit, et tunc cognitio in hujusmodi casibus et correctio ad Decanum et Capitulum, primo loco, pertineant.

II. Item, concordatum est, quod jurisdictio de Vicariis perpetuis in ecclesiis prebendalibus, ac eorundem correctio, necnon et ceterorum parochialium capellanorum et clericorum in eisdem ecclesijs servientium, ad Decanum accumulative cum Archiepiscopo et Archidiacono pertineant.

III. Item, concordatum est, quod, in puniendo Canonicos extra jurisdictionem Decani et infra jurisdictionem Archiepiscopi, delinquentes, contrahentes, vel ibidem domicilium vel rem de qua agitur habentes, locus sit preventioni inter Archiepiscopum et Decanum, dummodo fiat in domo Capitulari, et cum judicio Capituli, secundum formam inferius traditam.

IV. Item, concordatum est, quod in omnibus et singulis causis, personam Decani concernentibus, semper, primo loco cognoscat Archiepiscopus, sive agatur ad correctionem, depositionem sive degradationem, dummodo, tamen, forma de judicio capituli, inferius tradita, observetur.

V. Item, cum alias ordinatur, quod quotiens proceditur per Archiepiscopum contra aliquem Canonicum Ecclesie Cathedralis predicte, requiratur ut procedatur in domo Capitulari et cum judicio Capituli, etiam in causa appellationis ad eum devoluta: quia, tamen, difficile est, omnes et singulos de Capitulo, cito in unum convocari, prout experientia, rerum magistra efficax, docet manifeste, difficiliusque eos posse induci ut intendant singulis diebus, omnibus et singulis actibus, coram eo in judicio deductis: igitur, ut facilius negotia expediantur, et ne ob difficultatem praedictam processus judicialis ultra modum debitum retardetur, Concordatum est, quod quotiens per Archiepiscopum contigerit procedi contra Canonicum, ut prefertur, statim a Capitulo eligantur sex de Capitulo vel quatuor vel etiam pauciores, ad voluntatem ipsius Capituli, qui, vice et auctoritate totius Capituli, Archiepiscopo assistant in cognoscendo, procedendo, continuando, interloquendo, determinando, concludendo pariter et diffiniendo: Ita, quod prolatio cujuslibet sententie interlocutorie, precepti sive decreti, non magni prejudicij, fiat per Archiepiscopum, prehabito consilio eorumdem sibi assistentium: prolatio vero diffinitive sententie indistincte, sive decreti alicujus magni prejudicij, in causa, solum fiat per Archiepiscopum, interveniente tamen consensu expresso predictorum sibi assistentium, vel totius Capituli aut majoris partis, nisi fortassis aliquis ipsorum se contumaciter absentare voluerit, tunc, in ejus contumacia, cum aliis presentibus vel cum majori parte Capituli, ut predictum est, procedat.

VI. Item, concordatum est, quod si Decanus vel capituli Presidens in cognitione, determinatione causarum predictarum, seu correctione Canonicorum, parvorum Canonicorum, Vicariorum, Capellanorum, Clericorum, ceterorumque Ministrorum et Laicorum, de quibus supra, reperiatur negligens, et per nos jussus et commonitus prefatas causas determinare, aut predictorum Canonicorum, ceterorumque omnium et singulorum, ut premittitur, crimina et excessus infra terminum competentem, per Archiepiscopum sibi prefigendum, corrigere neglexerit, extunc, Archiepiscopus pro tempore existens, vocato ipso Decano, aut ejus Surrogato vel Presidente, coram eodem Archiepiscopo, in domo Capitulari et coram Capitulo, et ibidem, negligente per ipsos reperto et declarato, talia excessus et crimina, cum consilio Capituli vel consensu, prout superius notatur, amoto Decano, corrigat et reformet, secundum juris exigentiam et criminis qualitatem.

VII. Item, cum, adveniente sponso, merito gratulari debet sponsa, &c. Concordatum est, quod cum Archiepiscopus, causa Visitationis, ad sponsam suam Ecclesiam Cathedralem predictam, descendere decreverit, eo primitus honorifice recepto cum pulsatione ac solenni processione, ut moris est, ceterisque omnibus et singulis ejus receptionem concernentibus rite peractis, intrabit domum capitularem una cum Decano et Canonicis presentibus, eo, nempe per Decanum et Capitulum, prius honorifice salutato, prout decet, procedet ad visitationem suam ibidem, sub forma que sequitur: Videlicet, Inprimis, visitabit Decanum in sua propria persona, reliquos vero Canonicos visitabit in persona Decani, et per ipsum Decanum et non aliter, sub ista forma; videlicet, quod Archiepiscopus, vel ejus Vicarius Generalis visitans, queret a Decano, an aliqua sint corrigenda vel reformanda in rebus et personis ad jurisdictionem decanalem vel archiepiscopalem spectantibus: et, si aliqua per eundem fuerint detecta in hac parte, extunc Archiepiscopus, servata forma de judicio Capituli, superius tradita, ea corrigat et emendet, prout natura et qualitas criminum exigunt et requirunt: et, si forte nullum crimen per Decanum fuerit detectum, tunc Archiepiscopus, amoto prorsus Decano, queret generaliter a Canonicis, ad tunc presentibus, an habeant aliqua dicere contra Decanum que sunt correctione vel reformatione digna; vel, an aliqua noverint per Archiepiscopum reformanda, que ad ipsum pertinent, per Decanum non detecta; et si aliqua, per dictos Canonicos, fuerint detecta in hac parte, Archiepiscopus, ea forma jam dicta servata, corrigat et emendet, et personas et locum visitatos fore decernat, et procurationes, ratione visitationis sue, sibi debitas fore et solvendas.

VIII. Item, concordatum est, quod si de aliquibus criminibus orta fuerit infamia contra Canonicos aut eorum aliquem, ita quod devenerit ad aures Archiepiscopi, etiam tempore visitationis sue, Decano, ut super hijs solenniter inquirat, sub modo et forma superius recitatis, denunciet, si viderit expedire, dummodo non sit de criminibus solum ad Archiepiscopum spectantibus, quia si de illis fuerit, Archiepiscopus tunc procedat, servata forma, de judicio Capituli, prout superius expressatur.

IX. Item, concordatum est, quod testamentorum omnium Canonicorum, parvorum Canonicorum, Vicariorum Choralium, ceterorumque omnium ministrorum Ecclesie Cathedralis prefate, necnon famulorum omnium Canonicorum infra precinctum Ecclesie Cathedralis predicte decedentium, Capellanorum, Clericorum, Laicorumque in glebis Decani aut Communie Ecclesie predicte decedentium, de bonis infra eandem suam jurisdictionem repertis, sive testati sive intestati decedant, ad Decanum approbatio et insinuatio sive administratio pertineant.

X. Item, concordatum est, quod si Canonicus vel quivis alius subditus Decani, infra jurisdictionem

Domini Archiepiscopi, sive testatus, sive intestatus decedat, dispositio sive administratio bonorum ejus, que ibidem reperiuntur, pertineat indistincte ad Archiepiscopum, si vero Archiepiscopi subditus, similiter, infra jurisdictionem Decani, sive testatus sive intestatus decesserit, de bonis ibidem repertis, plenaria dispositio sive administratio, ad Decanum pertineat, si alibi, ad loci Ordinarium.

XI. Item, concordatum est, generaliter, quod ubicunque aut subditus Archiepiscopi, aut subditus Decani, sive testatus sive intestatus decesserit, si habet bona infra jurisdictionem utriusque, ad utrumque tunc pertineat dispositio sive administratio bonorum ejus, secundum ratam portionis, infra eorum jurisdictionem reperte, dolo et fraude per omnia in premissis et eorum singulis omnino cessantibus.

XII. Item, concordatum est, quod quotiens contigerit Decanum, ex justâ causâ, Prebendarij bona, aut sue Prebende fructus, sequestrare, illam sequestrationem, sic a Decano licite interpositam, Archiepiscopus a suis subditis debite faciat observari; et, idem faciat Decanus, cum bona sui subditi, Archiepiscopus in suo territorio, fecerit sequestrari; et sic in hoc erunt sese mutuo coadjuvantes.

XIII. Item, consuetudo illa antiquitus observata, de *Hibernicis* natione, moribus et sanguine, non admittendis in Ecclesia Cathedrali *Sancti Patricij* prefata, quacunque regia dispensatione non obstante: Concordatum est, quod vigeat, valeat et invalescat, viridi observatione semper valitura, et super hoc, tam per Archiepiscopum quam per Decanum et Capitulum diligentissime fiet inquisitio; et, si in hijs vel in aliquo premissorum defectivus quis repertur, non admittatur, ymo penitus repellatur.

XIV. Item, consuetudo illa, videlicet, ut de etate, moribus et scientia cujuscunque promovendi in Ecclesia *Sancti Patricij* predicta, ac etiam de vacatione prebende, et de modo vacandi, et quis est verus Patronus, et quis est in possessione conferendi vel presentandi, tam per Archiepiscopum ante ejus promotionem, quam per Decanum et Capitulum et ceteros ministros Ecclesie, ut moris est, ante ipsius admissionem, diligenter inquiratur; et, si repertus fuerit quis in premissis vel aliquo premissorum minus ydoneus, vel defectivus, non admittatur in supradicta Ecclesia, sed penitus repellatur.

XV. Concordatum est pariformiter, quod vigeant, valeant et invalescant, viridi observatione semper valitura, omnes et singule consuetudines suprascripte, cum, ex earum observatione evidenter constat, statum Ecclesie supradicte conservari, et cultum divinum in eadem augmentari.

XVI. Concordatum est insuper, quod vigeant, valeant et invalescant, viridi observatione semper valitura: per premissam vero concordiam per nos non intenditur derogare aliis consuetudinibus, constitutionibus vel statutis rationabilibus, in Ecclesia supradicta hactenus usitatis et observatis: sic nec intenditur per nos derogare jurisdictioni Canonicorum, quam singuli eorum in suis prebendis ex antiqua consuetudine et prescripta, hucusque, habere dinoscuntur; sed Concordatum est, quod in suo robore permaneant et vigore.

Que omnia et singula predicta, de nostro et Capitulorum nostrorum Ecclesiarum, Cathedralis *Sancte Trinitatis* et *Sancti Patricij Dublinen.* assensu et consensu unanimi, sunt concorditer pacificata, et pro futuris temporibus tenenda, exercenda et observanda, stabilita et concorditer ordinata, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, Archiepiscopis *Dublinen.* pro tempore existentibus; ac pro Decano et Capitulo Ecclesie Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij* predicte, pro se et successoribus suis, in singulis articulis premissis, imperpetuum: Queque omnia et singula premissa ratificamus, rataque et grata habentes, approbamus, et auctoritate nostra pastorali, per presentes confirmamus.

In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium premissorum, has literas nostras, sive presens publicum instrumentum, sigillo nostro, unacum appensione sigillorum Capitulorum nostrorum, Ecclesiarum *Sancte Trinitatis* et *Sancti Patricij* predictarum, ac signis et subscriptionibus *Thome Walshe*, nostri ac *Nicolai Bennet*, Archidiaconi *Dublinen.* in hac parte actorum, scribarum, clericorum *Ffernen.* Dioc. publicorum, auctoritate Papali et imperiali, Notariorum, fecimus communiri.

Data et acta sunt hec, in domo capitulari Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* vigesimo secundo die mensis Januarij; Anno Domini, millesimo, quingentesimo, quartodecimo; Indictione tertia; Pontificatus, sanctissimi in Christo patris, et domini nostri, Domini Leonis, hujus nominis Pape, X. anno secundo. Presentibus ad tunc ibidem, Domino *Thoma Possyke*, Rectore de *Leones; Johanne Beon* Vicario perpetuo de *Norraghe; Willielmo Brune*, Capellano; *Nicholao Wycombe*, Generoso; ac *Willielmo Walshe*, Notario publico; testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre absolutionis, approbationis, confirmationis, communitionis, decreti et supplitionis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum *Petri* et *Pauli*, Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Dat. *Rome* apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominice, millesimo, quingentesimo, quintodecimo: Pridie Kal. Augusti: Pontificatus nostri, anno tertio.

Quocirca, fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus vos, vel duo aut unus vestrum, per vos vel alium seu alios, litteras predictas, ac omnia et singula in eis contenta ubi et quando expedierit, ac quotiens pro parte partium predictarum, seu alicujus earum fueritis super hoc requisiti, solenniter publicantes, eisque in premissis efficiatis, defensionis presidio assistentes, faciatis, auctoritate nostra, compositionem, seu concordiam et transactionem, predictas, inviolabiliter observari: non permittentes unam partium predictarum per alteram, vel e contra, aut partes ipsas per quoscumque alios, super hijs quomodolibet indebite molestari, turbari vel inquie-

tari; contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendo; invocato et ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachij secularis, non obstantibus omnibus supradictis; aut, si eisdem partibus vel quibusvis aliis, communiter vel divisim, ab apostolica sit sede indultum, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem.

Dat. *Rome*, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarmationis Dominice, millesimo, quingentesimo, quintodecimo. Pridie Kal. Augusti. Pontificatus nostri, anno tertio.

Number XIV.

Decretum Electionis Galfridi Ffyche, Decani. A. D. MDXXIX. Ex Alani regist. fol. 14, (ante tax. pag.)

Reverendissimo [a] in Christo patri et domino, Domino Johanni, miseratione divina, *Dublin.* Metropolitano, [b] vestri humiles et devote Oratores subjecti [c] *Robertus Fitz-Simons* Precentor Ecclesie Metropolitice [d] *Sti Patricij Dublin.* et capituli ejusdem Presidens, ceterique Canonici ipsius Ecclesie in subscripto electionis negotio nominati, obedientiam et reverentiam tanto patri debitas cum honore.

Noverit Paternitas Vestra sacris canonibus esse cautum, quod, pastore mortuo, Ecclesia Viduata grave dispendium patitur, sicut efficax rerum magistra, experientia demonstrat; proinde Ecclesia vestra Metropolitica predicta, Decani solatio jam aliquandiu destituta, si ipsa diutina vacatione orbata foret, non tantum spiritualibus, sed etiam in communi utilitate ecclesie predicte quamplurima pati dispendia atque pericula imminere possit et valeat.

Hine est quod, bone memorie magistro, *Thoma Darcy*, Decano Ecclesie vestre Metropolitice predicte, octavo die mensis Ffebruarij ultimo preterito, anno Domini, secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiarum *Anglican.* et *Hibernican.* milessimo quingentessimo vicessimo nono, sicut deo placuit, viam universe carnis ingresso, corporeque ejus ecclesiastice sepulture tradito; Nos, Presidens et alij tunc presentes Canonici, ad vocem mei, predicti Presidentis Capituli, in domo capitulari ipsius ecclesie (ut moris est) in unum convenientes, ex unanimi nostro assensu et consensu pro electione nostri futuri Decani (annuente Deo) celebranda, nonum diem instantis [e] mensis Martij, cum continuatione etiam dierum sequentium (si opporteat) in domo capitulari predicto duximus prefigendum. Ad quos, diem et locum, omnes canonicos tunc presentes, ego, prefatus Presidens, monui et alios quoscunque absentes, qui hujusmodi electioni debuerunt et potuerunt commode interesse, per citationem specialem citandos, pariter decrevi in dicto die et loco nobiscum ad conveniendum, interessendum et eligendum, et ad cetera que hujusmodi electionis negotium exigit et requirit faciendum: quo die, scil. nono die instantis mensis Martij adveniente, celebrata et audita missa de Spiritu Sancto, ad futuri nostri Decani electionem celebrandam, in domo capitulari predicto (loco ad hoc solito et consueto) convenimus. Tandem, [f] vocandis vocatis, observandis observatis, que de jure et consuetudine hactenus fieri debuerunt aut consuerunt, ego, dictus Presidens, omnes canonicos citatos, vocatos et precognizatos, non comparentes, decrevi contumaces, et in penam suarum contumaciarum fore procedendum ad actum Electionis (eorum contumacia in aliquo non obstante.) Postmodum, Spiritus Sancti gratia, per hymnum "Veni Creator Spiritus," submissa voce invocata, ac, Capitulo Generalis Concilij, "Quia propter," de vijs et modis eligendi, per unum de canonicis [g] nostris circumspecte exposito; deinde per me, Presidentem prefatum, nomine meo moneri feci et requiri omnes excommunicatos, suspensos, interdictos, et alios nobiscum vocem non habentes, (excepto notario) quod a nobis recederent, et nos de eligendo non impedirent; protestando, [h] quod si tales nobiscum forsitan interessent (quod ignoro) eorum voces et vota pro non receptis habeantur, quodque nulli prestent suffragium aut nocumentun; quibus sic peractis, tractare cepimus de vijs eligendi; unde placuit nobis omnibus, tunc presentibus (nemine discrepante) per, scilicet, viam [i] compromissi, limitati sive determinati, in dicto electionis negotio, procedere. Ac tres statim, viros idoneos, discretos et fide dignos, de dicto capitulo, viz. Magistros *Walter. Cusack*, Archidiaconum *Dublin.* *Williel. Brown*, Archidiaconum *Glindelacensem* et *Christopherum Howth*, Canonicum Prebendarium de *Typper*, elegimus in Compromissarios, dantes et concedentes ipsis Compromissarijs, unanimiter, potestatem, ut ipsi, secrete et singulatim, vota cunctorum (viz. primo sua, deinde nostra) diligenter requirant, et ipsum, in quem omnes vel major et sanior pars capituli consentirint, unus eorum, vice et nomine omnium canonicorum, in Decanum Ecclesie vestre predicte eligeret in communi.

Qui quidem Compromissarii, taliter electi, ad angulum domus capitularis predicte, cum notario publico infrascripto, accedentes, primo votis suis, deinde nostris, secrete singulatim et diligenter exquisitis, et eis in scriptis redactis, illam per Magistrum *Walterum Cusak* Archidiaconum *Dublin.* unum de compromissariis predictis, juxta prescriptam formam eis traditam, fecerunt electionem eorum pro communi in hunc modum pronunciari. "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen, Ego *Walterus Cusak* Archidiaconus *Dublin.* unus Compromissariorum predictorum, ex consensu et assensu majoris et sanioris partis Capituli, Magistrum *Galfridum Ffiche*, Thesaurarium ipsius ecclesie metropolitice, ac presentem, virum utique providum et idoneum, in ipsius ecclesie Decanum, vice omnium et singulorum Canonicorum hic presentium, eligo in communi" [k]. Quam quidem electionem sic factam, nos, supradicti Canonici emologavimus [l] et collaudavimus in Domino. Consequenter ipsum, Magistrum *Galfridum Ffyche* ad tunc presentem, Nos, Presidens et Capitulum rogavimus et requisivimus ut electioni hujusmodi suum, hac parte, preberet assen-

sum: qui quidem electus, se humiliter excusans, ut indignum culmine[m] tante dignitatis obtestans, tandem nolens in hac parte divine resistere voluntati, ac Canonicorum devictus precibus, demum tunc ibidem dicte electioni consensit, atque suum eidem prebuit consensum in scriptis in hec verba. "In nomine Dei, Amen. Ego *Galfridus Fyche*, Thesaurarius, in Decanum istius ecclesie metropolitice, nono die mensis Martii, de consensu et assensu majoris et sanioris partis Capituli ipsius ecclesie tunc presentis rite et canonice electus atque ad consentiendum electioni hujusmodi, sicut premittitur, de me canonice facte, instanter a canonicis omnibus et singulis requisitus, meos in hiis scriptis dicte Electioni, consensum prebeo, pariter et assensum." Et deinde ipsum nostrum electum ante summum altare ipsius ecclesie deduximus, "Te Deum Laudamus," cum gaudio solemniter decantantes, et ilico ipsam electionem per Magistrum *Walterum Cusak* Archidiaconum *Dublin.* Clero et [n] Populo ibidem congregatis in vulgari fecimus solemniter publicari. Et hoc, Paternitati vestre, Reverendissime, significamus per presentes, eandem humiliter rogantes quatenus eadem, Paternitas vestra, Reverendissime, hujus Electi personam, ex vi juris patronatus, primo [o] approbare, deinde electionem ejusdem ut prefertur canonice factam, authoritate vestra ordinaria confirmare, etiam sub unico actu dignetur stallum in Choro et locum in Capitulo, Decano debita et consueta, ut moris est, sibi assignari, decernendo, et cetera facere et exercere, que vestro in hac parte incumbent officio pastorali: Porro ad presentandum Paternitati vestre, Reverendissime, tam hunc Electum quam electionis decretum, nec non ipsius Electi approbatum consensum, ac confirmationem electionis petendum, eorundem quoque causas prosequendum, necnon et vestram paternitatem de meritis et studiis eligentium et Electi instruendum et informandum juramentum calumpnie, veritatisque dicende et quodcunque aliud licitum juramentum, in animas nostras prestandum, magistros [p] *Christopherum Howth* Prebendarium de *Typper* et *Williel. Power* Prebendarium de *Howth*, Ecclesie memorate Canonicos, conjunctim et divisim, nostros veros et indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores et negotiorum nostrorum gestores, et nuntios speciales, ac hujusmodi electionis instructores, facimus, constituimus et ordinamus per presentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem, et testimonium premissorum, hoc canonicum electionis decretum, signo Notarii Publici subscripti roboratum, Paternitati vestre, Reverendissime, sigillo nostro communi, mittimus sigillatum. Data et acta sunt hec, in dicte electionis celebrande domo, nono die instantis[q] Martii, anno Domini, secundum computationem ecclesiarum *Anglicanarum* et *Hibernicarum*, [r] millessimo quingentessimo vicessimo nono, Indictione tertia, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, Domini CLEMENTIS, hujus nominis, Pape, SEPTIMI, anno septimo. Presentibus, *Waltero Cusak, Willielmo Brown, Dublin.* et *Glindelacen.* respective Archidiaconis; necnon, *Roberto Eustace*, Ecclesie Metropolitice *Dublin.* Canonicis.

Sequitur, Not. Pub. Wil. Walse, cler. Darensis confirmatio.

Notæ Alani quædam.

[a] Reverendissimo, quia Primas.

[b] Electo et Confirmato, etiam Consecrato, sed nondum recepit pallium, igitur, non Archiepiscopo. En quatuor gradus hujus.

[c] Non subditi, propter eorum jurisdictionem peculiarem capitularem.

[d] Ex concilio Cassiliensi patet, etiam quia plures sunt primates.

[e] Melius dixisset, "presentis," nisi computando a Februario.

[f] Plus nocet contemptus unius quam contradictio minoris partis: igitur citatio requiritur.

[g] Melius dixisset, "de prebendariis," quia est verus prebendarius, sed tanquam canonicus. Ego igitur, jam confirmatus, nondum consecratus, interfui electioni, et capitulo exposui dictam decretalem, more doctoris.

[h] Protestationis species.

[i] Hec via precedentis in practica securior, ad quem semper consului.

[k] Electio in Communi.

[l] Approbatio est verbo et facto et quod sequitur etiam cum gratiis.

[m] Metaphorice loquitur et respective seu constructione intransitiva.

[n] Publicatio vulgo.

[o] Omissa fuit clausula hec semper ante nostrum jam conventum, et eam primitus practicavi propter tenorem bulle Gregorii Noni.

[p] Procuratores capituli.

[q] Non instantis sed presentis, igitur abusive loquitur.

[r] Clausula solita et consueta ut supra ubi est radix.

Sequentes Alani notæ, quoniam auctori haud liquet cui textus parti pertineant, hic in usum lectoris subjiciuntur.

Continuatio ly Domino nil importat, nisi quod, vacante decanatu, canonici episcopo sunt tam subditi quam subjecti ex duplici edicto, permisso et prohibito (signato) forte dictum esset melius ex stilo.

Sequitur electionis confirmatio in archivis nostris, unde consimilis fieri feci, tam in electione novi prioris apud *Holmepatrike*, quam apud Hospitale *S. Johannis* extra novam portam et juxta eam, quinimo, Deo annuente, fieri faciam in prioratu *Omnium Sanctorum* extra *Dublin.* propter infrascripta, et apud *S. Wustani*, et *Gratie Dei*, ac *Trinitatis;* en septem, sed 8[vum], cum *Tristilderm.*

Temporalia Decanatus *Sti. Patricii* (qui et prioratus *S. Trinitatis,*) vacante dignitate occasione mortis, in manu Regis capi non debent, quoniam Patronus ejus non est, nisi similiter vacaret cum Archiepiscopatu, quocirca tanquam membrum ex membro, unde nobis pertinent et successoribus, et ipsius omnia spiritualia pro tanto tempore, quandoquidem executores morientis cum successore ipsius incipiunt (tempus est utile et non continuum) post ejus installationem.

NUMBER XV.

CHARTA RESTITUTIONIS, *seu sursum-reditionis, Philippi et Mariæ Reg. Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Sti. Patricii Dublin. annis regnorum, primo et secundo, concessa.* Ex Rotulis patentibus anni Xmi Elizabethæ Reginæ: Roberto Weston Armigero Canc. Hib. tunc Decano. [a]

PHILLIPPUS ET MARIA, Dei Gratia, Rex et Regina, *Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Jerusalem* et *Hiberniæ*, fidei Defensores, Principes *Hispaniarum* et *Ceciliæ*, Archiduces *Austriæ*, Duces *Mediolani, Burgundiæ* et *Brabantiæ*, Comites *Haspurgi, Flandriæ* et *Tirolis*, Omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, Salutem.

Cum *Johannes*, nuper *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, literas suas sive chartam suam confecerit prout sequitur. [*Charta Johannis Comyn, Archiepiscopi, hic inseritur, vide in Append. Num. I.*] Cumque etiam *Henricus*, quondam Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* cartas suas confecerit tenore qui sequitur. [*Charta Henrici de Loundres, Archiepiscopi, hic inseritur, vide in Append. Num. IV.*] Cumque etiam Dominus *Edwardus Quartus*, dudum Rex *Angliæ*, progenitor noster, literas suas patentes confici mandaverit in hæc verba. [*Hic inseritur, Charta pro creandis Prebendis de Kilmatalway, &c. vide in Append. Num. X.*]

Ac etiam, Cum *Edwardus Bassenet*, Decanus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis sive Collegiatæ prædictæ et Capitulum ejusdem, existentes virtute dictarum chartarum et literarum patentium ac aliarum, per progenitores nostros et alios concessarum, Decanus et Capitulum ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ, ac, tam jure ejusdem incorporationis, quam juribus seperalium præbendariorum ejusdem ecclesiæ: unde qui capitulum prædictum repræsentabant et faciebant seperales et distincti fuerunt præbendarii, existentes seisiti de ecclesia Cathedrali sive Collegiata prædicta; necnon de diversis maneriis, dominiis, terris, tenementis, dignitatibus, præbendis, rectoriis, vicariis, ecclesiis, et aliis hæreditamentis spiritualibus et temporalibus, quoddam scriptum suum illustrissimo, invictissimoque Principi, felicissimæ memoriæ Domino, *Henrico Octavo*, nuper Regi *Angliæ* patri nostro, *Mariæ* prædictæ, præcharissimo fecerunt in hæc verba.

Omnibus Christi Fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, *Edwardus Bassenett*, Decanus Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ *S. Patricii* juxta civitatem *Dublin.* in comitatu *Dublin.* in regno *Hiberniæ* et Capitulum ejusdem Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ, Salutem. Noveritis, Nos præfatum Decanum et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ, unanimi assensu et consensu nostris, animis deliberatis, certa scientia et mero motu nostris ex quibusdam causis justis et rationabilibus nos, animos et conscientias nostras specialiter moventes, ultro et sponte dedisse, concessisse, ac per præsentes dare, concedere, reddere, deliberare et confirmare, illustrissimo, invictissimoque Principi et Domino nostro, *Henrico Octavo*, Dei Gratia, *Angliæ*, *Franciæ* et *Hiberniæ* Regi, fidei Defensori, ac in terra Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* et *Hibernicanæ* supremo Capiti, totam ecclesiam Cathedralem sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* prædictam, ac totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, ambitum et præcinctum ejusdem ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ, ac campanile et cimitorium ejusdem ecclesiæ Cath. sive collegiatæ prædictæ; necnon omnia et singula maneria, dominia, mesuagia, gardina, ortos, curtilagia, tofta, terras et tenementa nostra, prata, pascua, pasturas, boscos et subboscos, redditus, reventiones, servitia, molendina, passagia, feoda militum, warda, maritagia, nativos villanos, cum eorum sequelis, communia, libertates, franchesias, jurisdictiones, officia, curias-letas, hundredas, visus franci-plegii, ferias, mercatas, parcos, warennas, vivaria, aquas, piscaria, vias, chiminia, vacuos fundos, advocationes, præsentationes, nominationes et donationes ecclesiarum, vicariarum, capellarum, canteriarum, hospitalium et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcunque, decanatum, dignitates, præbendas, rectorias, vicarias, cantarias, ecclesias appropriatas, pensiones, portiones, annuitates, decimas, oblationes, elemosinas, ac omnia et singula emolumenta, proficua, possessiones, hæreditamenta et jura nostra quæcunque, cum omnibus et singulis eorum membris, juribus et pertinentiis universis quibuscunq: tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, cujuscunque nominis, naturæ, speciei, seu qualitatis existunt infra Regnum *Hiberniæ* scituata, jacentia et existentia, eidem Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ *S. Patricii* præd. sive nobis dicto *Edwardo* Decano et Capitulo, ut in jure dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ quoquomodo pertinentia, spectantia, appendentia sive incumbentia; ac omnimodas chartas, evidentias, scripta et munimenta nostra dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ, maneriis, terris, tenementis, ac cæteris præmissis, seu alicui inde parcellæ cum pertin. spectantia, pertinentia, sive eadem concernentia; necnon omnia bona, catalla, utensilia, ornamenta et jocalia quæcumque, tam realia quam personalia, debita et jura nostra quæcumque dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ, seu nobis, dicto *Edwardo* Decano et Capitulo, ut in jure dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ quoquomodo pertinentia, sive spectantia; habendum, tenendum, et gaudendum, dictam Ecclesiam Cath. sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* præd. ac totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, ambitum, et præcinctum, campanile et cimiterium ejusdem Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ cum omnibus et singulis suis pertin. necnon omnia et singula prædicta maneria, dominia, mesuagia, gardina, terras, tenementa, decanatus, præbendas, rectorias, vicarias, ecclesias appropriatas, decimas, et cætera præmissa cum omnibus et singulis suis pertin. quibuscunque, cujuscunque nominis, naturæ, speciei seu qualitatis existunt, præfato invictissimo Principi et Domino nostro, Regi, hæredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum, cui in hac parte ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde prosequi poterit aut potest, nos et Ecclesiam Cath. sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* præd. ac omnia jura nobis qualitercunque acquisita ut decet, subjicimus et submittimus; dantes et concedentes eidem Regiæ Majestati omnem et omnimodam, plenam et liberam facultatem et auctoritatem, nos et Ecclesiam Cath. sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* præd. una cum omnibus et singulis maneriis, terris, tenementis, reventionibus, serviciis et singulis præmissis, cum suis juribus et pertin. quibuscunque, disponenda, ac pro sua Regia libera voluntate et libito, ad quoscunque usus Majestati suæ placentes, alienanda, donanda, convertenda et transferenda hujusmodi dispositionem, alienationem, conversionem et translationem, per dictam Majestatem suam quovismodo fiendam et exequendam, ratificantes, ratumque gratum et perpetuo firmum habituros promittimus per præsentes. Et, ut præmissa omnia et singula suum debitum sortiri valeant effectum, electionibus insuper nobis et suc-

cessoribus nostris, necnon omnibus actionibus, litibus et instantiis, aliisque quibuscunque nostris remidiis et beneficiis, nobis forsan et successoribus nostris in ea parte prætextu dispositionis, alienationis, translationis et conversionis prædictæ, ac cæterorum præmissorum qualitercunque competentium et competiturorum; omnibusque doli, erroris, metus, ignorantiæ vel alterius materiæ, sive dispositionis exceptione, objectione et allegatione, prorsus semotis et depositis, palam, publice et expresse, et certa scientia nostra, animisque spontaniis renuntiavimus et cessimus, prout per præsentes renunciamus et cedimus; ac ab eisdem recedimus in hiis scriptis. Et nos præfati, Decanus et Capitulum et successores nostri, de nostris unanimi assensu et consensu prædictis, prædictam Ecclesiam Cath. sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* prædicti; ac totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, ambitum, præcinctum, campanile et cimiterium ejusdem Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ; necnon omnia et singula prædicta maneria, dominia, mesuagia, gardina, terras, tenementa, decanatus, dignitates, præbendas, rectorias, vicarias, ecclesias appropriatas, decimas ac cætera præmissa, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertin. quibuscunque, cujuscunque nominis, naturæ, speciei seu qualitatis existunt, præfato domino nostro Regi, hæredibus, successoribus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum per præsentes. In quorum fidem et testimonium, nos, præfatus *Edwardus*, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cath sive Collegiatæ prædictæ, sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. in domo nostra Capitulari, viii. die Januarii, Anno Regni dicti domini Regis, *Henrici Octavi*, Dei gratia, *Angliæ*, *Franciæ*, et *Hiberniæ* Regis, fidei Defensoris, ac in terra, Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* et *Hibernicanæ* supremi Capitis, xxxviii°.

Cumque etiam, *Anthonius Sentleger*, Ordinis Garterii Miles, unus generosorum privatæ cameræ dicti patris nostri, et alii, per literas patentes ejusdem patris nostri in ea parte assignati, eidem patri nostro in Cancellaria sua Regni sui *Hiberniæ* certificarunt prout sequitur. Nos *Anthonius Sentleger* Ordinis Garterii Miles, unus generosorum privatæ cameræ Dom. Regis; *Ricardus Rede* miles, Cancellarius dicti Dom. Regis, regni sui *Hiberniæ; Edwardus Midensis* Episcopus; *Willielmus Brabazon* Miles Vicethesaurarius dicti Dom. Regis regni sui *Hiberniæ; Thomas Luttrell* Miles, Capitalis Justiciarius ejusdem Dom. Regis Communis Banci sui, regni sui prædicti; *Jacobus Bathe*, Capitalis Baro de Scaccario ejusdem Dom. Regis, regni sui prædicti; et *Thomas Cusake* Miles, Majister Rotulorum Cancellariæ dicti Dom. Regis, regni sui *Hiberniæ* prædictæ, eidem Dom. Regi, in Cancellaria sua regni sui Hiberniæ predictæ cum omni humilitate certificamus, quod, virtute literarum patentium dicti Dom. Regis nunc *Henrici Octavi*, Dei gratia, *Angliæ*, *Franciæ* et *Hiberniæ* Regis, fidei Defensoris, ac in terra, Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* et *Hibernicanæ* supremi Capitis, sub magno sigillo *Angliæ*, quarum datum est apud *Westmonasterium* viii°. die Novembris, anno Regni sui xxxviii°. nobis præfatis, *Anthonio Sentleger* ordinis garterii Militi, *Edwardo* Episcopo *Midensi*, *Willielmo Brabazon* Militi, *Thomæ Lutrell* Militi, *Jacobo Bathe*, et *Thomæ Cusake* Militi, directarum juxta tenorem et effectum earundem literarum patentium ad Ecclesiam Cath. sive Collegiatam *S. Patricii* juxta civitatem dicti Dom. Regis *Dublin.* in Comitatu *Dublin.* in regno suo *Hiberniæ* præd. in prædictis literis patentibus nominatis, octavo die Januarii, anno regni dicti Dom. Regis nunc *Henrici Octavi* xxxviii°. accessimus, Decanumque et Capitulum ejusdem Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ in domo sua capitulari coram nobis, præfato *Anthonio*, *Ricardo*, *Edwardo*, *Willielmo*, *Thoma*, *Jacobo* et *Thoma Cusake* personaliter venire fecimus, et cognitionem ejusdem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ Cath. sive Collegiatæ prædictæ in scriptis sub sigillo suo communi sigillatis, prædicto viii°. die Januarii dicto anno regni dicti Dom. Regis nunc *Henrici* VIII. xxxviii°. recepimus, ut factum suum, in rotulis cancellariæ dicti Dom. Regis, regni sui *Hiberniæ* prædictæ irrotulandam, juxta tenorem et effectum literarum patentium prædictarum, nobis præfatis *Anthonio*, *Ricardo*, *Edwardo*, *Willielmo*, *Thomæ*, *Jacobo* et *Thomæ Cusake* militi directarum: Quam quidem cognitionem prædicti Decani et Capituli, sigillo suo prædicto communi sigillatam, una cum prædictis literis patentibus, nobis, præfatis *Anthonio Sentleger*, *Ricardo*, *Edwardo*, *Willielmo*, *Thomæ*, *Jacobo* et *Thomæ* directis, dicto Domino Regi in Cancellaria sua regni sui *Hiberniæ* prædictæ mittimus irrotulandam, juxta tenorem et effectum earundem literarum patentium. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum xvi°. die Januarii, Anno regni dicti Domini Regis, nunc *Henrici Octavi*, Dei gratia, *Angliæ*, *Franciæ*, et *Hiberniæ* Regis, fidei Defensoris, ac in terra, Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* et *Hibernicanæ* Supremi Capitis xxxviii°.

Quorum prætextu, tam prædictus illustrissimus Pater Noster, quam præcharissimus Frater Noster Dominus *Edwardus Sextus*, nuper Rex *Angliæ*, de ejusdem nuper Ecclesiæ Cathedralis scitu, septu, ambitu et præcinctu, ac de omnibus et singulis cæteris præmissis seisiti fuerunt, et quilibet eorum seisitus fuit in dominico suo, ut de feodo, ac jam nos, sic de eisdem seisiti existentes, præmissa perpendentes, et per eorum profundam considerationem animo cupientes quantum tam progenitoribus nostris, quam dictæ ecclesiæ præsidibus et pastoribus, pro eorum unius cujuscunque tempore, curæ fuit, eandem ecclesiam, ut hujus regni nostri *Hiberniæ*, quantum ad Divinum honorem promovendam, cæteraq. virtutis insignia maxime claram, et spectaculum præ cæteris digne venerandum, viris eruditione et sanctimonia prædictis, ac prout decebat eosdem dignitatibus, reventionibus et annuis proficuis competentibus decorare, insignire et adjornare, quo Dei, Optimi Maximi, in illo loco nomen sanctificaretur, et gloria celebraretur; hospitalitas ad plurimorum solamen servaretur; ac hujus regni nostri *Hiberniæ* pueritia in morum civilitate et virtute eruditetur; intelligentes etiam easdem progenitorum nostrorum et ecclesiæ prædictæ præsidum pias intentiones, plenum, sortitas esse in omnibus effectum,

quamdiu dicta ecclesia indissoluta remansit; et ecclesiasticæ personæ ejusdem, suis dignitatibus et possessionibus, juxta primævam eorum fundationem gaudebant: ac a dono et concessione ut prædictum est, patri nostro de dicta ecclesia ac ejusdem hæreditamentis facto videre est, non quæ solum mala, et eadem ingentia, ob usitatæ ibidem hospitalitatis defectum, evenerunt; verum etiam (quod dolendum magis est) pueritiam solitam educationem non habuisse: et, quod maxime lachrimis est dignum, Divinæ Majestatis gloriam, honorem, cultum, multum diminutos extitisse: divina nos clementia inspirante, nihilque magis, ex non,[b] affectantes, quam ut vera Relligio, verusque Dei cultus floreat, ad Dei Omnipotentis gloriam, majestatis divinæ obsequium, et verbi ministerium augenduu et promovendum ac subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque, dictam nuper Ecclesiam Cath. et Collegiatam *Sancti Patricii* ad pristinum statum, reditionem[c] restituere, restaurare, resuscitare, decorare, et quantum in nobis est, stabilire decrevimus, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostris, de assensu dilecti et fidelis consiliarii nostri, *Anthonii Sentleger*, ordinis nostri Garterii Militis, Deputati nostri, regni nostri *Hiberniæ*, *Thomæ Cusake* Militis, Cancellarii nostri, Regni nostri prædicti et cæterorum conciliariorum nostrorum in eodem regno nostro, juxta tenorem et effectum quarundam literarum nostrarum, datarum sub signeto nostro apud pallatium nostrum *Westmon.* xxiii°. die Februarii, annis regnorum nostrorum primo et secundo, manibus nostris propriis signatarum, dicto Deputato, Cancellario et omnibus aliis de consilio nostro ac officiariis nostris ibidem directarum, et in rotulis cancellariæ nostræ ejusdem regni nostri irrotulatarum; pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris per præsentes decernimus, ordinamus et facimus dictam nuper Ecclesiam *S. Patricii* et locum ejusdem ecclesiæ esse posthac imperpetuum Ecclesiam Cathedralem *Sancti Patricii Dublin.* et eandem Ecclesiam Cath. de uno Decano, uno Præcentore, uno Cancellario, uno Thesaurario, duobis Archidiaconis, viginti duobus Præbendariis Canonicis Presbiteris, sex minoribus Canonicis Presbiteris, sexdecim Vicariis Choralibus Presbiteris, sex pueris Choristis seu Choriacistis; ac ibidem in eadem ecclesia nunc et posthac imperpetuum unum Decanum, unum Præcentorem, unum Cancellarium, unum Thesaurarium, duos Archidiaconos, viginti duos Præbendarios Canonicos, sex minores Canonicos, sexdecim Vicarios Chorales et sex pueros Choriacistas, tenore præsentium realiter et ad plenum erigimus, creamus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, constituimus, restituimus, restauramus, resuscitamus, et stabilimus perpetuo futuris temporibus duraturos, et sic stabiliri ac imperpetuum inviolabiter observari volumus et jubemus per præsentes: volumus etiam et per præsentes concedimus, ordinamus et statuimus, quod prædicta Ecclesia *S. Patricii* sit et imperpetuum deinceps, erit Ecclesia Cath. et sedes Archiepiscopalis Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* pro tempore existentis, eisdem modo et forma, statu et conditione, ac ad omnem juris effectum, sicut erat ante nuper dissolutionem ejusdem, ac si eadem ecclesia nunquam fuisset dissoluta: eandem quoque Ecclesiam *S. Patricii*, ac omnes et singulos personas ibidem institutos, fundatos, incorporatos et stabilitos, et successores suos singulariter per se, in et cum eisdem et similibus honoribus, prærogativis, præeminentiis, jurisdictionibus, dignitatibus et insigniis, quibus dicta ecclesia ante prædictam dissolutionem ejusdem ornata et decorata fuit, ac quibus tales et similes ministri tunc ibidem ornati et decorati fuerunt, et quilibet eorum ornatus et decoratus fuit, jam de novo decoramus et insignimus per præsentes perpetuo futuris temporibus duraturis.

Et, ut Ecclesia Cath. *S. Patricii Dublin.* de personis congruis, in singulis locis et gradibus suis, perimpleatur et decoretur, dilectum Capellanum nostrum, *Thomam Leverous*, per literas nostras patentes, ad Decanatum dictæ Ecclesiæ nominatum et præsentatum hac vice, ac virtute earundem in Decanatum prædictum institutum et installatum, Decanum primum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, *Thomam Creife* Præsentorem; *Robertum Nangle* Cancellarium; *Edwardum Barnewall* Thesaurarium; *Willielmum Wellysley* Archidiaconum *Dublin.* et *Johannem Willey* Archidiaconem *Glindelacensem* in Ecclesia Cath. *S. Patricii* prædicti; necnon Archiepiscopum *Dublin.* pro tempore existentem, Præbendarium de *Cullen*; *Henricum Parker* Præbendarium de *Kilmatalwey*: *Patricium Byrne* Præb. de *Swerdes*; *Patricium Fynne* Præb. de *Yago*; *Robertum Daly* Præb. *S. Audoeni*; *Georgium Browne* Præb. de *Clomethan*; *Johannem Sonnynge* Præb. de *Wyckloo*; *Thomam Fitzsymon* Præb. de *Tymothan*; *Nich. Miaghe* Præb. de *Mallahiddert*; *Ricardum Ellercar* Præb. de *Castroknocke*; *Henricum Dancy* Præb. de *Tipper*; *Georgium Dowdall* Præb. de *Tassagarde*; *Jacobum Sarsfelde* Præb. de *Donloan*; *Ric. Johnson* Præb. de *Maynothe*; *Johannem Dongan* Præb. de *Houthe*; *Thomam Lockewodd* Præb. de *Rathmichell*; *Johannem Galbally* Præb. de *Monnohomoke*; *Johannem Wogan* Præb. unius portionis de *Donamore* in *Omaile*; *Johannem Cane* Præb. alterius portionis de *Donamore*, et *Ricardum Betaghe* Præb. de *Stagonill* in dicta Ecclesia Cath. *S. Patricii* prædicti, præsentatos et nominatos, ac in eisdem installatos, unumquemque in sua singulari Dignitate et Præbenda, prout speciatim in hiis literis patentibus nominantur, tenore præsentium facimus, ordinamus, et stabilimus.

Volumus etiam et ordinamus, ac eisdem Decano, Præcentori, Cancellario, Thesaurario, Archidiaconis, et ceteris prædictis Præbendariis Canonicis, per præsentes concedimus, quod de cetero sint de se, jure et nomine unum corpus incorporatum per nomen DECANI ET CAPITULI ECCLESIÆ CATH. S. PATRICII DUBLIN. habeantque per idem nomen successionem perpetuam: et, quod ipsi et successores sui sint et imperpetuum erint Decanus et Capitulum dictæ Ecclesiæ, vocabunturque et appellabuntur ipsi et successores sui imperpetuum, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cath. *S. Patricii Dublin.* sintque idem Decanus et Capitulum et successores sui

Archiepiscopo *Dublin.* pro tempore existenti, et successoribus suis, loco Decani et Capituli olim Ecclesiæ Cath. *Glendelacensis* perpetuo futuris temporibus annexi, incorporati, et uniti, eisdem modo et forma, quibus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cath. et Metropoliticæ *Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis*, vulgo nominatæ, Ecclesia *Christi* Civitatis *Dublin.* eidem Archiepiscopo *Dublin.* ac suæ Cathedræ aut Sedi Archiepiscopali annexi, uniti et incorporati existunt. Et, quod ipsi et successores sui per nomen Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ Cath. *S. Patricii Dublin.* prosequi, clamare, placitare possint et implacitari, defendere et defendi, respondere et responderi, in quibuscunque curiis et locis legum et jurium nostrorum, heredum et successorum nostrorum, ac coram quibuscunque judicibus et justiciariis nostris, hæredum et successorum nostrorum, et nostrum alicujus et alibi, in et super omnibus et singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, demandis, brevibus et querelis realibus, spiritualibus, personalibus et mixtis, et in omnibus aliis rebus, causis et materiis, in tam amplis modo et forma, prout alius aliquis nuper Decanus et Capitulum dictæ nuper Ecclesiæ Cath. *S. Patricii*, antehac agere et facere potuissent. Et quod ipsi, Decanus et Capitulum, per nomen Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ prædictæ, maneria, dominia, terras, tenementa ac quæcunque hæreditamenta, possessiones, dotationes, proficua et emolumenta, tam spiritualia quam temporalia, per nos, hæredes et successores nostros, per literas nostras patentes, hæredum et successorum nostrorum, seu per aliquam aliam personam vel personas quascunque, eis et successoribus suis aliquo modo danda seu concedenda capere, recipere et perquirere, dare, alienare et dimittere et facere et exequi possint, eisdem modo et forma quibus aliquis Decanus cum Capitulo cujuscumque Ecclesiæ Cath. Regni nostri Angliæ capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare et dimittere et facere et exequi possint, de jure concessis sive consuetudine. Et quod habeant unum sigillum commune pro negotiis suis deserviturum.

Et, quia volumus dictam Ecclesiam Cath. *S. Patricii* honorifice dotari, de gratia nostra ampliore, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus præfato Decano et Capitulo et successoribus suis, tam totum scitum, septum, circuitum, ambitum et præcinctum ejusdem nuper Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Collegii *S. Patricii* in suburbiis *Dub.* cum omnibus antiquis privilegiis, libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus, quibus nuper Decanus et Capitulum ejusdem Ecclesiæ et Collegii ante nuper dissolutionem ejusdem, usi et gavisi fuerunt jure ejusdem Ecclesiæ et Collegii; ac totam ecclesiam et campanile ibidem, unacum omnibus capellis, plumbis, campanis, campanilibus, cimitoriis, domibus, ædificiis, terris, tenementis, tectis, ortis, pomeriis, gardinis, molendinis aquaticis, et omnibus locis et hæreditamentis, dictæ ecclesiæ sive collegio antehac spectantibus sive pertinentibus, tam infra quam extra dictum scitum, septum, circuitum, ambitum et præcinctum prædictæ nuper Ecclesie Cath. et Collegii *S. Patricii* existentibus; et quæ, ut pars, partes, vel parcellæ ejusdem nuper situs dictæ nuper Ecclesiæ sive Collegii communiter fuerunt reputatæ seu æstimatæ, quam omnia et singula dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa, redditus, reventiones, annuitates et servitia, feoda militum, advocationes, donationes et jura patronatus ecclesiarum, capellarum, vicariarum et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, necnon dignitates, canonicatus, præbendas, ecclesias, rectorias, decimas, glebas, pensiones, portiones, obventiones, jura, proficua, commoditates, libertates, franchesias, jurisdictiones et hæreditamenta quæcuuque tam spiritualia quam temporalia, necnon cartas, evidentias, scripta, et munimenta quæcumque, quæ ad præd. Ecclesiam Cath. et Collegium *S. Patricii* ante dissolutionem ejusdem quoquomodo spectabant aut spectare debebant; et quæ ad manus præcharissimi Patris nostri et charissimi Fratris nostri prædicti, seu eorum alicujus, ratione ejusdem dissolutionis devenerunt seu devenire debuerunt; et de quibus nos jam seisiti et possessionati sumus vel esse debemus [ac etiam omnia illa bona, utensilia, catalla, ornamenta et jocalia, quæ per sursum redditionem sive donationem dictæ ecclesiæ, ut præmittitur, ad manus dicti Patris nostri vel prædicti Fratris nostri devenerunt aut devenire debuerunt; et quæ in aliorum sive aliquorum manibus, possessione vel custodia sive occupatione, ad usum nostrum jam existunt vel remanent][a] habendum, tenendum, et gaudendum omnia et singula præmissa eisdem Decano et Capitulo et successoribus suis imperpetuum, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, a festo Paschæ ultimo præterito, adeo plene, libere et integre, ac eisdem modo, forma, titulo, jure et interesse, quibus prædicta Ecclesia et Collegium *S. Patricii*, ac Decanus et Capitulum ibidem, ante dictam dissolutionem, ea omnia et singula præmissa habuerunt, tenuerunt et possederunt, aut habere, tenere et possidere debuissent, ac prout eadem ecclesia nunquam dissoluta fuisset; ad dividendum et partitionandum inter eos, eodem modo et forma sicuti ante dissolutionem prædictam diviserunt et partiti sunt, aut dividere et partiri debuerunt; donatione, concessione, redditione, deliberatione et dissolutione prædicta, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunque non obstante.

Ac etiam, de ampliore gratia nostra, volumus, ordinamus et concedimus per præsentes, quod omnes prædicti Decanus, Præcentor, Cancellarius, Thesaurarius, duo Archidiaconi et Præbendarii Canonici et successores sui, cum prædictis Decanatu, Dignitatibus et Præbendis sint deinceps simul uniti, appropriati et annexi prædictæ Ecclesiæ imperpetuum. Et quod quilibet prædictorum Decani, Præcentoris, Cancellarii, Thesaurarii, Archidiaconorum et Præbendariorum Canonicorum, per se et successores suos, distincte et separatim habeat, teneat, gaudeat et utatur omnibus talibus honoribus, authoritatibus, jurisdictionibus, præeminentiis, beneficiis, terris, tenementis, hæreditamentis, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus quibuscunque, quibus aliquis suorum successorum, [c] ante dissolutionem ejusdem ecclesiæ habuit, tenuit, gavisus vel usus fuit.

Ac etiam, de uberiori gratia nostra, damus et concedimus præfatis, Decano et Capitulo et successoribus suis, quod ipsi et successores sui, leges, statuta, et ordinationes pro regimine, utilitate et honestate Ecclesiæ, Decani et Capituli et omnium aliorum, in ecclesia prædicta, existentium faciant, ordinent et instituent de tempore in tempus, quotiens eis videbitur expedire. Et quod præd: *Thomas Leverous*, Decanus modernus dictæ Ecclesiæ Cath: et successores sui, perpetuo futuris temporibus, de cætero habeat et habeant similem et eandem authoritatem, investituram et præeminentiam, tam in Præbendarios Canonicos, minores Canonicos modernos et successores suos, quam in Vicarios Chorales modernos et successores suos, quæ *Edwardus Bassenett*, nuper Decanus dictæ Ecclesiæ ante dissolutionem ejusdem, aut aliquis vel aliqui prædecessorum suorum habuit, tenuit, exercuit et gavisus fuit, habuerunt, tenuerunt, exercuerunt et gavisi fuerunt.

Et ulterius, nos, considerantes non solum qualiter Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta, de fundatione progenitorum nostrorum et nostro patronatu existit; sed etiam cogitantes de exilitate seu parvitate possesionum ipsorum, Decani et Canonicorum, quæ ad sustentationem suam et alia onera sibi commissa et incumbentia, hiis diebus, vix sufficere valeant, quodque tenentes ac firmarii sui, per provisores et captores ac alios officiarios nostros, ad victualia et alias res pro expensis hospitii et aliter capienda assignati, per provisiones et captiones suas multipliciter turbati, vexati et inquietati extiterunt et existunt; considerantesque. quod quamplures eorum tenentium et firmariorum, a tenuris eorundem, Decani, Præcentoris, Cancellarii, Thesaurarii, Archidiaconorum, et cæterorum Canonicorum Præbendariorum recesserunt, et in dies recedere intendunt, in ipsorum, Decani, Præcentoris, Cancellarii, Thesaurarii, Archidiaconorum et cæterorum Canonicorum (verisimile est) dissolutionis et desolationis periculum, et divini cultus subtractionem manifestam, nisi per nos succurratur eisdem; de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostro suscepimus, et, per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris suscipimus, ipsos, nunc Decanum, Præcentorem, Cancellarium, Thesaurarium, Archidiaconos et cæteros Canonicos Præbendarios et successores suos et omnes et singulos tenentes et firmarios suos et eorum cujuslibet, ac successorum suorum et eorum cujuslibet: necnon eorum servientes, hospitia, domos, terras, tenementa, possessiones, bona, catalla, victualia et res sua et cujuslibet eorum quæcunque, quæ nunc habent, et ex nunc sunt habituri, in protectionem, tuitionem et defensionem, nostras et hæredum nostrorum speciales. Et ideo, universis et singulis, Locum-tenentibus, Justiciariis, Deputatis et Gubernatoribus Regni nostri *Hiberniæ*, Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, Ballivis, Constabulariis, Senescallis, Præpositis, Provisoribus, Captoribus et aliis ministris, subditis et fidelibus nostris et hæredum nostrorum quibuscunque, tam infra libertates quam extra, damus in mandatis; quod ipsos, nunc Decanum, Præcentorem, Cancellarium, Thesaurarium, Archidiaconos ac cæteros Canonicos Præbendarios, et successores suos prædictos, ac omnes et singulos tenentes et firmarios suos prædictos, ac successorum suorum prædictorum; necnon eorum servientes, hospitalia, domos, terras, tenementa, possessiones, bona, catalla, victualia et res suas prædictas manuteneant, protegant, et defendant, non inferentes eis, seu ab aliis inferri permittentes; injuriam, molestiam, damnum, violentiam, impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen, nec de ipsis nunc Decano, Præcentore, Cancellario, Thesaurario, Archidiaconis et cæteris Canonicis Præbendariis, seu de eorum aliquo, aut de successoribus suis, aliqua eorum victualia, bona, catalla seu res sua quæcunque, contra voluntatem suam et successorum suorum, capiant, nec per aliquos capi seu asportari permittant: et si quid eisdem nunc Decano, Præcentori, Cancellario, Thesaurario, Archidiaconis aut cæteris Canonicis Præbendariis et successoribus suis, ac tenentibus et firmariis suis, vel eorum alicui, contra tenorem præsentium, forisfactum vel injuriatum fuerit; id eis sine dilatione debite corrigi et reformari faciant. Concessimus etiam, et per præsentes, pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, concedimus eisdem, nunc Decano, Præcentori, Cancellario, Thesaurario, Archidiaconis, ac cæteris Canonicis Præbendariis et successoribus suis, quod de bladis, fœnis, equis carectis, carriagiis, bobus, vaccis, porcis, ovibus et aliis bonis seu catallis suis, aut successorum suorum, tenentium seu firmariorum suorum, et cujuslibet eorum, ubicunque inventa fuerint, contra voluntatem suam, seu cujuslibet eorum aut servientium suorum prædictorum, ad opus nostrum vel hæredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcunque, per provisores, captores, ballivos, commissionarios seu ministros nostros vel hæredum nostrorum, aut alterius cujuscunque quicquam minime capiatur, abducatur, vel aliqualiter asportetur.

Et ulterius, de uberiori gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus eisdem nunc Decano, Præcentori, Cancellario, Thesaurario, Archidiaconis, et cæteris Præb. Canonicis et eorum cuilibet, ac præfato Decano et Capitulo omnia exitus, redditus, reversiones et proficua, omnium et singulorum prædict. maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, hæreditamentorum, Decanatus, Præcentoriatus Cancellariatus, Thesaurariatus, Archidiaconatuum et cæterarum Præbendarum et cujuslibet parcellæ earundem cum pertin: a festo Paschæ prædictæ hucusq: provenientia sive crescentia: habendum eis et eorum cuilibet et assignatis suis et eorum cujuslibet ex dono nostro, tam per manus suas proprias [f ac per manus omnium et singulorum firmariorum, tenentium et occupatorum præmissorum, et cujuslibet inde parcellæ] quam per manus Subthesaurarii, sive Generalis Receptoris nostri, Regni nostri *Hiberniæ* prædictæ pro tempore existentis (si forte nobis responsa sint) compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis, hæredibus seu successoribus nostris quoquomodo reddendo, solvendo seu faciendo; de quibus quidem exitibus, redditibus, reventionibus et proficuis, et de qualibet parte earundem, tam

prædictos Decanum, Præcentorem, Cancellarium, Thesaurarium, Archidiaconos, et cæteros Præbendarios Canonicos et eorum quemlibet, executores et assignatos suos et eorum cujuslibet, quam firmarios, tenentes et occupatores præmissorum et cujuslibet inde parcellæ, et eorum quemlibet; ac subthesaurarium sive generalem receptorem nostrum prædictum, hæredes et assignatos suos, relaxamus, exoneramus et acquietamus per præsentes.

Volumus etiam, quod, pro hac nostra donatione, restitutione, resuscitatione et restauratione Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ, dicti, Decanus et Capitulum, et successores sui imperpetuum, habeant et sustentent unum idoneum et habilem Pædagogum sive Ludi-magistrum; et unum idoneum et habilem Hypodidascalum sive subdidascalum ad Scolam Grammaticalem servandum, et omnes ad eandem accedentes in grammatica erudiendum, informandum et instruendum. Sustententque imperpetuum tot paupere res sive eleemosynarios, quot, temporibus retroactis, ante dictam dissolutionem apud *Sanctum Patricium* prædictum sustinebantur; quos quidem pauperes et eleemosinarios, de tempore in tempus, per Locumtenentem, Deputatum sive Justiciarium nostrum et hæredum nostrorum, dicti Regni nostri *Hiberniæ*, qui pro tempore fuerit, nominari volumus per præsentes: proviso, quod dictus Locum-tenens, Deputatus, sive Justiciarius noster et hæredum nostrorum, tales ad eleemosinam prædictam nominent, qui impotentes et debiles fuerint, ac nobis in dicto Regno nostro *Hiberniæ* fideliter servierint, honestæque gesturæ et conversationis extiterint, et orationibus precibusque Deo servire sint debiti.

Volumus etiam per præsentes, quod Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* modernus et successores sui imperpetuum nominent, assignent et faciant dictum Pædagogum sive Ludi-magistrum, & Hypodicascalum sive subdidascalum Scolæ Gramaticalis prædictæ, de tempore in tempus. Et, in præmissis consideratione et respectu, volumus quod Scola Gramaticalis et Eleemosinarii apud Ecclesiam prædictam a dissolutione dictæ Ecclesiæ erecti et fundati, dissolvantur; et eos et earum erectiones et fundationes ac literas patentes nostras, seu aliquorum progenitorum nostrorum super inde confectas, aut alicui personæ ea de causa seu ratione factas et concessas qualitercunque adnullamus, irritamus, revocamus, et dissolvimus per præsentes: salvo, quod qui nunc vivunt de eleemosinariis, sic ibidem institutis et assignatis, durante vita sua, per Decanum et Capitulum prædictum sustinebuntur, juxta ratam et statum ante dissolutionem dictæ Ecclesiæ usitatum, et non aliter.

Volumus etiam, et per præsentes concedimus, quod Decanus dictæ Cathedralis Ecclesiæ, de cætero, quandocunque Decanatus vacaverit, sit imperpetuum electus et eligatur (quem de gremio dictæ ecclesiæ semper fore volumus) per Capitulum Ecclesiæ prædictæ, eisdem in ritu, forma et jure, quibus ante dissolutionem, sive sursum-redditionem dictæ Eccesiæ in manus dicti patris nostri usitatum fuit.

Et quod Archiepiscopus *Dublin.* modernus et successores sui imperpetuum, habeant et gaudeant omnibus et singulis donationibus, collationibus, nominationibus, et patronatus juribus dictarum præbendarum et earum cujuslibet, quotiescumque de cætero vacaverint, quæ Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* ante dissolutionem sive sursum-redditionem prædictæ Ecclesiæ habebant & gaudebant, et habere et gaudere debuerunt, aut eorum aliquis habuit aut habere debuit, jure Archiepiscopatus sui prædicti, ac prout dicta ecclesia nunquam dissoluta et sursum-reddita fuisset. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, seu eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos, vel aliquem progenitorum præfatis, Decano et Capitulo antehac factis in præsentibus minime facta existit; aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione, inde in contrarium in regno nostro *Angliæ*, vel in dicto regno nostro *Hiberniæ* antehac factis, editis, ordinatis sive confirmatis, et præcipue statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunque, in aliquo non obstantibus.

In cujus rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud *Dublin*, decimo quinto die Junii, Annis Regnorum nostrorum, primo et secundo.

[a] Irrotulata fuit etiam, tempore *Phil. et Mar.* Reg. Exemplar extitit in libro, vocato Dign. Dec. fol. 217. et aliud in fol. 239. per Rev. *Joannem Lyon*, manu propria sua scripta.

[b] *Potius*, animo. [c] *Potius*, reducere.

[d] Verba, uncis inclusa, inveniantur in altero irrotulamento hujus chartæ. [e] *Vel potius*, predecessorum.

[f] Hæc verba, uncis inclusa, inveniantur in altero irrotulamento hujus chartæ.

Number XVI.

Literæ Elizabethæ *Reginæ pro faciliori collectione Primitiarum, Frugum et aliarum Rerum, rite pertinentium ad Ecclesiam S. Patricij Dublin.* Ex Rot. Canc. et Dign. Dec. pag. 236.

Elizabeth, &c. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Archidiaconis et eorum officiariis, ac aliis personis ecclesiasticis, nec non omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, Salutem.

Inter cætera pietatis opera, et populus noster *Hibernicus* dudum intima devotione ductus, Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ collata primitiarum, frugum et annualis mellis, pinguedinis et aliarum rerum, singulis annis, longo præteriti temporis cursu persolvere solebat; quæ quidem præmissa, infra provinciam Archiepiscopi *Dublin.* collecta, ad usum reparationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis *S. Patricii* juxta civitatem nostram *Dublin.* converti et disponi solebant: Nos vero, nolentes tam pium opus et laudabilem consuetudinem, temporibus progenitorum nostrorum approbatam, tempore nostro extingui: ac volentes securitati et quieti Decani et Capituli dictæ Cathedralis Ecclesiæ, ac attornatorum et procuratorum suorum providere in hac parte, suscepimus ipsum

Decanum et Capitulum, ac eorum attornatos et procuratores pro præmissis colligendis, de quorum mandato, sigillo communi sive capitulari eorundem, Decani et Capituli consignato, vobis legittime constabit, in protectionem et defensionem nostras speciales. Et ideo vos, prælatos, ac alias personas ecclesiasticas rogamus, quatenus cum quivis attornati vel procuratores eorundem, Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ, ad loca vestra pro præmissis colligendis secesserunt; de quorum mandato, ut prædicitur, vobis constabit, ipsos benigne in ecclesiis vestris recipere, et præmissa colligere permittatis. Vobisque, ballivis et fidelibus nostris, præcipimus et mandamus, quod eisdem attornatis vel procuratoribus dicti Decani et Capituli veris, ut prædicitur, et non aliis, transeundi per partes dictæ provinciæ Archiepiscopi *Dnblin.* præmissa colligenda et ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem *S: Patricii* prædictam redeundo, in personis seu rebus suis quibuscunque, non inferatis, nec, quantum in vobis est, ab aliis inferri permittatis injuriam, molestiam, damnum, violentiam, impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen: et si quid eis forisfactum fuerit, id eis sine dilatione faciatis emendari. Proviso, quod si iidem attornati vel procuratores præmissa colligentes, mandatum expressum, ut præmittitur, non habentes nomine ipsorum, Decani et Capituli, veniant ad eadem colligenda, nullomodo admittantur. Proviso etiam, quod dicti attornati vel procuratores per dictos, Decanum et Capitulum, ut praedicitur, assignati, non circumferant baculos, cruces, libros aut similia, vel aliquid aliud agant aut attemptent, quod contra statuta nostra vel injunctiones nostras fuerint quovismodo. Dat. viii. die Julii, anno regni nostri quarto.

Number XVII.

Extracts from Proctors' Accounts.

SECT. I.

Compotus *Domini* Johannis Andowe, *Canonici Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Patricij Dublin. et Prebendarij prebende de Tamothane in eadem, ac generalis* Procuratoris *Yconomi Ecclesie Cathedralis supradicte; tam de redditibus, decimis, firmis ecclesiarum ad communiam ipsius Ecclesie Cathedralis spectantibus, donisque elemosinis et aliis proficuis, obventibus et commoditatibus ad dictam ecclesiam datis, collatis et pertinentibus, per ipsum Computantem receptis, quam de omnibus solutionibus, misis et expensis per eundem factis, a festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste,* Anno Domini, millesimo quingentessimo nono, *usque ad idem festum, anno revoluto, sic per unum annum integrum, &c.* Ex Originali Rotulo, penes Decanum.

Redditus Ecclesie.

Inprimis, Idem Computans onerat se cum *Coulemyne* cum domino Decano pro xl*s.* hoc anno: et cum redditu domus *Rogeri Brown* xx*s*: et cum redditu domus cum domino *Edwardo Houth*, Prebend. de *Swerdis* xx*s.* et cum viii*s.* pro celario cum *Will. Englysh*, hoc anno: et cum xiii*s.* iv*d.* pro redditu domus *Johannis White*, hoc anno: et cum vi*s.* viii*d.* pro camera cum computante juxta portam *Sancti Patricij*, hoc anno: et cum vi*s.* viii*d.* pro domo *Petri Wolff*, Clerici: et cum viii*s.* pro camera domini *Richardi Trevers*, Prebendarij de *Stagony*: et cum viii*s.* pro domo *Mauricij Walsh*: et cum viii*s.* pro domo *Johan. White*: et cum viii*s.* pro domo *Johan. Blak*, in vico pontis ad firmam: et cum ix*s.* pro domo *Thome Schyrbourne*, hoc anno: et cum vi*s.* viii*d.* pro camera magistri *Will. Power*, Prebend. de *Santo Audoeno*: et cum vi*s.* viii*d.* pro camera domini *Petri Devenysh*, Prebend. de *Tassagard*: et cum xiii*s.* iv*d.* pro camera nova magistri *Mathei Rochfort*, Prebendarij prebende de *Donamore in Omayl* ex parte Precentoris: et cum xv*s.* pro camera domini *Nicholai Boys*, Prebend. de *Castroknok*: et cum xiii*s.* iv*d.* pro camera magistri *Roberti Skyrret* Prebendarij de *Malahidert*: et cum xi*s.* pro "le lyme yarde" cum Archidiacono *Dublin.* hoc anno: et cum ii*s.* pro gardino cum magistro *Jacobo Bowland*: et cum ii*s.* pro gardino cum *Will. English*, hoc anno: et cum ii*s.* pro gardino cum uxore dicti *Willielmi*: et cum iii*s.* iv*d.* pro le *Roghpark* cum Archidiacono *Glindel.* hoc anno: et cum iii*s.* pro parco cum domino Decano: et cum iii*s.* pro gardino juxta antiquam scolam cum magistro *Will. Walsh*: et cum iii*s.* iv*d.* pro molendino cum Vicariis: et cum vi*s.* viii*d.* pro parco juxta dictum molendinum cum dictis Vicariis: et cum x*d.* pro uno "Croffte" apud *Cromlyne* cum *Johanne Stevyn*, hoc anno: et cum xiii*s.* iv*d.* pro carucata terre in *Ballyogane*, olim cum *Henrico Walsh*, &c.: et de xiii*s.* iv*d.* pro carucata terre, vocata *Rathsalagh* juxta *Bree*, jam cum *Ricardo Walsh*, hoc anno: et idem computans onerat se cum xx*s.* pro redditu mansi juxta fontem *Sancti Patricij*, cum *Johanne Fitzsymon*, Rectore de *Howth.*

Summa xiv*l.* xiv*s.* vi*d.*

Decime pertinentes ad Communiam Ecclesie.

Item, idem Computans onerat se cum xiv *marc.* vi*s.* viii*d.*, pro decimis *Sancti Kevini* cum domino Precentore et *Nicolao Ffitzsymon*, hoc anno: et cum xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* pro decimis de *Castroknok* cum dicto domino Precentore, hoc anno: et cum xxvi*s.* viii*d.* pro decimis de *Whitiston* cum domino *Ricardo Trevers*, hoc anno: et cum xl*s.* pro decimis de *Braynokston* cum *Thoma Eustace*, hoc anno: et cum xxxiii*s.* iv*d.* pro decimis de *Talogh* cum domino Archiepiscopo *Dublin.* hoc anno: et cum xii*l.* pro decimis de *Cromlyne* cum parvis Canonicis, hoc anno: et cum xl*s.* pro duabus partibus decimarum de *Byrtown* et decimis de *Selyoke* cum *Geraldo Comite Kyldar.* deputato Domini Regis in *Hibernia*: et cum xx*s.* pro tertia parte decimarum de *Byrtown* et *Ascoll* cum domino *Petro Magno*, hoc anno: et cum xx*s.* pro decimis de *Ballymore* cum domino Archiepiscopo, hoc anno: decime de *Ffrayneston* cum domino Archiepiscopo ii*l.* etc.:

et cum xiiis. ivd. pro decimis de *Mone* cum *Thoma Eustace*, hoc anno: et cum v *marcis* pro decimis de *Cobragh* cum magistro *Ffylberd*, hoc anno: et cum vis. viiid. pro decimis de *Ascoll* cum *Hybberd*.

Summa xlviiil. vis. viiid.

Decime de Swerdis ad Communiam Ecclesie spectantes.

Et idem Computans onerat se cum xl. xiiis. ivd. pro decimis de *Malahide* cum domino *Petro Talbott*, domino ibidem: et cum ivl. pro decimis de *Fforrowe magna* cum magistro *Will. Walsh*, etc.: et cum xii *marc.* pro decimis *Burgage* cum magistro *Thoma Fylberd*, hoc anno: et cum xl. xiiis. ivd. pro decimis de *Rathbell* cum Vicariis, hoc anno: et cum xiv *marc.* pro decimis de *Drename* cum *Rogero Broune*, hoc anno: et cum viii *marc.* pro decimis de *Bolyes* cum *Johanne Cowloke*, hoc anno: et cum xx *marc.* pro decimis de *Kyllostry* cum *Christophero Usher* et *Patricio Ffytzsymon*, hoc anno: et cum vii. *marc.* pro decimis de *Kyllegh* cum *Roberto Fforster*, etc.: et cum viiil. pro decimis de *Skydoff* cum domino Archiepiscopo, hoc anno: et cum xlvis. viiid. pro decimis, id est, tertia parte decimarum de *Cloghane* cum parvis Canonicis, hoc anno.

Summa iii^{xx}. xvil. vis. viiid.

Questores et Alteragia, &c.

Et, Idem onerat se cum xl. xiiis. ivd. receptis a Questoribus Ecclesie hoc anno: et cum ivl. receptis a domino *Ricardo Derpatrik*, capellano parochiali *Sti. Nicolai* infra Ecclesiam Cath. *Sancti Patricij*, hoc anno: et de alteragiis *Sancti Nicolai* infra muros et *Sancte Brigide*, nichill, hoc anno, quia non sufficiunt capellanis eis servientibus.

Summa xivl. xiiis. ivd.

Receptio Pixydis.

Et, idem Computans onerat se cum viil. xixs. vd. *ob.* receptis a pixidibus ecclesie, ac vigilia et die *Sancti Patriccij*, per tempus compoti: et idem computans onerat se cum xls. quos recepit a magistro *Dermicio Reyly* Vicario de *Swerdis*, pro solutione pensionis magistri *Willmi Walsh* Prebendarij de *Tipper*.

Summa - - - - ixl. xixs. vd. *ob.*

Summa oneris viii^{xx} *lib.* ivl. viid. *ob.*

De Quibus quidem, Idem Computans petit allocationem de xxvil. xiiis. ivd. solutis quatuor parvis Canonicis pro suis salariis, hoc anno: et petit allocari de xvil. solutis sex Coristis pro suo stipendio, hoc anno: et petit allocari de ivl. solutis Vicariis Decani et Precentoris pro suis salariis, hoc anno: et idem petit allocationem de ivl. pro stipendio Computantis, per tempus compoti: et petit allocationem de iiil. vis. viiid. domino Archiepiscopo *Dublin.* pro procurationibus suis, hoc anno: et de xxvs. solutis pro subsidio Domini Regis, hoc anno.

Summa lvl. vs.

Feoda Servientium in Ecclesia, &c.

Et idem Computans petit allocationem de iv *marc.* solutis *Will. English* Sacriste Ecclesie, pro feodo suo hoc anno: et de viiis. solutis eidem pro custodia portarum claustrarum hoc anno: et de xxxviiis. ivd. solutis *Rogero Brown*, clerico *Beate Marie*, pro dimidio anni servienti in illo officio Clerici: et de xiiis. ivd. solutis eidem pro Antiphona *B. Marie* per tempus compoti: et de xiiis. ivd. solutis eidem *Rogero* pro custodia orologij, hoc anno: et de xixs. iid. *Will. Walsh* clerico *B. Marie* per unum terminum, viz. a festo *Pasche* usque festum *S. Johannis Baptiste*: et de iv *marc.* solutis *Georgio*, Clerico Chori, pro suo stipendio, hoc anno: et de iiil. vis. ixd. solutis *Will. Herbit* Organiste, per tempus compoti: et de xiiis. ivd. solutis *Thome Mayowe* servienti in officio Bidelli per dimidium anni, mandato Decani et Capituli: et de xls. solutis *Rogero Browne* Bidello Ecclesie, a festo *Natalis Domini* usque festum *Johannis Baptiste*, hoc anno: et de iv *marcis* solutis domino *Johanni Russell* magistro Coristarum, pro stipendio suo, hoc anno: et de xxvis. viiid. solutis domino *Johanni Walshe* pro custodia nove Librarie, per tempus compoti: et de xxs. solutis magistro *Ricardo Olbyne*, officiario *Midensi*, pensionario capituli, hoc anno: et de xxxiiis. ivd. solutis *Thome Schyrebourne* vitriatori et pensionario ecclesie, hoc anno: et de xxs. solutis magistro *Jacobo Bowland*, Registrario Capituli; et magistro *Thome Walsh* et *Will. Walsh*, Notariis, qui ipsius *Jacobi*, post ejus mortem, officio deserviebant per tempus compoti: et de vis. viiid. solutis pro rasura Choristarum per annum: et de xiiis. ivd. solutis magistro *Nicolao Kerdyff*, Cancellario Ecclesie, et magistro *Matheo Rochfort* Canonico ejusdem, pro sermonibus in festo *Reliquiarum* et *Sancti Patricij* per eosdem predicatis, hoc anno: et de ivd. solutis pulsanti magnam campanam ad eosdem sermones.

Summa xxivl. xiis. viid.

Emptio Cere.

Et idem Computans petit allocationem de xiil. vs. iid. solutis pro iii^{c}. iv^{xx}. viiilb. i. *qu.* Cere, empte ad usum ecclesie, per tempus compoti, prout patet de recordo: et de vis. iiid. solutis pro lychinis: et de xivd. solutis pro pinguedine, hoc anno: et de iiis. viiid. pro focalibus et glebis ad componendam ceram, per tempus compoti: et de vs. vid. solutis pro victualibus laboratoris circa ceram componendam, hoc anno: et de xxvis. viiid. solutis *Johanni White* pro compositione cere ecclesie pascalis et vii luminum erga *Domini Natalem*, hoc anno: et de * *

Summa xivl. viiis. vd.

Cena Domini, et in Exequiis Fundatorum.

Et idem Computans petit allocationem de xxs. viiid. solutis pro pane, servisia, vino et speciebus [a] ad mandatum novum, in cena Domini, hoc anno, prout patet per cellas de recordo: et de xiiis. xd. solutis pro vino in distributionibus domino Archiepiscopo, Decano et aliis Dignitatibus et Canonicis ipsius Ecclesie, secundum morem et antiquam consuetudinem ejusdem, qui erant in numero xxiii hoc anno: et de viis. ivd. solutis in exequiis Fundatorum, in crastino *Corporis Xti*, pro pane, servicia, vino et speciebus, hoc anno: et de iiis. id. solutis *Thome Mayowe*, ludenti cum vii luminibus, in festo *Natalis Domini* et *Purificationis*, hoc anno: et de iiis. vid. pro victualibus componentis paschalem et levatione et depositione ejusdem: et de ivs. viid. solutis luden-

tibus cum Angelo magno et parvo ac Dracone, in festo *Pentecostes*: et ivs. iid. solutis pro victualibus eisdem ludentibus in diebus ejusdem festi, hoc anno. Summa LVIIs. IId.

Emptio panis et vini ad celebrand: et alia.

Et idem Computans petit allocari de vis. ixd. solutis gerentibus feretrum [b], diebus *Rogationum*, *Palmarum*, *Corporis Christi*, et ferentibus vexilla [c], cruces, torturas, thuribula et thumiamatis vasa, circa sacramentum, hoc anno: et de xiis. vid. solutis pro pane ad celebrandum, hoc anno: et de ls. ivd. pro vino ad celebrandum in ecclesia per tempus compoti: et de vis. viiid. solutis *Moline Carnys* pro lotura albarum, lutheriorum [c] et manutergiorum ecclesie, per tempus compoti: et de xls. solutis tegulatori ecclesie per compositionem in anno, etc: et de xxs. solutis ejus servienti in anno per compositionem: et de xxvs. iid. solutis pro clavis ad usum ecclesie et domorum ad eam spectantium per tempus compoti &c. Summa VIIIl. XVIId.

Et Idem petit allocationem de xviis. vid. solutis pro tegulis ad usam Ecclesie, viz. iii *mill.* et vectura et computatione eorum, hoc anno: et de xiiis. ivd. solutis pro viginti cranocis calcis ad opus ecclesie, hoc anno, emptis: et de viis. iid. solutis pro zabulo et glire sive luterio per tempus compoti: et de xiiis. solutis pro mensa *Thome Schyrbourne* et famuli ejus, laborando et reparando plumbum et novam fenestram Decani viginti quatuor diebus, per tempus compoti: et de iiil. iiis. viiid. solutis pro magnis, vocatis draghtreis, spyrys, magnis tabulis et "pins et gutters," ad opus ecclesie et domorum ad eam pertinentium, prout per parcellas de recordo: et de xiiid. solutis pro stanno ad "sawdowre" *Thome Schyrbourne* ad fenestras ecclesie reparandas hoc anno: et idem petit allocari de ivl. solutis majistro *Will. Walsh.* pro pensione sua, hoc anno.

Summa IXl. XVs. IXd.

[Et idem computans petit allocari de iis. ivd. solutis pro vino solventibus pro decimis eis, isto anno, locatis diversis vicibus]: et de iid. solutis mundatione le "workhouse": et de vid. solutis pro reparatione sere domus predicte et le "lyme yarde," hoc anno: et de xiid. solutis *Waltero Hacked* et pro vino ad ostendendum metas de *Ballyogane* de mandato Capituli, hoc anno: et de xd. solutis pro una cordula ad orilogium: [et de xiid. solutis domino *Henrico Parker* pro papiro et compositione libri ratiocinij et compoti mei] et de xxiid. solutis pro statera ad ponderandam ceram ecclesie, hoc anno: et de id. ob. pro olla fictili et compositione cultelli ad ceram scindendam: et de iis. solutis pro vi virgatis panni linei ad pallium magni altaris: et de xxd. solutis pro sera et clave et tres "gemeys" ad locum ubi reponuntur vestimenta custodiendum domo capitulari: et de iis. solutis pro ii petris picis ad ruderes domus Rectoris de *Swerdis*: et de xiid. solutis uni carpentario et ejus famulo uno die, claudendo ostia et fenestras ecclesie ne columbe intrarent: et de ivd. solutis pro "twystis" ad ostium wolte ex parte australi ecclesie: et de vid. pro reparatione pallii magni altaris: et de iiid. pro "slate pynnye" ad opus ecclesie: et de xivd. pro una petra "tallowe": et de iiis. viid. solutis uni carpentario et duobus famulis suis, carpentariis, ii diebus componentibus ruderes ad domum Rectoris de *Swerdis*, cum aliis eos adjuvantibus, hoc anno: et de xd. solutis uni laboratori cum dictis carpentariis, duobus diebus, et pro flokkis ad dictos ruderes: et de xid. pro ii *cent.* lathos: et iiid. pro mille de "lath pynnys", ad opus ecclesie: et de vs. viiid. solutis pro iv petris ferri et factura ejusdem ferri ad fenestras ecclesie, hoc anno: et de xviiis. solutis *Johanni Dowgane*, aurifabro olle ad aquam benedictum de argento xxvii unciis et quart: et de ivd. solutis *Nicholao Talbote* carpentario laboranti super ruderes, dimidio die: et de xiid. solutis pro equo ad portandum evidentias de *Kylbride* ad *Maynoth*, et expensis illuc, hoc anno. Summa XLIIIs. XId. ob.

Et de iiid. pro uno instrumento tegulatori vocato "a hawke & hopyng apayll" et mundatione olle ad picem liquefaciendam: et de xiid. solutis pro uno ligno ad capas et ferrum ad ignem servandum: et de vis. solutis uni tegulatori et ejus famulo, octo diebus, reparando et tegendo domum Rectoris de *Houth*, hoc anno: et de ivs. viiid. solutis *Talbote* carpentario, super domum *Joannis Whit* vii diebus laborando: et de iis. solutis famulo suo in eodem opere quatuor diebus, hoc anno: et de iis. solutis duobus laboratoribus frangendo solum domus *Joan. White*, et mundando *le Poddell* ibidem subter solum: et de ivd. uni laboratori applicando tabulas locis suis in dicto solo: et de xvid. solutis *Dame Smyth* pro ii seris et duabus clavibus ad ostium "le tresury," et emendatione et factura diversarum clavium ecclesie, hoc anno: et de xd. solutis uni carpentario qui emendavit "le frame" secunde campane et illis qui magnum ostium ecclesie clauserunt, die magni venti et terribilis, et pro uno "le canvase" ad fenestram fractam domini Decani, et levatione trabium in domo *Joan. White*, et pro uno "croke ferry" pro le "hawke" tegulatoris, hoc anno: et de vid. solutis pro emundatione dicte domus *Joan. White* et *le Podell* ibidem currentis: et de vs. iiid. solutis pro vi petris ferri ad opus ecclesie: et de viiid. solutis in expensis Prioris de *Holmepatrik* et cujusdam latomi ad habendam licentiam frangendi lapides in lapidicinio suo, juxta *Holmepatrik*, ad fenestram Decani, hoc anno: et de ivd. solutis pro "sope": et de xiid. pro scriptura et sigillatione sequestrationis in fructibus de *Kylbride*, hoc anno: et de iiid. solutis pro il. plumbi "troywyghte": et de viid. solutis uni carpentario et uni vitriatoris famulo, dimid: die super voltes ecclesie et duobus viris pro vectura scale et levatione ejusdem. Summa XXVIIs.

Et idem Computans petit allocationem de iid. pro factura unius foraminis pro "le bolte" ad portam *Sancti Patricij*: et de iis. viiid. solutis pro quatuor petris rosine ad torturas ecclesie: et de viis. id. solutis uni daber. et ejus famulo, viii diebus cum dimid. in domo *Joan. White*: et de ivd. solutis uni laboratori mundanti portam *Sancti Patricij* et stratam juxta eam: et de ivd. solutis pro panno antiquo ad claudendas fenestras fractas domini Decani in ecclesia: et de iiis.

iv*d.* solutis magistro *Dermicio Rayly*, Vicario de *Swerdis*, pro suis laboribus de *Kilmaynane* circa carucatam terre juxta *Kilmayne*: et de ix*d.* solutis pro vino in taberna, eodem die: et de v*d.* solutis pro reparatione duorum vestimentorum et unius albe, et oleo ad orilogium, hoc anno: et de ii*s.* viii*d.* solutis pro mattis ad chorum, hoc anno: et de v*d.* solutis uni fabro pro reparatione serarum et clavium portarum *Sancti Patricij*: et de xviii*d.* solutis uni carpentario et ii famulis suis, componendo et affigendo tabulas parvas uno die super domum *Mauricij Kenane*: et de ii*s.* i*d.* solutis uni carpentario et ejus famulo, ii diebus, componendo tabulas ad faciendas quinque fenestras in camera magistri *Roberti Skyrrett*, hoc anno: et de ii*d.* solutis pro candelis ad opus in camera magistri *Roberti* supradicti: et de xxi*d. ob.* solutis pro dim. *lb.* "vertegrys," ii *unciis* "vermelon," ii*lb.* de "tallowe & candelis" ad compositionem vii luminum erga *Natalem*: et de xii*d.* solutis pro onere carbonum ad usum Ecclesie: et de vi*d.* solutis pro mundatione clausure *Sancti Patricij* et vectione stercoris extra, hoc anno: et de x*d.* solutis pro quinque bigis gliris ad domos *Johannis White* et domini *Ricardi Trevers*: et de iv*d.* solutis pro ii *unciis* de "vermelon" domino *Will. Growe*, ad faciendas notulas cantus lirici, hoc anno: et de ii*s.* solutis uni carpentario et famulo suo, duobus diebus, faciendo unum solium in camera domini *Ricardi Trevers*: et de iv*d.* solutis uni laboratori servienti eisdem carpentariis, uno die: et de iii*d.* solutis duobus hominibus portantibus mulierem infirmatam ab ecclesia ad domum infirmorum, de mandato Decani, hoc anno: et de xx*d.* solutis uni daber. et ejus servienti, in camera *Ricardi Trevers*.

Summa xxx*s.* vii*d. ob.*

Et idem Computans petit allocationem de vii*d. ob.* solutis uni carpentario reparando fenestras et ostia domus *Johannis White*, et affigendo seras iv in camera magistri *Roberti Skyrret*, uno die, per tempus compoti, et famulo suo, eodem die, iii*d.*: et de xv*d.* solutis uni daber. et ejus famulo, in domo *Johannis White* uno die cum dimidio: et de ii*s.* xi*d.* solutis uni daber. et ejus famulo, iii diebus et dimidio, in camera magistri *R. Skyrret* et domini *Nicolai Boys* hoc anno: et de iv*d.* solutis pulsantibus campanas ecclesie et ferentibus torthuras erga novam Salvatoris ymaginem a vico pontis usque ad Ecclesiam *SanctiPatricij*, hoc anno: et de xii*d.* solutis magistro *Thome Walsh*, Notario, pro copia articulorum in causa de *Kilmaynane* circa carrucatam terre: [et de xii*d.* solutis Archidiacono, *Magistro Fylberd*, et famulo domini de *Malahide* cum solutione pro decimis quas * * fecissent hoc anno:] et de viii*d.* solutis pro una cordula septem luminibus: et de xii*d.* solutis pro cordula ad campanam chori: [et de ii*d.* solutis pro potu famulis *Nicolai ffitz symon* et *Thome Eustace* cum solvissent solutiones:] et de ii*d.* solutis carpentario in potu levantibus dictam ymaginem: et de xviii*d.* solutis uni latomo, uno die, in solio crucis et ii laboratoribus mundando solium ibidem, et serviendo illi lathomo, ii diebus et dimidio, hoc anno: [et de ii*d.* solutis *Xtophero Usher* in solutione pecuniarum pro potu, hoc anno:] et de x*d.* solutis uni laboratori frangenti scalas et altaria in solio crucis, duobus diebus et dimidio: et de ii*d.* solutis pro filo et anulis ad reparationem magni veli ecclesie, hoc anno: et de xii*d.* solutis pro lothura veli et sutura ejus et affixione anulorum in eodem etc.: et de v*s.* i*d.* solutis *Johanni Innowre* laborando circa dictam novam ymaginem crusifixi, v diebus et dimidio, capiendo per diem xii*d.*: et de vii*s.* solutis fabro pro factura x petrarum et dimid. ferri ad opus ecclesie: et de ix*d.* solutis pro ii "quarterbords" et *Thome Schirbourne* pro reparatione fenestre occidentalis ecclesie etc.: et de vi*d.* solutis uni latomo pro appositione lapidis super corpusculum *Roberti Kirdyff* et reparatione pavimenti in circuitu ejusdem: et de iv*d.* solutis famulo ejus in eodem opere: et de iii*s.* viii*d.* solutis uni carpentario pro elevatione ymaginis dicti crucis et compositione scale ibidem in solio, de mandato Decani, v diebus cum dimidio: et de iv*d.* solutis eidem pro eodem opere: et de iii*s.* ix*d.* solutis iii famulis ejusdem carpentarij laborando ibidem, ii diebus et dimidio, in eodem opere: et de xii*d.* solutis ii famulis ejusdem carpentarij in eodem opere uno die tum.

Summa xxxiv*s.* i*d. ob.*

Et idem Computans petit allocari de iv*s.* i*d.* solutis laboratoribus ad tractandam et deponendam aquam de ecclesia *S. Patricij* de flumine *Sancti Marcy*, ubi nunquam fuit visum tale, hoc anno: et de iv*d.* solutis pro mundatione chori, eodem tempore, post aque depositionem: et de xii*d.* solutis pro rebanys ad capas ecclesie reparandas: et de viii*d.* solutis uni carpentario componenti et reparanti portam vicariorum in venella ibidem: et de xi*s.* solutis *Thome Schirbourne* pro reparatione nove fenestre Decani, diversis vicibus, hoc anno: et de ii*d.* pro reparatione unius "le payll" ad opus Ecclesie: et de ii*s.* viii*d.* solutis uni carpentario ponendo tabulas super scopas domus Rectoris de *Swerdis*: et de ii*s.* solutis famulo ipsius carpentarij in eodem opere, iv diebus, cum magistro suo: et de ii*s.* iv*d.* solutis pro ferro et compositione ejusdem, ligando dictam ymaginem novam salvatoris in solio crucifixi, hoc anno: et de xii*d.* solutis pro accomodatione unius "crowe" et unius "mallet" ad frangendum lapides ad novam fenestram, et expensis ad *Holmepatrik* pro eisdem lapidibus, hoc anno: et de xx*d.* solutis pro x bigis gliris ad faciendam parietem inter magistrum, *MatheumRochfort*, canonicum ecclesie *Sancti Patricij* ac Archidiaconum *Glindelac.* hoc anno: et de iii*s.* vi*d.* solutis ii laboratoribus quinque diebus, et uni homini, dimidio diei, faciendo dictum parietem et componendo, hoc anno: et de v*s.* solutis duobus latomis, quinque diebus, in eodem opere: et de xii*d.* solutis *Talbote* carpentario componendo scalas et calcham in domo *Johannis White*, hoc anno, i die et dimidio: et de xviii*d.* solutis famulo ipsius *Talbote*, iii diebus, ibidem in eodem opere: et de ii*d.* solutis pro cirothecis * * * *Mayne* prophete die *Palmarum* prophetando, ut moris est, de *Messia*: et de vi*s.* viii*d.* solutis domino *Willmo Growe* parvo canonico, pro scriptura et notatione lirici cantus, hoc anno:

et de xiv*s.* solutis *Margerie Warde* pro reparatione xxi caparum, ecclesie hoc anno: [et de iv*d.* solutis famulo domini de *Malahide*, solventi computanti solutiones pro decimis de *Malahide*, hoc anno, pro vino:] et de iii*s.* iv*d.* solutis *Johanni White* pro capite *Paschalis* sive case dicti capitis, hoc anno: et de iii*s.* iv*d.* solutis aurifabro pro auro ad auriendam patenam calicis summi altaris hoc anno: item et de "sanding et gylding" ejusdem patene xv*d.* et *Thome Schirbourne* pro elevatione plumbi ecclesie i*d.* hoc anno: et de xii*s.* solutis uni latomo pro factura "le mownell" fenestre nove et positione ejusdem in loco suo, hoc anno.

Summa iii*l.* xviii*s.* ix*d.*

Et idem Computans petit allocari de ii*s.* solutis uni carpentario, quatuor diebus, super scalas solij crucifixi, et de iv*d.* solutis uni servienti sibi, uno die: et de xxi*d.* solutis pro petra ferri, et compositione ejusdem, et compositione quorundam instrumentorum, vocatorum "weggis," ad frangendum lapides ad opus solij crucifixi: et de iii*s.* iii*d.* solutis pro equo ad vehenda dicta instrumenta ferri ad *Holmepatrik*, et expensis equi et hominis, ii diebus, et pro mundatione lapidicinij ibidem laborantibus: et de xv*d.* solutis pro uno lapide igneo ad faciendum caminum in domo *Katherine Aylmer*, et uni latomo et ejus famulo uno die componendo dictum caminum, hoc anno: et de x*d. ob.* solutis pro mundatione clausure et porte *Sti. Patricij*, ii diebus uni carriario, hoc anno: et de i*d. ob.* solutis disponentibus pulpitum, die *Palmarum*: et de ii*s.* solutis *Johanni Sowter* pro emundatione aquile et candelabrorum ecclesie, hoc anno: et de ii*s.* solutis *Rogero Broun* et *Georgio*, clericis, pro mundatione ecclesie, hoc anno: et de x*d.* solutis pro mundatione vasis olei, et pro oleo, et campane mutatione a fonte ad locum in quo jam collocatur: et de i*d.* soluto cuidam distribuenti panes pauperibus die *Parasceues*: et de i*d.* pro mundatione pinnaculorum chori: et de iii*s.* vi*d.* uni aurige cum vehiculo suo, portando lapides de *Holmepatrik* ad fenestram novam hoc anno: et de iv*d.* solutis pro capite unius "scoyll" ferri et pro "sope' et uni latimo in servitia: et de viii*d.* solutis uni latomo et ejus famulo reparando caminum domus cum *Petro Wolff*: et de xii*d.* solutis *Petro Wolff* pro mundatione ecclesie, hoc anno: et de ii*s.* ii*d.* solutis uni latomo transeunti cum curru pro "le monell" ad *Holmepatrik*, et pro compositione capitis fenestre nove, et uni laboratori uno die sublevando fenestram et pro uno "scafoll": et de iii*s.* vi*d.* solutis uni carpentario et ejus famulo tribus diebus laborando in solio crucifixi, carpentario capiente per diem viii*d.* et famulo suo vi*d.* hoc anno: et de vii*s.* solutis uni carpentario et ejus famulo, super fumeralia camere domini *Nicolai Boys* et *Thome Schirbourne*, vi diebus, hoc anno, capiendis, ut supra: et de ii*s.* solutis uni fabro pro factura trium petrarum ferri ad opus domorum ecclesie: et de iv*d.* solutis pro iv anulis iv "platis" et iv "gogownys," ad fumerale *Nicolai Boys*: et de v*d.* solutis pro iv*lb.* "talowe" ad rudera opelle *Roberti Androwe*: et de i*d.* soluto pro reportatione pulpitis in domum operarij ecclesie hoc anno: et de xi*d.* solutis uni latomo et ejus servitori ponendo cementum inter plumbum et ecclesiam, i die: et de iv*d.* solutis laboratori emundando supra cameras magistri *Willielmi Walsh*, Prebendarij de *Tipper*: et de v*d.* pro bithumine ad organa: et de iii*d.* solutis pro liquefactione cere paschalis, ponderationis v petrarum cere et fracta fumoralia domini *Nicolai Boys*: et de xvi*d.* solutis pro locatione lichnium ad ceram per totum annum: et de iii*d. ob.* solutis pro "a lach" ad hostium organi, et uni homini ad superius levandum fenestram vitream novam, hoc anno: et de vii*s.* viii*d.* solutis pro stramine ad domum *Rogeri Broun*, et compositione ejusdem straminis, et pro reparatione unius "le gowte" in eodem domo: et de ii*s.* iv*d.* solutis duobus hominibus, iii diebus mundando subter cameram *Ricardi Trevers* hoc anno: et de ii*s.* solutis duobus latomis, ii diebus super eadem camera: et de xvi*d.* solutis *Gory* latomo super eandem cameram, duobus diebus, hoc anno: et de x*d.* pro iii *lb.* "pewtyr" ad dictam novam fenestram etc: et idem computans petit allocationem de xiii*s.* iv*d.* solutis magistro *Thome Walsh* Notario, pro ingrossatione hujus compoti et pro parcameno, incausto, et scriptura ejusdem, hoc anno. Summa iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d. ob.*

Et idem Computans petit allocari de vi*s.* viii*d.* pro decimis *Sancti Kevini* allocatis Precentori, pro causa, eo quod nimis care sibi videbantur isto anno: et allocari petit idem computans de xx*s.* allocatis Rectori de *Houth* pro manso juxta ffontem *Sancti Patricij*, eo quod dictus Rector solebat presenti anno ludere ad organa: item, idem computans petit allocationem de xl*s.* pro alteragiis *Sancti Nicolai* infra ecclesiam *Sancti Patricij*, ubi oneratur ut supra; cum iv*l.* non potuit habere a domino *Ricardo Derpatrik*, nisi tum xl*s.* per decretum capituli: et petit allocari pro camera juxta portam *Sancti Patricij*, per tres terminos vacua v*s.* ubi oneratur computans cum vi*s.* viii*d.* non habuit nisi xx*d.*: et de ii*s.* petit allocari, pro domo *Johannis White* per terminum vacantem, ubi computans oneratur cum viii*s.* non habuit nisi vi*s.* etc. Summa iii*l.* xiii*s.* viii*d.*

Summa oneris hujus anni - - viii^{xx} iv*l.* vii*d. ob.*
Summa solution. et in alloc: petita vi^{xx} xii*l.* xv*s.* ii*d.*

Et nos, *Nicholaus Kerdyff*, Cancellarius Ecclesie Cath. suprascripte; et Magister *Galfridus Ffyche*, Archidiaconus *Glindelac.* Auditores hujus compoti, per Decanum et Capitulum assignati, invenimus predictum computantem bene et fideliter computasse: et ideo computatis computandis et allocatis allocandis, dictus computans repertus est in arreragiis xxxi*l.* v*s.* v*d. ob.*

Ecclesia debet Computatori xvii*s.* vii*d. ob.*

Res aromaticæ.

[a] [b] Feretra, continentia reliquias sanctorum, circumferri solebant cum processionibus ad corrogandas eleemosynas in reædificationem ecclesiarum, aut in alias necessitates.

[c] Vexilla, cruces &c. efferebantur cum cereis et funalibus in publicis stationibus seu processionibus.

[d] Straguli lectarij species.

N. B. Verba, uncis inclusa, delenter in MS.

SECT. II.

Pars altera computi Procuratoris Œconomie; A. D. MDLV. *scilicet, de expensis effusis.* Ex. Orig: Rot. penes Decanum.

Computans petit allocationem de xlvi*l.* solutis "for a suit rede cloath of gold with three coopes:" et de xii*l.* solutis pro iibus tapis de "read clouth of gold": et de vi*l.* pro una tapa de "blue cloath of golde" et de iv*l.* x*s.* solutis pro una tapa: de "whit bauderken": et de xxx*l.* solutis pro duobus pannis pro summo altare: et de xii*l.* pro ii "le suites de damaske" bis tinctis, cum una tapa: et de ix*l.* solutis pro alia "le suit de white damaske" cum una tapa: et de iii*l.* solutis pro le suite de rubro "bauderken:" et de iv*l.* x*s.* solutis pro le suite de "blue bauderkin" cum una tapa: et de vi*l.* solutis pro iv albis tapis de "bauderkin:" et de xiii*l.* x*s.* solutis pro vii tapis de "blue bauderkin": et de vi*l.* solutis iii crucibus: et de xxx*s.* solutis pro ii thurribulariis: et de xl*s.* solutis pro ii "le paxbordes": et xx*s.* solutis pro una ymagine resurrectionis *Xti*: et ii*s.* vi*d.* pro una nave pro thure: et de vii*l.* x*s.* pro ii anthiphonariis cum aliis ii libris: et de xxx*s.* solutis pro una canali: de xxx*s.* solutis pro uno pallio de "black damask": et de vii*l.* x*s.* solutis pro aliis ii antiphonariis: et de vii*l.* x*s.* solutis pro ii tapis de le "rede velvet": et de iii*l.* solutis pro una tapa de "murry damask:" et de v*l.* solutis clerico Secretarii pro expeditione literarum domini Regis domine Regine: et de iv*l.* x*s.* solutis pro carragio premissorum de *Londino* ad *Chester*: et de iii*l.* solutis pro "shippe freight" de *Chester* ad *Dublin*: et de iii*l.* iii*s.* solutis pro vi^{c}. de auro pictoris: et de xxx*s.* pro uni panno ad altare cum leonibus: et de vii*s.* vi*d.* pro una pecia de "blue buckeram" solutis.

Et de expensis effusis circa reparationem summi altaris, viz: de vi*l.* xix*s.* ii*d.* solutis carpentariis: et de vii*s.* iii*d.* solutis pro clavis magnis et parvis: de iii*s.* pro una tabula pro medio throno: et de vi*d.* pro dim: lib: de "glue": et de ii*s* vi*d.* solutis duobus latrinis laborantibus circa summum altare: de xv*s.* solutis pro ymagine *Sti. Petri*: de iii*s.* ix*d.* solutis pro carriagio ejusdem de *Chester*: de xiv*s.* vi*d.* solutis pro reparatione caparum et vestimentorum hoc anno: de xviii*d.* solutis pro philo: de xii*s.* vi*d.* solutis pro l virgatis de "vestiment laces": de vii*s.* solutis pro xiv "yardes de silke laces": pro navigio pictoris et sui servi vii*s.* vi*d.*: de iii*s.* pro fabricatione iii albarum: et de iv*s.* solutis pro viii virgis panni linei, pro ii suppelliciis puerorum: de xii*d.* pro fabricatione eorundem: de xl*s.* solutis pictori et suo servo pro xx diebus: de xl*s.* pro refectione eorundem per unam mensem: de vii*s.* vi*d.* pro una lagena olei pictoris: de xlii*s.* x*d.* solutis pro argento pictoris et coloribus: et de iii*s.* iv*d.* solutis pro ii lignis ad fabricam summi altaris.

Et petit allocationem de xl*l.* solutis iv parvis canonicis, pro salario suo hoc anno: et de iv*l.* solutis vicariis Decani et Precentoris, hoc anno: et de x*l.* xi*s.* *Will. Browne* Organiste: de liii*s.* iv*d.* solutis magistro choristarum: et de iv*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* solutis *Thome Edward* Sacriste, pro sua pencione: et de vi*l.* solutis *Nicho. Mangan*, clerico *Beate Marie*: de iii*l.* xvi*s.* viii*d.* solutis *Laurentio White*, clerico chori, et pro compositione cere: de vi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* solutis *Patricio Dowdall*, bedello et registrario capituli: de xiii*s.* iv*d.* solutis pro custodia horrolagii: de vi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.* solutis pro procuratione Archiepiscopi: de xxii*s.* vi*d.* solutis pro subsidio domini Regis: de xvi*s.* solutis pro pane et vino ad celebrandum: ix*l.* v*d.* solutis pro salario choristarum hoc anno: de iii*s.* iv*d.* pro rasura eorundem: de x*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* solutis pro refectione choristarum et puerorum a die restitutionis ecclesie per idem tempus: de iv*l.* solutis pro salario Procuratoris: et de vi*s.* viii*d.* solutis doctori *Standyshe* predicatori in die *Sti. Patricii*.

Item petit allocationem de x*l.* xvii*s.* ii*d.* solutis pro cera; viz. pro ix.^{xx} xi*l.* ultra xx*l.* cere quas *Edw. Deuenyshe* dedit Ecclie: de v*s.* vi*d.* solutis pro lichinis hoc anno: de xii*d.* pro pinguedine, de xii*s.* solutis operario, tam circa compositionem cere quam circa necessaria ecclesie, (prout patet per particul. cum computante remanen.): de xii*d.* solutis pro glebis et carbonibus: de xvii pro calce hoc anno: de ii*s.* pro zabulo, hoc anno: de xxx*s.* vi*d.* pro tegulis, viz. iii^{M}. et pro carriagio et numeratione earundem: de iii*s.* solutis pro iv^{M}. "sclat pynnes": de viii*s.* solutis pro "lathe nayles" et aliis clavis: de xxxi*s.* vi*d.* solutis tegulatori pro xxxi diebus et dim.: de vi*l.* viii*s.* solutis pro ii. "le crybbes" vitri: de xix*s.* solutis pro xix*l.* "de sawder": de xxvi*s.* solutis pro x petris plumbi: et de xxxiii*s.* solutis pro vi petris ferri ad faciendum pagulas fenestris: de xx*s.* viii*d.* solutis pro fabricatione predictarum pagularum: de v*l.* vi*s.* solutis pro vitriatoribus pro v^{xx} vi diebus (prout per partic. patet) de iii*s.* solutis pro iv virgis de "byrche canvas" ad claudendam fenestram borialem Ecclesie: et de xliv*s.* solutis carpentariis fabricandis diversa necessaria ad usum Ecclesie, (prout patet in libello computant.): et de vi*d.* solutis pro ablutione vestimentorum, hoc anno.

Item petit allocationem de xxv*s.* ix*d.* solutis pro pane, vino et cervisia et speciebus, in cena Domini: et de iii*s.* solutis pro parvis cordulis occupatis circa Spiritum Sanctum, in festo *Pentecostes*: item de ii*s.* solutis latomo pro clausura hostie occidentalis ecclesie: de iv*s.* solutis *Johanni Love* reparanti secundam campanam: et de xvi*d.* solutis pro ii "stockes" pro campana parvi campanilis: et de x*s.* vi*d.* solutis *Johanni Love*, pro erectione dictarum campanarum: et de v*s.* solutis pro ii "cordes" ad dictas campanas: et de ix*s.* viii*d.* solutis pro sculptura communis sigilli: et de vii*d.* solutis pro rubea cera ad sigillandum procuratorium et alia negotia: de x*s.* solutis pro reparatione ii linguarum pro campanis in magno campanile: de vi*d.* solutis pro clave ciste capelle *Beate Marie*: de iii*s.* solutis pro sigillatione unius brevis voc. "Amoveas Manus:" de ix*s.* solutis pro ii ceris una clave et ii boltis, pro porta *Sti Patricii*: de v*s.* ix*d.* solutis pro "le mattis" ad chorum: de ii*s.* vi*d.* pro breve "de sub poena"

versus firmarios Ecclesie: de iis. solutis pro copia responsionis eorum: de v solutis pro M laterum: de iiis. ivd. uni latomo eas locando: de iiis. solutis pro iii^{c} "lathes:" de viiis. xd. solutis pro xiv virgis ad faciendum unam albam: de xviiid. pro ejusdem fabricatione: de xxvis. solutis pro panno pro iii albis melioribus: de ixd. pro emendatione sere et clave domus capitularis: de ivd. ob. solutis cantoribus in die *palmarum*: de iiis. vid. solutis pro reparatione sere et clavis hostii ducentis ad capitulum: de xviiid. solutis pro reparatione unius sere et clavis in capitulum: de vid. solutis magistro *Netterville* consiliario ecclesie: de ivs. vid. solutis pro fabricatione Angeli Thurificantis in festo *Penthecostes:* de iis. iiid. pro cordis dicti Angeli: de xvid. ob. pro xi zonis ad usum missarum: de xxiiis. solutis pro pro ii "bauderkins" et reparatione magnarum campanarum: de xiiis. ivd. pro fabricatione machine campani *Sti. Johannis*: de xxxiiis. viiid. pro foedis literarum patentium: de xiiis. ivd. solutis pro irrotulamento literarum Regis et Regine: de iiis. vid. solutis pro serico pro dictis literis patentibus: de xxiiis. solutis *Johanni Wycombe* pro expeditione negociorum ecclesie in Cancelario: de vs. solutis pro ii brevibus: de xviis. solutis pro scriptura decreti: de xxxs. solutis *Patricio Dowdall* pro scriptis de "le fiant" nostre fundationis: de xvs. solutis pro scripturis diversis copiatis antique fundationis: de viis. pro copia inventarii ornamentorum et jocalium ecclesie: de viiis. pro pergameno: de iiis. pro magnis literis in fundatione: de vis. solutis pro viii "dozen" tabularum: de iiil. solutis domino *Thome Gerrot* subipodidasculo scole, hoc anno: de iiis. solutis pro seris clavibus et "le twistes" pro camera choristarum: de iiil. solutis Auditori ad exonerandum possessiones ecclesie ex libro suo: de iiis. ivd. solutis *Johanno Quatermas* atornato nostro in Scaccario: et de vil. solutis magistro *Daley* hypodasculo scole, hoc anno.

Et dictus computans petit allocationem de iiil. vis. viiid. de pencione de *Usk*, quia non recepit: et de xiiis. ivd. pro ingrossatione hujus compoti solutis: et de xlvis. *Davido Walsh* lathomo pro erectione omnium altarium Ecclesie: et de xixl. viiis. iid. solutis pro uno baculo argenteo deaurato: solutis prout per librum dicti computantis particulariter apparet.

Summa cujus, totius anni - - CCCLXXIl. Xs. IId. ob.

Summa totalis expensarum solution. et allocation. - - - CCCCXXIIIl. XIXs. IXd.

Et nos, *Gilbertus Corey*, Prebendarius de *Wicklow*, et *Nicholaus Miayse*, Prebendarius de *Castronoke*, ex parte Decani, auditores hujus Computi, per Decanum et Capitulum legie deputati, invenimus eandem computantem bene et fideliter computasse, ac etiam, computatis computandis et allocatis allocandis, illi debetur lil. ixs. viid. ob.

[a] Deficit pars prima, sive de nummis receptis, &c.

NUMBER XVIII.

College of Minor Canons, &c.

SECT. I.

Charta RICARDI TALBOT, *Archiepiscopi, super fundatione Collegii Parvorum Canonicorum et Choristarum, et pro divisione Prebende de Swerdes, &c.* A. D. MCCCCXXXI.—E regist. voc. Dign. Dec. pag. 64.

Universis Christi Fidelibus, ad quos presentes litere pervenerint: RICHARDUS, miseratione divina, *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, *Hibernie* Primas, salutem in Domino, et fidem indubiam presentibus, in perpetuam rei memoriam, firmiter adhibere.

Perfectus zelus, quem ad sponsam nostram, Ecclesiam Cathedralem *Sancti Patricij* Metropoliticam *Dublin.* ad instar Ecclesie *Sarisburiensis* in servitiis divinis institutam et fundatam, paterno semper corde gerimus: Nos, qui ob ejusdem sponse honestatem, utinam Deo acceptam, nocturnam interdum requiem interrumpimus, assidue commovit et induxit; ut in eâ per plurimorum institutionem ministrorum dicte *Sarum* Ecclesie aliquantulum conformandum pro statu quippe prospero et tranquillo ecclesie universalis, et presertim illustrissimi principis et domini nostri, Domini *Henrici*, Dei gratia, Regis *Anglie* et *Francie* ac Domini *Hibernie*, *VI.* progenitorumque suorum, necnon nostro; predecessorum quoque nostrorum, ac omnium fidelium defunctorum salute animarum, cultum divinum, quo Deus Omnipotens inter cunctas humanas operationes summe placatus, devote ipsum colentibus, de peccatis suis facilius veniam prestet, augmentaremus.

Porro, cum mente nostra hinc inde, quomodo tantum opus juste et sancte ad optatum posset perduci effectum, studio revolvimus solerti; Nos demum, prout pie credimus, per eum qui dat gratias ac largitur premia, solummodo agitati, Prebendam de *Swerdes* (cui in dictâ nostrâ ecclesiâ honorabilis vir, dominus *Willielmus Cruce*, canonico titulo, pro nunc incumbit) ad quam, propter ejus opulentiam pro premissis opportunè sic et non aliter, prescripte nostre ecclesie aliis facultatibus ad hoc non suffragantibus, perimplendum, post deliberationem et tractatum solempnes (quos, cum Capitulis Ecclesiarum nostrarum *Sancte Trinitatis* et memorate *Sancti Patricij*, circa ea omnia et singula sepius habuimus diligentes) nostrorum direximus sinceram aciem oculorum. Cujus quidem Prebende decime, fructus, redditus et proventus, multis ecclesiasticis divino officio in eâdem nostrâ ecclesia deputandis personis, proinde partiti pro victu et vestitu (absque magnâ lesione prebendarij ejusdem) satis competentes existunt; de merâ igitur liberâ et spontaneâ voluntate memorati domini *Willielmi* Prebendarij, ac communi consensu et expresso beneplacito dic-

torum Capitulorum, in prenominati cultus augmentationem sic ut prefertur, diutius a nobis speratam, licentiâ regiâ prius ad hoc gratiosè obtentâ, dividendam et diminuendam fore decrevimus; et tenore presentium (ut per hoc ministrorum in nostra, sicuti in dicta *Sarum* ecclesia in parte numerus compleatur) in perpetuum dividimus, in has que sequuntur portiones: videlicet.

Quod dictus *Willielmus*, Prebendarius dicte prebende nunc existens, et successores sui qui pro tempore fuerint, mansione de *Lassenhale* cum gardinis eidem pertinentibus, terris dominicalibus de *Lassenhale* et redditibus glebe de *Swerdes* tum et etiam parcellis decimarum de *Balymadroght*, *Lassenhale*, et terrarum vocatarum, *Les Demaynes*, tum cum omnibus juribus suis, spiritualibus et temporalibus, ex illis quoquomodo provenientibus, nomine integre Prebende, ac si nulla de hujusmodi prebenda superius recitata subtractio facta fuisset, perpetuo sit et sint tum contentus et contenti; ordinaria in toto, extraordinaria vero pro rata portionis, dictam Prebendam onera concernentia supportaturus et supportaturi. Residuumque dicte Prebende ad distribuendum et disponendum inter sex Presbyteros, qui in multis *Anglicanis* Ecclesiis, Minores Canonici, vulgo *Petycanonys* nuncupantur, nullam vocem in Capitulo prefate Ecclesie, nec certa stalla in Choro ejusdem habituros, perpetuo tamen tempore in dicta nostra Ecclesia duraturos. Sex quoque Choristas cantores, secundum usum et constitutionem dictarum, *Sarum* et nostre, Ecclesiarum, totiens quotiens necessitas suaserit, successive (preter et ultra numerum in predicta nostra ecclesia hac vice servientium) in forma predicta admittendos et instituendos taliter, Decano et Capitulo Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij* predicte damus et concedimus per presentes. Ita quod duo de illis canonicis minoribus, viz. Subdecanus, et Succentor sex per equales portiones ultra eorum stipendium antiquitus consuetum; ceterorumque quatuor Canonicorum Minorum quilibet decem, Choristarum vero predictorum quilibet quatuor, perpetuis temporibus, annuatim et non minus, marcas habeant et habeat, monete *Anglicane*, pro eorum victu et vestitu, ad deserviendum Deo in predicta nostra Ecclesia *Sancti Patricij*, prout constitutiones inde fiende plenius exigent et requirent. Viginti tamen marcis de dicto residuo deductis et exceptis, quas reverendo viro magistro *Nicholao Monagh*, Precentori pro nunc ejusdem nostre Ecclesie, ut ipse uberioris doni commodo suffultus, statum suum laudabiliter (ut verum fateamur) usque modo continuatim decentius in Dei laudem, Ecclesieque decorem valeat conservare, ordinavimus, et de dictorum *Willielmi* Prebendarij et Capituli etiam expresso consensu annuatim persolvi, quoad vixerit, per presentes ordinamus; post ejus vero obitum, dicte nostre Ecclesie luminaribus, aut aliis utilitatibus, juxta dispositionem Capituli prelibati, in perpetuum applicandum.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum, has literas nostras, sigillo nostro, quo utimur ad majora, unacum memorati *Willielmi* Prebendarij, Capitulorumque nostrarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium predictarum sigillorum appensione, fecimus communiri; sub anno Domini, Millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo primo, mensis vero ffebruarij die quarta.

SECT. II.

Constitutiones Parvorum Canonicorum et Choristarum, Ecclesie Sti. Patricii Dub. A.D. MCCCCXXXII. Ex ipso Autographo. [a]

Universis Christi fidelibus has nostras Constitutiones et Ordinationes visuris aut audituris: RICARDUS, permissione divina, *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, *Hibernie* Primas, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

Ad vestre universitatis notitiam in memoriale perpetuum volumus devenire, quod, cum dudum super residuo in divisione Prebende de *Swerdys*, nostre diocesis, ad augmentationem cultus Divini in Ecclesia nostra Cathedrali *St. Patricij, Dublin.* perpetuo habendam, sufficienter facta, venerabilibus fratribus nostris, Decano et Capitulo memorate Ecclesie post portionem Prebendarij ipsius Prebende presentis et successorum suorum assignatam, applicato, sex Minores alias Parvos Canonicos et sex Choristas inter cetera deputavimus sub certa forma ibidem expressata perpetuis futuris temporibus fore supportandos: asserentes pro tunc in eadem, prefatos Minores Canonicos et Choristas in divinis officiis in dicta nostra ecclesia noctanter et dierum exercendis, juxta constitutiones nostras inde fiendas, imposterum astringi et regulari debere. Unde, ad honorem Dei Patris Omnipotentis et Gloriose Virginis Matris sue *Beate Marie*, Beatorumque Apostolorum *Petri* et *Pauli*, atque patroni nostri *Sancti Patricij*, auctoritate nostra ordinaria, cum consensu memoratorum fratrum nostrorum, Decani et Capituli expresso, statuimus et ordinamus:

Inprimis, quod prefati canonici presentes et futuri, singulis diebus in omnibus diurnis officiis, nocturnis vero in festis majoribus duplicibus, novem lectionum et commemorationibus, missisque Beate Virginis in festis duplicibus et diebus dominicis omnes, et duo eorum ad minus, in aliis singulis diebus, cum vicariis et choristis in predicta nostra choro intersint cathedrali ecclesia. Pro absentia autem ipsorum in vesperis matutinis, seu alta missa aut Beate Virginis, in festis majoribus duplicibus, et diebus dominicis, in quatuor, aliis vero temporibus in diebus necnon pro qualibet horarum aliarum, in uno, singulariter tociens quociens, puniendi denariis.

Item, quod alta missa ad summum altare per unum ex eis, nisi majorem canonicum illam celebrare contingat, omni die per annum, sub pena duodecim denariorum, decantetur. Et, quod singulis eciam sextis feriis, unus eorum cum choristis in solio sancte Crucis coram crucifixo, missam de sancta cruce, sub pena simili, cum nota decantet.

Item, quod unus eorum qualibet secunda feria pro statu illustrissimi principis et domini nostri *Henrici Sexti* Regis *Anglie*, fundatoris dicte nostre ecclesie, nostri, confratrumque nostrorum canonicorum ecclesie nostre predicte presentium et futurorum, ipsiusque illustrissimi domini nostri Regis anima, nostraque, confratrumque nostrorum predictorum, cum ab hac luce nos et eos migrare contigerit, ac omnium fidelium defunctorum, missam de defunctis, sub pena consimili, celebret animabus. Quodque choriste diurnis et nocturnis officiis intersint in choro, ad dispositionem seu limitationem Precentoris aut Succentoris: pro eorum vero absentiis et aliis excessibus per eum semper puniendi et corrigendi.

Item, quod predictorum Canonicorum institutio et destitutio, perpetuis futuris temporibus, spectet et pertineat ad Decanum et Capitulum: Choristarum vero admissio, ordinatio et destitutio ad Precentorem: Et, quod predicti Canonici ex causis consimilibus ex quibus vicarij predicte nostre ecclesie sint solum amovibiles, seu eorum officiis privabiles.

Item statuimus, et firmiter observari mandamus, quod predictis sex parvis canonicis, pro eorum serviciis et laboribus Deo et ecclesie nostre memorate, ut premittitur, impendendis, solvatur fideliter et indilate, singulis quarteriis, per annum, continue per manus yconomi, qui in ecclesia nostra predicta pro tempore fuerit, quarta portio stipendiorum suorum, viz. Subdecano et Succentori, ultra eorum stipendium antiquitus consuetum, viginti solidi: et ceteris quatuor, decem marce, equaliter inter eos distribuende: et quod similis particularis solutio fiat etiam Choristis de suis stipendiis.

Item, volumus et statuimus, quod predicti parvi canonici in hujusmodi penas pecuniarias, de quibus superius cavetur, non incidant, nisi quum necligenter absque causa rationabili, aut sine licentia Decani, ejusve vicem-gerentis, eos a choro temporibus debitis abesse contigerit: et quod tunc predicte pene commisse de eorum stipendiis defalcentur; et utilitati ecclesie nostre memorate juxta dispositionem Decani et Capituli applicentur.

Item, quod in vestibus et habitibus honestis incedant; et si contrarium fecerint per memoratum Decanum corrigantur et puniantur.

Item quod presentes Parvi Canonici et futuri, has nostras constitutiones, firmiter, pro parte eorum sub juramento observare promittant, aut aliter non recipiantur nec admittentur.

Si quis autem has nostras constitutiones et ordinationes, ausu temerario infringere aut violare prosumserit, sententiam excommunicationis ipso facto se noverit incursurum. In cujus rei testimonium, presentibus sigillum nostrum quo ad majora utimur, unacum sigillo Capituli Ecclesie nostre predicte presentibus opponi procuravimus—Datum in domo capitulari nostre ecclesie memorate, nono die julij, anno Domini, millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo secundo.

[a] Extat etiam exemplar in regist. voc. Dign Dec. pag. 273, manu propria Rev. *Joan. Lyon* scripta.

SECT. III.

Charta Regis HENRICI VIII. *pro incorporando Canonicos Minores et Choristas.* A. D. MDXIX. Ex originale.[a]

HENRICUS, Dei gratia, Rex *Anglie*, *Francie* et Dominus *Hibernie*, Omnibus, ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem.

Sciatis, quod nos ad instantiam et requisitionem Parvorum Canonicorum et Choristarum, existentium in Ecclesia Cathedrali *Sancti Patricij*, *Dublin.* in terra nostra *Hibernie*, et ad Dei laudem et honorem, ac, ut participes simus de meritis et orationibus ipsorum, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu, nostris, licentiam dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dictis Parvis Canonicis ac Choristis Ecclesie Cathedralis *Sancti Patricij* predicte, et eorum successoribus, imperpetuum; quod ipsi et successores sui, sint persone habiles et capaces ad impetrandum, recipiendum et acquirendum, ac recipere et acquirere possint, eis et successoribus suis, terras et tenementa, redditus et servicia, ac advocationes, ecclesias, vicarias et capellas et alias possessiones et jura spiritualia et temporalia ac mixta, ad valorem decem librarum sterlingorum, infra terram nostram *Hibernie*, ultra omnia onera et reprizas; licet imediate de nobis et heredibus nostris, seu de aliis quibuscunque per servicium militare, vel in socagio, serjantia, jure patronatus vel burgagio seu aliter qualitercunque teneantur—Ac etiam damus et concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod dicti Parvi Canonici ac Choriste sint unum Corpus Corporatum, habeantque successionem perpetuam: et insuper, quod dicti Parvi Canonici et Choriste et successores sui habeant commune sigillum, pro negotiis suis agendis: et quod ipsi et successores sui, placitare possint et implacitari, et prosequi omnimodas causas, querelas, demandas et actiones, reales et personales et mixtas, in locis et curiis quibuscunque cujuscumque generis sint, vel nature. Et quod agere, respondere et defendere valeant et possint in eisdem, coram judicibus tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus aut secularibus quibuscunque imperpetuum, tenore presentium; absque aliquo fine inde magno vel parvo in hanaperio nostro terre nostre *Hibernie*, seu aliter ad opus nostrum seu heredum nostrorum reddendo seu solvendo, et absque aliquibus aliis literis nostris patentibus, aut aliqua inquisitione super aliquo brevi de "ad quod damnum," vel aliquo alio mandato regio in hac parte habendo, prosequendo seu capiendo; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis, aut eo quod expressa mentio de certitudine premissorum, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos aut aliquem progenitorum nostrorum prefatis Parvis Canonicis ac Choristis et eorum successoribus, in presentibus minime factis existit; aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione vel provisione, in contrarium facto, edito, ordinato aut

proviso, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacumque, in aliquo non obstante.

In cujus rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste, carissimo consanguineo nostro *Geraldo* Comite *Kildarie*, Deputato nostro terre nostre *Hibernie*. Datum, decimo die septembris, anno regni nostri undecimo.

Per billam ipsius Regis, manu propria signatam.

[a] Exstat exemplar in Dign. Dec. pag. 271, per Rev. *Joan. Lyon*, manu propria scripta.

Irrotulata fuit septimo die Augusti 16. Geo. II. 2. p. Rot. 42. facie.

Number XIX.

College of Vicar's Choral.

SECT. I.

Ecclesia de Keneth, seu Kinneigh, donata Vicariis per Henricum *Archiepiscopum, circa annum,* MCCXX. Ex Alani regist. fol. 21.

Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie Filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, H. Dei gratia *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus salutem in eo, qui salvat sperantes in se.

Universis ex serie Sacre Scripture lucide liquet intelligentibus, quod non est volentis velle, nec currentis currere, sed Dei volentis et Dei miserantis; volentes tamen, quantum in nobis est, ex ejus miseratione qui dat incrementum, Ecclesiam *Beati Patricij Dublin.* diebus nostris inchoatam promovere, felicem a Domino expectantes consummationem, constituimus in eadem, (ne in aliquo *Beati Petri* vacillet navicula,) viros tam majores quam minores, vita, moribus et scientia probatos; et inter cetera, si quidem beneficia eidem Ecclesie pro possibilitate nostra collata, dedimus et concessimus eisdem, Ecclesiam de *Keneth* cum pertinentiis suis, in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, convertendam in communiam vicariorum in eadem, Deo et *Sancte Marie* et *Beato Petro* ac *Beato Patricio*, patrono nostro, devote, secundum constitutionem ejusdem ecclesie servientium ibidem: ut laborantibus quidem, et vigilantibus prosint jura ut debetur corona—Ut igitur hec nostra donatio futuris temporibus robur perpetuo firmitatis optineat, eam presentis scripti attestatione et sigilli nostri appositione communimus. Hiis Testibus, &c.

SECT. II.

Aythdeere, donata Vicariis, servientibus ad missam B. Marie Virginis, per Lucam *Archiepiscopum, circa annum* MCCXL—Ex Al. regist. fol. 21.

Universis Christi Fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis: Lucas, Dei gratia, *Dublin* Archiepiscopus, salutem eternam in Domino. Noveritis, nos, divine caritatis intuitu, dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti charta nostra confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie *Sancti Patricij Dublin.* Ecclesiam de *Aythdeere*, videlicet, ad luminare altaris *Beate Marie Virginis* in eadem Ecclesia quinque marcas, et residuum Vicariis missam *Beate Marie Virginis* frequentantibus, tenendam et possidendam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam; salvis nobis et successoribus nostris jure pontificali et parochiali—In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

SECT. III.

Area quædam terræ juxta Ecclesiam, donata Vicariis per Lucam *Archiepiscopum; circa annum* MCCXLIV. Ex Al. regist. fol. 21.

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie Filiis, presens scriptum inspecturis vel audituris: Lucas, miseratione divina, *Dublin.* Archiepiscopus, et ejusdem loci Decanus et Capitulum, eternam in Domino salutem.

Universitati vestre innotescat, Nos, ad frequentem instantiam Domini *Warini de Efissacre* tunc canonici Ecclesie *Sti Patricij Dublin.* dedisse, concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse Vicariis, qui pro tempore fuerint in predicta Ecclesia Deo ministrantes, aream quandam in gardino, quod memoratus *Warinus* tunc a dicta ecclesia *S. Patricij* habuit et tenuit, sitam sicut eisdem Vicariis divisa fuit et perambulata, ad edificia sibi ibidem construenda, ut honestius juxta Ecclesiam habitantes, divinis obsequiis commodius interesse, habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis a Capitulo *Sancti Patricij* in perpetuum, libere et quiete, absque omni servitio seculari.

Dicti quidem Vicarii pro se et successoribus suis, Divine pietatis intuitu, gratis promiserunt, quod unam missam in eadem Ecclesia pro animabus patrum et matrum L. *Dublin.* Archiepiscopi et ejusdem *Warini*, et etiam pro animabus eorundem, cum ipsos contingat decedere, singulis diebus in perpetuum facient celebrari; in anniversariis quoque omnibus predictis in prefata Ecclesia, classicum solemne facient pulsari, necnon et missam pro ipsis solemniter celebrari. Annuerunt etiam predicti Vicarij quod si, per processum temporis, in executione predicta negligenter se habuerint, Decanus ejusdem Ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerit, non obstante appellatione per substractionem beneficiorum, que iidem Vicarij in dicta Ecclesia possident, ipsos ad dictum officium exequendum libere compellere valeat. In cujus, &c.

Nota Alani.

[a] Ecce domus Vicariorum jam translata a mansa Precentoris, cujus limites contigue sunt finibus civitatis.

SECT. IV.

A Graunt for the Incorporateinge of the Viccars Choralls *of St. Patrick's, Dublin.* From the patent roll of 16 Cha. I.

Charles by the grace of God, Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender

of the faith, &c. to all men to whome these presents shall come, greeteing. Knowe yee that wee, of our special grace, certaine knowlege and meere motion, and by the advice, assent and consent of our right-trustie and wel-beloved councellor Christopher Wandesford, Esquier, our Deputie of our kingdome of Ireland, and other our Comissioners accordinge to the intent and effect of our comission under our great seale of England, bearing date at our pallace of Westminister in our realme of England, the twentieth day of March in the fiefteenth yeare of our raigne, as well for and in consideration of the fine or sume of seaventeene pounds three shillings nyne pence currant and lawfull mony of England, by our wel-beloved subject, Zachary Turnpeny for and in the behalfe of the societie, or corporation, or reputed societie, or corporation of Viccars Choralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, well and trulye payd to our use, before the sealeinge of these our letters pattents into the receipt of our Exchequer, of our saide kingdome of Ireland, that is to saie, into the hands of our Vice-thesaurer or General-receaver of our said realme of Ireland; as likewise for and in consideration of the rents, services, reservations and chardges in these presents reserved, have constituted, ordained and appointed, and for us, our heires and successors by this royall charter and graunt, doe constitute, ordaine and appointe, that the saide societie or corporation of Viccars Choralls aforsaid and theire successors for ever hereafter bee, and shal bee in name, and in deed, a reall bodie corporate and pollitique, bee they nowe a body pollitique and corporate or not, and shal have perpetuall succession for ever, and shal be called and nominated by the name of the Viccars Choralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and shall consist of the number of twelve persons to continue in succession for ever, of which number, five at least to be allwayes Preists and the Dean's Viccar of St. Patrick's, Dublin, aforesaid, shall alwayes bee one of the sayd five and chiefe of the sayd corporation of Viccars Choralls, who shall and is to have a yearely stipend or salarie of ten pounds per annum above the rest of the said Viccars out of the rents and reveneiwes of the said corporation of Viccars Choralls to him and his successors, Deanes Viccars of St. Patrick's aforsaide, for ever.

And for the more full and perfect erection of the saide corporation and body pollitique of Viccars Choralls aforsaid, to consist, continue, and be of the saide number of twelve persons as aforesaid, and to be called and knowne by the name of Viccars Choralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's Dublin, wee of our more speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, and by the advice and consent aforesaide, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the sayde comission, and for the considerations aforsaid, doe by theis presents for us, our heires and successors, create, make, ordaine, constitute, nominate and appointe the ensueing persons to be the first and nowe Viccars Choralls of the saide corporation, and to be nominated and styled for ever in maner followeinge, that is to saie, the sayd Zachary Turnpenny to be nominated and styled Deane's Viccar; Leonard Cotten, Chaunter's Viccar; Peeter Stringer, Chauncelor's Viccar; Laurence Woogan, Threasurer's Viccar; John Tatpole, Archdeacon of Dublin's Viccar; John Hadock, Bartholomewe Jordan, John Williams, John Jobson, Daniell Wyborrowe, William Ballard, Richard Dagnall and William Bettinge, (which two last named, are, for the present, to have but onely one full Viccar's place betweene them,) And that the successors of everie the saide Viccar's Choralls, before named, who shall succeede in his or there place uppon the removeall, avoydall or death of any of the saide Viccars, shall from tyme to tyme for and att all tymes ever heareafter, have the name and stile heere before in theis presents limitted to his predecessor Viccar in manner aforsayd, and that the said twelve persons or Viccars before mentioned and theire successors for ever shall from hencefoorth for ever be a body pollitique and corporate in name and in deede and be called and knowne in all courts and places whatsoever, and pleade and be impleaded by the name of VICCAR'S CHORALLS OF THE CATHEDRALL CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

And further, to the intent that the said corporation and body pollitique of Viccar's Choralls aforsayd, by these presents created as aforsaid, may have a perpetuall succession and continuance for ever, wee doe by these presents, for us, our heires and successors grant unto the Deane of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and his successors for ever, that the saide Deane and his successors, Deanes of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's aforesaid, for the time beinge, shall and may from tyme to time and at all tymes hereafter whensoever, and as often as any place or places of the said Viccars shall fall voyde, admitt, and place newe Viccars Chorralls in the place or places soe become voyde, as aforesaide, and the saide Viccars soe by him the saide Deane or his successors admitted and placed, as aforesaid, shall imediatly after such placeing and admission, as aforesaid, be free members of the said bodie pollitique and corporate of Viccars Chorralls aforsaide, and shall and may have and enjoy, all such, soe manie and the same liberties, priviledges, francheses and imunities, and in such and the same ample maner, as if everie of the said Viccars, soe placed and admitted as aforesaid, had beene speciallie and particulerly named in this our Royall Charter, to be of the said corporation of Viccars Corralls aforsaid. And further, wee by the advise and consent aforsaid, accordinge to the intent and effect of our saide comission and for the considerations aforsayd, doe by these presents, for us, our heires and successors fullie and absolutely make, creat, constitute, establish and unite the saide Viccars Choralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, into

one entire bodie pollitique and corporate to endure and continue for ever, and them and there successors doe hereby declare, accept and allowe for a perfect corporation and bodie pollitique for ever, and that they and theire successors shall by the name of Viccars Chorals of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, be able persons in lawe, to make all maner of contracts and graunts, and to make, receave, and take all manner of gifts, graunts and purchases as any other naturall person or bodie pollitique is able to make, receave or take by the lawes of this realme, and that they and there successors shall and may by that name impleade any other person or persons, bodies pollitique or corporate, or be impleaded in any courte or courts in all and all manner of causes and actions, reall and personall or mixt, of what kinde or nature soever, and claim and demaunde there liberties and fraunCheses before any judge or judges ecclesiasticall or secular, and otherwise doe and execute all other act and acts, thinge and things whatsoever, which any other leigemen which are enabled and made capable of the benefit of our lawes within our realme of England or Ireland, can or may lawfullye doe or execute. And likewise that the saide corporation and bodie pollitique, Viccars Choralls aforesaide, by us created as aforsaid, for ever shall have a comon sealle under which they shall passe all graunts, warrants, deeds and specialties of, for or concerneinge the said corporation which shall be ingraven with such forme and inscription as shall be devised by them the said corporation.

And further, wee for us, our heires and successors, doe by theis presents give and graunt unto the said Deane's Viccar aforenamed and his successors for ever, for the tyme beinge, that he and they respectivelye for ever shall have from tyme to time and at all tymes full power and authoritie to correct and punish all and singular the misdemenours and enormities of everie one of the saide corporation of Viccars Chorralls aforsaid which shall be comitted, or perpetrated, or donne by any of them in the saide Cathedrall Church, or in theire colledge or mansion houses, and shall have like power and authoritie with the consent and approbation of the saide Deane or Subdeane of St. Patrick's aforsaid, or in theire absence, with the consent and aprobation of the next dignitarie to them in place, of St. Patrick's aforsaide, freely and lawfullie to constitute, make and establish ordinances, statutes, orders, and by-lawes, for the good and wholesome government of the saide Viccars Chorralls in theire sayde college or mansion-houses. Provided alwayes, neverthelesse, and wee will and commaund firmely by these presents that the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors shall from time to tyme and at all times for ever hereafter be subject to the Deane or the Deane and Chapter of St. Patrick's aforsayd for the tyme beinge, for the performance of there services, and duties, and for the punishement of theire negligences, offences and enormities by mulcte, suspension, expulsion or removall of them out of theire places, as the case shall require; and that the saide Dean of St. Patrick's and his successor for ever, for the tyme beinge, in his or theire annuall visitation or visitations shall be made visitor or visitors of the saide Viccars Chorralls, and shall and may by these presents have full power and authoritie by the advise and consent of the Chaunter, Chauncelor and Threasurer of St. Patrick's aforesayde, and of the Archdeacon of Dublin, or the more parte of them, to make from tyme to tyme and at all tymes for ever, statutes, orders, by-lawes and ordinances for the better government of the sayde corporation, and the same to change, revoke, and alter at theire pleasure, as they shall see cause soe the same be not repugnant to the statutes and lawes of this Realme, and such ordinances, by-lawes, statutes and orders as shall be made to them in maner aforsaide, wee do by these presents for us, our heires and successors, ratifie, confirme and allowe as good and effectuall, to bynd all and everie members of the sayde corporation of Viccars Chorralls aforsaide, and wee doe by these presents expressly will and commaund that the same be dulie putt into execution: savinge alwaies and out of this our graunt wholelie foreprised and reserved to the saide Deane, Chaunter, Chauncellour, Threasurer and Archdeacon of Dublin aforesaide, and there successors respectivelye for ever, the nameinge of their own Viccars Chorralls in such maner as heretofore, before the sealinge hereof hath been used and accustomed.

And savinge alsoe alwaies and out of this our graunt likewise whollye foreprised and reserved to the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Arch-bishopp of Dublin, his Grace and his successors for ever, all power of visitation and correction, which formerlye, before the date of theis presents, hee and his predecessors, Archbishopps of Dublin, have hadd over the former reall or reputed corporation of Viccars Chorralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, aforsaid.

And further, wee, by these presents, for us our heires and successors, do give and graunt unto the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, aforsaid, full power and authoritie for this first tyme of settlement, to assigne and appoint unto everie of the forenamed twelve persons, by this owr royall charter incorporated unto a body politique and corporation of Viccars Chorrals as aforsaid, such competent yearelye meanes and livelyhoode as they in theire discretions, with the approbation of the Lord Deputy, or other Chiefe Governor or Governors, and Counsell of this Realme for the time being, shall think meete.

And further, of our more ample grace, certain knowlege and meare motion, and by the advice and consent aforsayd, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the said comission, and for the considerations aforsayde, we have given, graunted, bargained, soulde, confirmed and released, and by these presents doe give, graunt, bargaine, sell, confirme, and release unto Roger Vicount Ranallagh, all

the castle and house in St. Kevens-streete, in the suborbs of the cittie of Dublin, and one other house thereunto adjoineing and two other houses towards the west end of the saide castle and house enclosed within a walle leadinge to New-streete in the saide subborbs, all nowe or late in the tenure or occupation of the said Viscount Ranalagh or his undertenants.

Also, the townlands and hereditaments of Marshall-rathe in the countie of Dublin, and the smale parcells of land in Arthdirge in the saide countie, nowe or late in the tenure and occupation of the sayde Viscount Ranalagh, &c.

To hould to him, his heires and assignes for ever, of us, our heires and successors, by soccag in capite onely, and not by knyghts service in capite, nor comon knyghts service, renderinge and payeing therefore yearely unto the saide Viccars Chorralls and theire successors for ever, for all other rents and services at the feast dayes of St. Michaell the Archangell and the anunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by even and equal portions, of the annuall rent of four pounds good and lawfull monye of England.

And alsoe wee give and graunt, for us, our heires and successors, by these presents, to the saide Viccars Chorralls and there successors, and the saide Viscount Ranalagh, for him, his heires and successors, doth hereby covenaunt and graunt to and with the saide Viccars Chorralls and theire successours, that if the said rent or any parte thereof be behinde and unpayd at any of the feast daies, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Viccars Choralls and there successors from tyme to time and at all tymes for ever hereafter to enter and destraine in and uppon the premisses or any part thereof for the same and for the arrerages thereof, if any be, and of the distresses so taken, to dispose and use as in case betwene the lord and the verie tenaunts.

And moreover wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, and by the advise and consent aforesaide, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the said commission, and for the considerations aforesayd, have given, graunted, sett and to farme lett, and doe, by theis presents, for us, our heires and successors, give, graunt, sett, and to farme lett, unto the ensueinge persons hereafter named, their executors and assignes, for the severall tearms of yeares hereafter mentioned, and in maner followeing, that is to saie, unto

[Laurance Allen, [a]
one house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete,
two houses and two backsides more, in or neere St. Thomas-streete.
To have and to hould from the feast day of Easter last past, for the term of sixtie yeares, payeing therefore, yearely, unto the Viccars-Chorrals and their successors, during the said term, by equall portions, at the feaste-dayes of St. Michaell and the Annuntiation, the anuall rent in good and lawfull mony of England, of — Rent to Vicars. 5 0 0

Mary Longe alias Brown, widdowe,
one house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete, for like term, at — 3 0 0

Captaine William Meares,
one house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete, for like term - 3 6 8

Christopher Veldon,
one house and backside in saide streete, for like term - - - 40 0

Sir Robert Dyxon Knyght,
two houses and backsides in saide streete, for like term - - - 4 0 0

Thomas Skyddie,
one house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete, for like term, at 4 0 0

John Kennedye,
two houses and backsides in saide streete,
two other houses, two gardens and one orcharde, in New-street, in or nere St. Bride's parish,
and one garden in Keven's-street,
for like term, at - - - - 10 0 0

Alderman Edward Jans,
a house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete.
two other houses and a garden, in Rochell-lane, in the cittie of Dublin,
and one other house and orchard in St. Peeter de Monte in the sayd suborbs, for like term, at - - 22 0 0

James Pollexfen, Esquier,
a house and backside in St. Patrick's-streete, for like term, at - 4 10 0

Joyce Baker, Widdow,
a house and backside in saide street,
for like term, - - - - 40 0

Richard Browne,
a house and backside in the high Combe, for like term, at - - 5 0 0

Michaell Murphie,
a house and backside in the high Combe, for like term, at - - 3 0 0

William Baggott,
a house and backside in the high Combe, for like term, at - - 40 0

Robert Nicholson,
a castle and two houses in the little Combe, for like term, at - - 50 0

Alderman Robert Bennett,
three houses and backsides in the little Combe, for like term, at - 3 6 8

Alderman Richard Barrie,
a house in High-street,

	Rent to Vicars.
an orchard in St. Bride's-street, a house, backside and orchard in St. Keven's-street, for like term, at	8 0 0
Robert Kennedye, Esquier, a house and backside in St. Nicholas-street, for like term, at	6 13 4
Anthonie Doppinge, an orchard or garden whereon there are nowe two houses built, one other orchard or garden whereon their are nowe fower houses built, and one other orcharde or garden called "Barnewall's orchard," all in Bride's-streete, for like term, at	5 5 0
Thomas Lowe, two houses and backsides in St. Bride's-street, for like term, at	3 0 0
William Plunkett, Esquier, one orchard and two gardens in St. Bride's-streete, a house and backside in or neare the same street in said parish of St. Brides, and one other house and backside, in New-street, near said parish, for like term, at	6 0 0
Phillip Ferneslye, Esquier, two houses in St. Bride's-street, a garden in St. Keven's-streete, whereon five houses were built by him, for like term, at	4 0 0
Anne Howard, widdowe, a house and backside in or near St. Bride's street, in the parish of St. Bride's, for like term, at	0 16 0
Michael Dermott, an orchard in St. Bride's parish, a parke near St. Stephen's-greene, for like term, at	40 0
Alderman Edward Arthur, one orchard in St. Bride's parish, a parke without Bagan-gate, near Newe-streete, three houses and backsides, in New-street, in or neare St. Bride's parish, for like term, at	20 0 0
Thomas Collman, marchant, one house and orchard, in New-street, in or neare St. Bride's parish, for like term, at	1 0 0
Joan Cooke, a house in New-streete, for like term, at	30 0
Edmund Hughes, marchant, a house in New-st. for like term, at	40 0
William Flemeing, two houses in New-street, for like term, at	5 0 0
Richard Barnewall, marchant, foure houses and backsides in or near St. Thomas-streete, for like term, at	15 0 0

	Rent to Vicars.
Alice Browne alias Hackett, widdowe, a house and backside in or near St. Thomas-street, for like term, at	36 0
Margaret Bee, alias Fagan, foure houses and backsides in or near St. Thomas street, for like term, at	8 0 0
Robert Kennan, butcher, a house and backside in St. Frauncis-streete, for like term, at	50 0
John Foorth, one house and backside in Sheep-streete, for like term, at	40 0
Thomas Clarke, marchant, a house and garden in St. Peter de monte, for like term, at	30 0
To William Hilton, Esquier, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Alen Cooke, I.C.D. Master in Chauncerie, one house and garden in Golden-lane, in St. Bride's parish, sometime in occupation of Christ. Merrie deceased, to hold for like term of sixtie years, upon meere confidence and trust, to such use and uses, and for such estate and estates, and in such rent and in such manner, as shall be lymited and declared by his Majesties Commissioners for remedie of defective titles, after the end of a suite or differrence nowe depending before the said Commissioners, between the executors of the said Merrie and the said Viccars Chorralls, for and concerneinge a lease for * * years yett to come, of the said house and garden, in Gouldden-lane, aforesaid, claymed by the Executors of said Merrie, from the said Viccars-Chorralls.	
Dame Margerett Aungier, one parke neere White-fryers, for said term, at	33 4
Roger Viscount Ranalagh and John Bisse, Esquier, three houses and gardens in St. Keven's-streete, for said term, at	4 0 0
Frauncis Edgwoorth, widdowe, foure houses in St. Keven's-streete, for saide term, at	50 0
Michaell Gentellman, one garden in said streete, for like term, at	24 0
Thomas Dillon, two houses and one acre of meddow in the towne and fields of Ratoath, alias Rotoagh, Co. Meath, for like term, at the rent of	12 0
Ambrose Aungier, a house in Ratoath in the same county, for said term, at	10 0

	Rent to Vicars.
Mary Vian,	
a castle and eighteen acres of land, by estimation, in the town and fields of Tassagard, Countie Dublin, for said term, at - - - - -	3 10 0
Hugh Fisher, Clerk,	
one third part of the rectorie of Kinnighe, Counties Catherlagh and Kildare, for term of fortie years, at	20 0 0
Thomas Brown,	
ten acres of land, by estimation, with appurtenances, situate in the towne and fields of Clondalkan, for term of sixtie years, at - -	50 0
Thomas Beatagh,	
a house in Racoole, for like term, at	16 0
Patrick Galbally,	
the tyth of a mill and a house in Racoole, for said term, at - -	50 0
Robert Cusake, Esquier,	
a mill call'd the Way-mill, neere Harrolls-crosse, for said term, at	12 0 0
Edward Bath, Gent.	
fortie acres of land, by estimation, with appurtenances, in Howestowne, Countie Meath, for said term, at	6 13 4
Andrew Foord, Gent.	
foureteen acres of land, by estimation, one house, garden and orchard in the towne and fields of Magaddy, Countie Meath, for like term, at -	3 0 0
Christopher Velden,	
six acres of land, by estimation, with the appurtenances, in the towne and fields of Cromlin, for like term, at	30 0
George Lowther, Gent.	
the third part of the towne, village, hamlett and lands of Thorntowne, Countie Meath, for said term, at	12 0 0
William Settle, Gent.	
two houses and one acre of lande, by estimation, in the towne and fields of Killmayneham, for said term, at - - - - -	20 0
Margarett St. Laurance, alias Ilcocke, widdowe,	
all the rectorie or parsonage of St. Abanan, Co. Louth, for said term, at - - - - -	40b 0 0
James Walshe, Esquier,	
fourscore acres of land, by estimation, with the appurtenances, in the towne and fields of Shaungenaugh or Shangena-duffe, for like term, at	10 0 0
George Forster, Esquier,	
twoe houses and twoe acres, in the town and fields of Escar and Lucan, for said term, at - - - -	4 0 0
Andrewe Babe,	
two ridges of lande, by estimation, in St. George's Parke,	
and two gardens, with the appurtenances in the town and fields of Ardee, Co. Loueth, for said term, at	20 0
Thomas Fitz-Symons, Gent.	
one tenement, one acre of land, and the tythe of the Battle-parke, in the towne and fields of Swoords, for like term, at - - - -	30 0
Thomas Wilson, Deane of Fearnes,	
all the rectorie and tythes of Gallrastowne, Co. Dublin, for like term, at - - - - - - -	4 10 0
Roger Garland,	
all and singular the towne, village, hamlet, lands, &c. of Christianstowne, Co. Louth, for like term, at	12 0 0]

Provided allwayes, and wee further give and graunt, for us, our heires and successors, by these presents, unto the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, that if any the said rents, hereby reserved and limitted to be payd, for and out of the severall demised premises, for the severall tearms of yeares aforsaid, unto the said Viccars Chorralls, in manner aforesaid, or any part or parts thereof, bee in arreare behind and unpayd by the space of three weekes, next after any of the said feast dayes of St. Michaell the Archangel and the Annuntiation aforsaid; that then and soe often, there shall be paid to the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors, as often as the same shall be behinde and unpayd, as aforesaid, by way of "nomine penæ," by the tenaunts and occupiers of the said demised premises and theire assignes, respectively, after the rate of two shillings english mony in the pounde, for soe much of everie of the said rents or any part thereof, as shall be soe in arreare or unpaid as aforsaid, and for soe often as the same shall be soe behind and unpaide in manner aforsaid: and if by the space of six weekes next after any of the said feast daies, any of the same rents or any part thereof be behind and unpayd, that then and soe often as it shall be soe behinde and unpaide, there shall be payd, as aforesaid, after the rate of foure shillings in the pound, by way of "nomine penæ:" and if by the space of six moneths after any of the said feaste dayes the same be unpayde as aforesaid, that then and soe often as it shall be soe behinde and unpaid, it shall and may be lawfull too and for the said Viccars Choralls and theire successors, for ever, as often, to re-enter into all and singuler such of the said severall demised premisses and every part thereof, for and out of which the said rents or any parte thereof, soe unpayd, as aforesaid, shall be due, payable and in arreare, to the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors, as aforesaid, as into theire reversion or reversions, and the same to reposesse and to have and enjoy and to hould, to them the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, to there proper use and behoofe for ever; as if the severall graunts and demises, aforsaid, of

the said demised premisses had beene determined and expired by efluxion of time; any thinge before in these presents contained or specified to the contrarie thereof notwithstanding.

And further, wee, of oure speciall grace, certaine knowledge and mere motion, and by the advice and consent aforesaid, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the said comission, and for the considerations aforesaid, have given, graunted, bargained and sould, confirmed and released, and by these presents doe give, graunt, bargaine and sell, confirme and release, for us, our heires and successors, unto the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, for ever, all and singular and everie, as well our reversion and reversions of all and singular the houses, messuages, gardens, backsides, lands, tenements and hereditaments, hereby before graunted and demised for the said severall tearmes of yeares, in manner aforsaid, and the rents, reservations and services in or upon the said demised premisses reserved or mentioned to be reserved to the said Viccars Chorralls aforsaid, and all other the rents, reservations and services, profitts and comodities, thereuppon dependinge or expectant, or thereunto belongeing, or therewith used or occupied, with all and everie theire rights, members, and appurtenances and appendants whatsoever, as likewise the ensueinge parcells in possession; that is to saie,

[One house in St. Bride-streete, nowe or late in the tenure and occupation of Antonie Doppinge.

A waste plott of ground in or near Thomas-streete, nowe or late in the tenure and occupation of Lamorathe Nottingham.

All the tythe haye of all the towne and lands of Ballyeith, in Co. Dublin.

The rectorie of the towne and land of Athderge, in the said Countie.

The smale tythes of the towne and lands of Rathbeale, in the said Countie.

One house, with the lands thereunto belongeinge, in the towne and fields of Dowleeke, Co. Meath.

A yearely chief rent of two shillings and six pence out of certaine lands, called Pettie Canons lands, in the towne and fields of Tallagh, in the said Countie of Dublin.

One plott of ground whereupon was lately a water mill, called Fitz Symons mill, in the said Countie of Dublin.

The cheefe rent of foure pounds english, issuinge out of the said castle in Kevin's-street and the said houses thereto adjoyneinge, and out of other two houses towards the west end of the said castle and house, and enclosed within a walle leadinge unto New-streete aforsaid, in the saide Countie of Dublin, and out of the said towne and land of Marshall-Rath, and out of the said smale parcels of land in Athderge, in the said Countie of Dublin.

And alsoe the Viccars Colledge, comonly called the Colledge-house of the said Viccars Chorralls.

One other house and breue-house neere the said colledge, now or late in the tenure and occupation of the Ladye Elizabett Smyth, widdowe, all lyeinge and beinge neere the said Cathedrall Church of St. Patricke, in the suborbs of Dublin:]

With all and singuler other, the lands, tenements, tithes, rights, priviledges, hereditaments and appurtenances, of what nature, kinde, sorte, qualitie or condition soever, to the premisses, or any part or parcell thereof, belongeing, or in any wise appertaineing or reputed to be belongeinge or in any wise appertaineinge, or therewith occupied, used or enjoyed or reputed as parte, parcell or member thereof, or which are situat, lyeing and beinge within the premisses or any part thereof, or within the bounds, meares, limitts, precincts of the same; and also all and singular the castles, capitall messuages, bawnes, mansions, houses, edifices, buildinges, barnes, stables, pigeon-houses, cottages, curtelages, yardes, gardens, orchards, townes, villages, hamletts, lands, tenements, meddowes, feedings, pastures, comons, demeasne lands, wast lands, champaine, brueries, turbaries, mountaines, heathes, firrs, boggs, marshes as well sweete or fresh as salte, woods, underwoods and the land soile and ground thereof, fish ponds, mills, and suites, services, greest, tolles, customes and profitts thereof, ponds, waters and water courses and the soile and ground thereof, standinge pooles, lakes, cuny-burrowes, bankes, rivers, pooles, weares, fisheinge places, fisheinge lands covered with waters, mynes, quarries, ffree-warrens, chase and parke; as allso all the fruites and profitts, rents, reservations, custumes and services as well of free as customeable tenaunts, ffee-farmes, francheses, imunities, exemptions, liberties and priviledges, wayfes and strayes, customes, rightes, jurisdictions, releefes, heriotts, perquisites, ffines, amerciaments, and all other profitts, comodities, easiaments, passages, wayes, advantages, emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever quantitie, qualitie, kinde or nature they bee, as well spirituall as temporall, or by what names soever they are knowne or called; with all and everie there rights, members and appurtenances, situat, lyeing and beinge, or ariseinge, issueinge, reneweinge or happeninge, or hereafter to arise, increase, issue or happen in, within, or uppon all and singular and everie or anie the premisses, before graunted or mentioned to be graunted to the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors, or in or within any of them or any parcell thereof, or within the meares, lymits or bounds thereof, or any of them or any parcell thereof, or to the aforesayd premisses or any of them or any parcell or parcells thereof, in any wise belongeing or appertaineing, or as member, part or parcell thereof or any part thereof, ever or at any time heretofore had, knowne, taken, demised, used, possessed, esteemed or reputed, or with the said forementioned premisses or any of them or any parcell or parcells thereof posessed, used or occupied; and alsoe our reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders whatsoever, of all and singular the forementioned premisses, or any of them or any parcell thereof, expectant or

dependinge in or uppon any gift or gifts, graunt or graunts, demise or demises whatsoever, for tearme or tearmes of life, lives, or yeares, or in ffee tayle howsoever, or for any other estate whatsoever or howsoever, beinge as well of record as not of record or otherwise howsoever or in what maner soever, of the premisses before mentioned or any parcell thereof before made or graunted; and alsoe all and singular the rents, reservations, tenure, services, custome-woorks and other duties whatsoever, to, of and in, or for the before mentioned premisses or any part or parcells thereof, issueinge, due, payable, reserved or mentioned to be reserved, and allsoe all and our whole claime, condition, title, estate, possession, interest and demaunds whatsoever to, of and in, all and singular the beforementioned premises by theis presents before graunted, bargained, sould, released or confirmed, or mentioned to be graunted, bargained, sould, released or confirmed to the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors and everie parcell thereof; as fullie, freelye and entirely, and in as large, ample and beneficiall manner as all and singular, the before mentioned premises or any parcell thereof, came or ought to come into our hands or into the hands of any our progenitor or progenitors, predecessor or predecessors, kings or queens of England, or are, or ever at any time heretofore have been, in the hands or posession of any our progenitors, auncestors or prodecessors, kings or queens of England, or of any tenaunts, occupiers or farmers, or any other persons whatsoever; by what manner, right or title soever, beinge of record or not of record, or as now are or ought to be or should be in our handes, or hereafter shall happen to be; by reason, vertue, intention, colour or pretence of any exchange or purchasse, or of any sale, or of anie gift, graunt or release, confirmation or surrender, or the dissolution, relinquisheinge, suppression or determination of any abbie, priorie, cell or religeous house, colledge, hospitall, guilde, chauntrie, prebend, or any other bodie pollitique or incorporate, or any ffranchess or libertie, or by reason, vertue, cause, occasion, collour or pretence of any attainder, forfeiture or condition or breach or not performance of any instructions, mandate, article or covenaunt for plantation, or for anie other cause or matter whatsoever or otherwise, or by reason, vertue, intent or pretence of any act of parliament, or by reason, vertue, collour or pretence of any escheate, reversion or remainder, or by reason of any lawfull prescription or custome, either in the right of our crown, auncient inheritance, or our demeasne, or in or by any other good and lawfull manner, right, title or thinge, cause or matter, whatsoever, above recited or not recited or ill recited, beinge of record or not of record or otherwise, howsoever.

And further, of our more abundant grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, as alsoe with the advice, assent and consent aforsaid, for and in the consideration aforsaid, and accordinge to the intent, tenour and effect of the comission above mentioned, wee have remitted, released and quite-claymed, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, wee do remitt, release and quite claime unto the aforsaid Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, all and singular the rents and sumes of mony, and arrerages of rents and sumes of mony, reservations, provisoes, conditions, covenants, clauses and agreaments, whatsoever and of what kinde soever, limitations, articles, mandats, and all other exactions, charges and demaunds whatsoever, and of what kinde soever, contained and mentioned or specified in any former letters pattents, of or concerneinge the before mentioned premisses or any of them or any parcell or parcells thereof, made or graunted to the foresaid Viccars Chorralls, or any of theire Predecessors, Viccars Corralls or reputed Viccars Chorralls, or to any other person or persons, bodies pollitique or incorporate whatsoever; uppon anie former or other comission or comissions or otherwise howsoever, before the date of theis our letters pattents or issuinge due, payeable or to be payd or done, charged or to be charged, of, out, in or uppon the before mentioned premisses or anie of them, or anie part or parts, parcell or parcells thereof; and allsoe all and our whole right, title, estate, possession, interest, claime and demaunds, whatsoever or of what kinde soever, which wee have or ought to have to all and in all and singular, the before recited and before mentioned premisses and everie part and parcell thereof; and alsoe what wee have or ought to have out of the same, and alsoe all penalties and forfeitures concerneinge the premisses or any parcell thereof, perpetrated, comitted or made by the said Viccars Chorralls, or any other or others, before the date of theis our letters pattents.

And furthermore, of our more abundant grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, as allsoe with the advice, assent and consent afforsaide, for and in consideration afforsaid, according to the intent and effect of the comission before mentioned, wee have pardoned, remitted and released, and by theis presents, for us, our heires and successors, wee doe pardon, release and remitt unto the forsaid Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, all writts of scire facias, and all other processes, suites, actions, writts and demaunds whatsoever, had, prosecuted or moved, or to be had, prosecuted or moved to, of, for, or concerneinge the forsaid premisses, by theis our letters pattents graunted or confirmed, or mentioned to be graunted or confirmed, or any part or parcell thereof: except and alwaies reserved, out of this our graunt and all other our graunts made in or by theis presents, all advowsons, rights of patronages, and presentations to all or any churches, rectories, vicarages and other ecclesiasticall benefices, if any be within the premisses or any part or parcell thereof: saveing alsoe unto us, our heires and successors, our composition royall and riseings out of generall hostings, if they be now due and remaine established without any ex-

emption or discharge thereof, in or uppon the premisses or any part thereof, and all sumes of monye, by reason of the said composition and riseings out of generall hoastings, due and established uppon the premisses or any parte thereof.

To have and to hould all and singular the aforsaide castles, messuages, townes, villages, hamletts, tythes, rents, lands, tenements and hereditaments and other the premisses, with theire and everie theire rights, members and appurtenances, except before excepted, unto the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, to theire sole and proper use and behoofe for ever; to be houlden of us, our heires and successors, by Soccage in capite onnelie, and not by knyghts service in capite, nor comon knyghts service; rendringe and payeing for the same premisses, yearely, unto us, our heires and successors, at the receipt of our exchequer of our said kingdome of Ireland, that is to saie, to the hands of the Vice Thresurer or Generall Receaver of us, our heires and successors of our said kingdome of Ireland, for the time beinge, at the feast dayes of St. Michaell the Arch-angell and Easter, by equall portions, the anuall rent or summe of fortie shillings, good and lawfull mony of England, for all other rents, services and demaunds whatsoever, besides the services and reservations in theis presents reserved or mentioned to be reserved.

And further, of our more ample grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, and by the advice and consent aforsaid, and accordinge to the intent and effect of our said comission and for the considerations aforsaid, wee have remised, released and quite claimed, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, wee doe remise, release and quite-claime, unto the Viscount Ranealagh, his heires and assignes, and unto the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, respectivelie, and unto theire and everie there said tenaunts, farmors and lessees of the premisses afforesaid, and there and everie of there executors and assignes respectively, all and singuler the conditions, covenants, articles, mandats, partes, agreements and limitations contained or mentioned in any former letters pattents made of the premisses or any part thereof, unto any person or persons, bodies pollitique or incorporate whatsoever; and all other conditions, covenaunts, articles, mandats, instructions and limitations for and concerneing the premisses and everie parte thereof; and alsoe all and all manner of re-entries, damages, fforfeitures, paines, penalties, recognizances, obligations, fines, impeachments, suites, actions and demaunds, which wee our heires and successors or any of us hadd, have, or heareafter maie have, of, in, or to all and singular the fore mentioned premisses, or any part or parcell thereof, by reason or pretext of the breach, or non performance of any one or more conditions, covenants, pacts, agreements, articles or limitations, whatsoever.

And further, the said Viccars Chorralls of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patrickes, Dublin, aforsaid, by these presents created and incorporated in manner aforsaid, for them and theire successors, doe hereby covenaunt and graunt to, and with, us, our heires and successors, that they will not graunt awaie, alien, demise, lett, or dispose any part or parcell of the castles, houses, messuages, townes, hamletts, lands, tenements or hereditaments, hereby graunted, bargained and sould, confirmed or released, or mentioned to be graunted, bargained and sould, confirmed or released unto them the saide Viccars Chorralls, in manner aforsaid; or any other lands, tenements or hereditaments which they shall hould or posess, in the right of the said corporation, to any person or persons, bodies pollitique or incorporate, for any greater or longer estate or tearme then the tearme of one whole yeare, without the consent and allowance of the said Deane and Chapter of St. Patrickes aforsaid; and likewise, that they, the said corporation of Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, shall and will satisfie and paye, yearely for ever, out of theire said lands, tenements and hereditaments aforsaid, an annuall stipend or sallarie of thirtie six pounds, good and lawfull mony of and in England, in manner following; viz. twentie pounds of the said sume, yearely, unto one master of songe, to teach the singeinge boys, belongeinge to the quire of the Cathedrall Church of St. Patricke, songe; to which place for the present, wee, by these presents, for us, our heires and successors nominate, preferr, ordaine and constitute Randolph Jewett, the nowe organist of the said Cathedrall Church; and alsoe, that they the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors shall satisfie and pay, by equall and divided moyeties, yearely, the remainder of the said thirtie six pounds, beinge sixteen pounds more per annum, unto two boyes who shall be choristers of the said Cathedrall Church, viz. eight pounds per annum to each of them; which two boyes, our will and pleasure is, are, and shall be, successively for ever, added to the number of foure choristers of the saide Church nowe in beinge.

And further, wee, of our more abundant and speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, and by the advice and consent aforsaid, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the saide comission, and for the considerations aforsaid, doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors give and graunt, that wee our heires and successors, from time to time and at all times heareafter, for ever, shall and will exonerat, acquitt, discharge and save harmlesse, as well the said Viscount Ranalagh, his heires and assignes, and the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors, respectively, and likewise there and everie of theire said tenaunts, farmors and leassees of the premisses aforsaid, and theire executors and assignes, and everie of them respectively; as likewise all and singular the castles, townes, villages, hamletts, lands, tenements and hereditaments aforsaid, and all other the before mentioned premisses, thereby bargained and sould, graunted, confirmed or released, or mentioned to be graunted, bargained and soulde, confirmed or released, and everie part

and parcell thereof, with all theire and everie of thiere appurtenances and appendances, against us, our heires and successors, of and from all and all manner of rents and arrerages of rents, intrusions, trespasses, entryes, alienations, fines, issues, meane proffits, debts, duties, corradies, fees, anuities, pencions, portions, twentieth-parts, sumes of mony, conditions, provisoes, covenants, restrictions, paines, penalties, compositions, reservations, concords, pacts, agreeaments, mandats, instructions, articles and limittations whatsoever; and of and from all recognizances, obligations and other securities whatsoever, and the forfeitures of them and everie of them; and of and from all, and all manner of suites, actions, quarells, charges and demaunds whatsoever, of, in, uppon, to, or for the forsaid premisses respectively, or any part or parcell thereof, to us, our heires and successors, due, payable, groweing or issueing, or to be yeelded, rendred, payd, made or donne, or thereuppon to us, our heires or successors charged or to be charged; besides the alienations, wards, marraidges, intrusions and entries, after the death of any our tenaunt or tenaunts, and all the meane profitts by reason of any intrusion, alienation, liverie, primer seisin, and all other things whatsoever, which nowe are, or hereafter shal be, in the survey or disposition of our courte of wards and liveries; and besides the rents, tenures, services, reservations, conditions, covenants, lymittations and charges before, in theis presents, reserved or mentioned to be reserved, and besides our composition, royall riseings out of generall hoastings afforsaid, and all sumes of mony by reason thereof, if the same be now due and remaine establisht in and uppon the premisses.

And lastly, of our more abundate and speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, as also with the advice, assent and consent afforsaid, and accordinge to the intent and effect of the comission above specified, wee will and commaunde, and our expresse pleasure is, and wee doe, by theis presents, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the forsaid Viccars Chorralls and there successors, that theis our letters pattents and the inrollment thereof, and all and everie graunt or graunts, articles, clauses, sentences and woords in the same expressed, shall in all things be good, firme, avayelable, sufficient and effectuall in lawe, to all intents, constructions and purposes, against us, our heires and successors, as well in all our courtes as elsewhere, within this our kingdome of Ireland or elewhere wheresoever; and this without any writt of "sire facias," or of "ad quod damnum," or anie other writts, inquisitions, confirmations, licenses, tollerations or mandates thereuppon to be had, made or prosecuted: and allsoe, that these our letters pattents and all and everie graunte or grauntes, articles, clauses, sentences, and other things whatsoever in the same contained and specified, as well for and touchinge the sense and intent, as for and touching the woords thereof, maye be favorablye and gratiously expounded and interpreted, into the most advantage and benefitt of the said Viccars Chorralls and theire successors, and not otherwise nor in any other manner; and that the same may be gratiouslie allowed of in all and everie the courts of us, our heires and successors, and everie where else, in as favourable and benigne a manner as they maie or canne be allow'd of and interpreted, without anie objection, exception or challenge; notwithstanding the ill nameinge or ill reciteing, or not nameinge or not reciteinge anie countie, baronie, cittie, hundred, territorie, parish, warde, franches, libertie, mannor house, towne, villag, hamlett, cartron, quarter, halfe quarter or parcell of lande, or place or places, in which the premisses or any parcell thereof is or are: and notwithstandinge the ill nameinge or ill reciteinge of anie castle, mannor-house, townes, villages, hamletts, cartrons, quarters, halfe quarters, parcells of land, tenements or other hereditaments whatsoever; being part, parcell or member of the premisses above before graunted or mentioned to be graunted, or of any parcell thereof, or knowne, held or reputed, as part, parcell or member thereof, or of any parcell thereof: and notwithstandinge the ill findinge or not findinge, or the ill returneing or not returneinge of any office or inquisition, offices or inquisitiones of the premisses, or of any part or parcell thereof; by which our right, estate, possession, interrest or title ought to have ben found, before the makeinge of these our letters pattents: and notwithssanding the ill nameinge or ill reciteing, or the not nameinge or not reciteinge of any demise or demises, graunt or grauntes, for tearme or tearmes of life, lives or yeares, or in fee tayle or in fee ffarme, or for anie other estate whatsoever or howsoever, or otherwise in what maner soever, of the severall premisses or of any part or parcell thereof, before this, made or graunted to any person or persons, bodies pollitique or incorporate, beinge of record or not of record: and notwithstandinge that there is noe full, true, or certaine mention made of the names of the tenaunts, farmors or occupiers of the premisses or of anie parcell thereof: and notwithstandinge any or whatsoever defects of or concerneinge the certaintie, computation, portion, apportioninge, demission or declareation of the true rent or services, or of the true yearely value, quantitie, qualitie, nature, sorte or kinde of the premisses or of any parcell thereof: and notwithstandinge any defects in not nameinge or ill nameinge any tenaunt, farmour or occupier of the premisses or any parcel thereof: and notwithstandinge any defects in not nameinge or not rightlie nameinge the natures, kindes, sortes, quantities or qualities of the premisses or of any parcell thereof: and notwithstandinge any statute in a parliament of Henrie the fourth, late of England kinge, our prædecessor, in the first yeare of his raigne made or published at Westminster, and afterwards amongest other acts, by the authoritie of parliament in our said kingdome of Ireland, established and confirmed: and notwithstandinge any statut in a parliament of Henrye the

sixt, late of England kinge, our predecessor, in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne made and published at Westminster, and afterwards amongest other things, by the authoritie of parliament in our saide kingdome of Ireland, likewise established and confirmed: and notwithstandinge a certaine statute in a parliament of Henrie the eight, late of England kinge, our prodecessor, in the three and thirtieth yeare of his raigne, at our cittie of Limericke in our said kingdome of Ireland, made published or established, the title of which statute is, "An act for lands given by the kinge:" and notwithstandinge anie other statute or act made, published or established the same yeare, in our saide kingdome of Ireland, or any other yeare or yeares of the raigne of the saide kinge Henrie the eight: and notwithstandinge certaine statutes in our said kingedome of Ireland, made, published or established in the eighth and twentieth yeare of the raigne of the saide kinge Henrye the eight, and in the second yeare of the raigne of the Ladie Elizabeth, late of England queene, our predecessor; by which, jointlye and severallie, as well the first fruites as the twentieth parts or yearely rents or pensions, amountinge to the value of the twentieth parts of the annuall rents and profitts of certaine lands and portions, in the same statutes mentioned, are graunted unto us: and notwithstandinge anie statute made, published or established in the same second yeare, in our said kingdome, or anie other yeare of the raigne of the said Queene Elizabeth; and notwithstandinge anie ordinaunce or ordinaunces for the statutes of Ireland, made in our saide kingdome of Ireland, in the eighteenth yeare of the raigne of Edward the first, late of England kinge, our prodecessor: and notwithstandinge anie statute or statutes made, published or established in a parliament in our said kingdome of England, of Richard the second, late of England kinge, in the third yeare of his raigne: and notwithstandinge anie other statute, ordinaunce, prohibition, restriction, mandate, instruction, warrant or provision, or anie cause, matter or thinge whatsoever, to the contrarie thereof, or the infeebleing, avoideing, anullinge or destroyinge of theis our letters pattents, or any article, clause, matter or thinge in them contained or mentioned, in any wise notwithstanding.

And wee will alsoe, and for us, our heires and successors doe, and by theis presents give and graunt, unto the said Viccars Chorralls and there successors, that they shall and may have theis our letters pattents made and sealed in due manner under our great seale of Ireland, without great or smalle fine thereout to be rendred, paide or made unto us, in our hanaper or elsewhere, in any wise to our use; although noe express mention of the true yearely value, or of the certaintie of the premisses, or of any gift or graunt by us, or any of our progenitors or prodecessors, heretofore made to the saide Viscount Ranalagh or Viccars Chorralls aforsaid, and to theire and everie theire said tenaunts and farmours of the premisses is made in theis presentes; anie act, statute, lawe, ordinance, provision or proclamation, or any other matter, cause or thinge, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstandinge.

In witnesse whereof wee have caused theis, our letters, to be made pattents. Wittnesse our said Deputie of our saide realme of Ireland, at Dublin, the seventh day of November in the sixteenth yeare of our raigne. (1640)

Per breve de privato sigillo.

[a] Those parts included between crotchets are not copied "verbatim" from the roll; it was thought expedient to omit mentioning the same clause every time it occurs, which is as often as there are distinct tenants; the terms and durations of their tenures are recited at the beginning, once for all; the tenants names and amount of the rents they payed, respectively, are so arranged that they may be seen at one view.

[b] The rent reserved from this rectory, was forty pounds, according to the original roll; I apprehend, however, that it should be four pounds. See Book I. Chapt. 13.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ADDITIONAL

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE A.

Containing an Account of some Persons who have been buried in this Cathedral and its Cemetary, and likewise some Monumental Inscriptions which have not been already described in the preceding pages of this work.

FROM the earliest times this Cathedral and its cemetary has been used as a depository for the bodies of the illustrious dead; I have deemed it, therefore, not uninteresting to add such memorials as I could collect, either from monumental inscriptions, registers or other authorities, relative to the most considerable of those persons: such an account, gathered from scattered notices, must of necessity be imperfect, and the compilation of them, being an after-thought, is even less perfect than if it had been commenced at the same period with the rest of this work: moreover, the ancient registers of the Cathedral are all lost, one volume only exists which is very defective, it commences about the era of the revolution, neither are the entries since that period regular, but chasms of several years occur, even so late as near the end of the last century.

To prevent needless repetition, I shall omit the inscriptions on the monuments of such Archbishops of Dublin and Deans of this Cathedral as are buried here; their places of sepulture, and other matters relating to them, being fully treated of in other parts of this work.

To begin with the Choir. Near the middle on the left hand, under the gallery (which formerly was called the Lord Lieutenants gallery) there is a brass plate fixed in the wall, upon this plate, under a small coat of arms, surrounded with a foliage of white marble, there is the following inscription.

Neare vnto this place lyeth the Worthie Knight, Sir Henrye Wallop, of Farley-Wallop, in the Covntye of Sovtht, in the Realme of England, Whoe faithfvllye served Qveene Elizabeth in this Kingedome, as Vice treasvrer and Treasvrer at Warres, by the space of XIX yeares and eighte monethes, and was Lo. Justice w^th^in this Realme, jointlye with the Lord Chavncellor of this realme, almoste by the space of 2 yeares, in the yeares of our Lord God, 1582, 1583 and 1584, in which time the warres of Desmond were ended, and his heade sent into England, besides manye other weightie cavses comitted to his chardge, dvringe his sayd service, he departed this life the XIV day of Aprill, 1599. he was sonne and heire of Sr Oliver Wallop Knight, brother and heire of Sir John Wallop Knight, of the moste honora. order of the Garter and Lieftennant of the Castle and Covnty of Gvysnes in France, nephewe and heire of Sr Roberte Wallop Knight.

Here alsoe lyeth Dame Katherine his Wife, Davghter of Richard Gifford of Somborne, in the saide Covnty of Sovthampton, Esq. and Ann his wife Davghter to Sr William Goringe of Bvrton, in the Covntye of Svssex Knighte, who dyed the XVIth of Jvlye, 1599.

Also here lyeth Oliver Wallop, yovnger sonne of the sayde Sir Henrye Wallop and Dame Katherine, who was slayne in service againste ye movntaine rebells ye XVth of Jvn. 1598

This inscription was here affixed the VIth daye of March 1608, by Sr Henrye Wallop Knighte, sole svrvivinge sonne and heire of the saide Sr Henrye Wallop deceased, and a fayer monvment hereof placed in the church of Basingstoake in the said Covntye of Sovtht. accordinge to the appoyntment of ye sayde Sr Henrye his laste will and testament.

Sir Henry Wallop died in Dublin. The Lord Chancellor with whom, according to the inscription, he was joined in the government, was Archbishop Loftus, "two men," saith Cox, "very unfit to be yoaked together, the difference between them being no less in their minds and affections than it was in their bodies and professions." See more of Wallop in Hollingshed, Chron. Vol. VI. pp. 426, 31, 45, 50, 55, &c. and Cox, Hib. Anglic. pp. 366, 368. Oliver Wallop, who is mentioned above, was killed in an expedition to Wicklow, conducted by Sir Hen. Harrington, who lost, in an engagement with the sept of Birns, upwards of 600 men. Cox, pag. 421.

On the same side of the Choir, near the balusters of the altar, is the monument of Archbishop Jones, which is described in another place, and a representation of it given in the view of the Choir of this Cathedral.

The family vault is near to the monument, and a deed, purporting to be a renewal of a former grant, is to be found in a book of Chapter-minutes; this deed is dated 28th January 1679, and describes this burial place as situated between the rails of the altar and the Lord Lieutenants seat; it was granted upon consideration of paying 3*l*. for each interment, besides the usual fees. This monument was repaired in 1729, at the expense of Lady Catherine Jones, to whom Dean Swift made application when he set about restoring those interesting memorials; her polite answer to his letter is published in the last edition of Swift's works, Vol. XVII. pag. 286.

In this place are deposited the remains of several persons of this family and their near friends; of these I shall notice the following, viz.

1620—Frances, first wife of Sir Roger Jones, eldest son to the Archbishop, and afterwards, in 1628, created Viscount Ranelagh; she was daughter of Gerald the first Viscount Drogheda, died 23d November, and was buried in this vault, as we are informed by Archdall. Peerage, Vol. IV. pag. 302.

1644—Viscount Ranelagh buried 21st January. Cl. MS. and Archdall, Vol. IV. pag. 302.

1658—Sir William Parsons, Knight and Bart. died on the 31st December, was buried on the 28th January, in a very sumptuous manner; he was grand-son and heir of Sir William Parsons, Lord Justice: he was married to Catharine, eldest daughter of Arthur, Viscount Ranelagh. His eldest son Ranelagh, was buried here, 27th March 1656; his second son, William, on the 4th of August 1658; his third son, Richard, was afterwards created Viscount Rosse. Lodges Peerage and Cloch. MS.

1669—Lady Bridget Parsons buried, 20th July.

1669—Arthur, second Viscount Ranelagh, buried 14th January. Archdall, Peer. Vol. IV. pag. 303.

1675—Catharine Jones, daughter of Arthur, 2d Viscount Ranelagh, buried 10th October. She was married, first to Sir William Parsons above mentioned, and secondly to Hugh, Earl Mount Alexander; this latter title became extinct in 1757.

1709—A son of Lord Ross buried 31st March. Register. This was, probably, George Parsons, second son to the first Earl of Ross.

1730—Frances, Countess of Tyrconnell, was buried in this vault, on the 9th March. Register. This is her acknowledged title, the title of Earl having been granted to her husband, the celebrated Richard Talbot, by James the II. when King; after his abdication, that Prince conferred a dukedom upon him. Tyrconnel, whatever were his faults, had the rare merit of sincere attachment to an unfortunate master. This lady, his widow, was the eldest daughter and coheiress of Richard Jennings of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire, and sister to Sarah, first Dutchess of Marlborough; she was the miss Jennings, the qualities of whose mind and person are so much extolled by Count Grammont, in his memoirs. "She had the fairest and brightest complexion that ever was seen, her hair a most beauteous flaxen, her countenance extremely animated, though generally persons so exquisitely fair have an insipidity, her whole person was fine, particularly her neck and bosom. The charms of her person and the unaffected sprightliness of her wit, gained her the general admiration of the whole court; in these fascinating qualities she had, there, other competitors, but scarcely one, except miss Jennings, maintained throughout the character of unblemished chastity." A less amiable account is, however, given of her, by Lord Melfort, King James's Secretary; he says, that she had, "l'ame la plus noire qui se puisse concevoir."

Her first husband was George, Count Hamilton, son of the 4th Earl of Abercorn, Colonel of an Irish regiment in the service of France and "Marechal du camp," he was killed at Avignon, in 1667; by him she had three daughters, the eldest (Elizabeth) married to Rich. Viscount Ross; the 2d (Frances) to Henry, 8th Viscount Dillon, who commanded a regiment of foot in King James's army, in Ireland, and represented the county of Westmeath in the parliament, convened by that King, at Dublin, in 1689; the third (Mary) to Viscount Kingsland.

The Countess of Tyrconnel, after her husbands decease, continued to adhere strictly to the Roman Catholic religion; she returned to England in 1705, but soon after retired to Dublin, where she founded a nunnery for poor clares, in King-street; Mr. Isaac Butler, in his MS. states, that she was aged 92 when she died. Her portrait, when miss Jennings, was engraved by Tomkins, for Grammont's memoirs, from an original picture by Verelst. She died at Arbour-hill, 6th March 1730. Carson's weekly journal.

1741—Richard. Earl of Ross, buried 29th June, Register. This Richard was the first Earl and second Viscount Rosse, it is said by Lodge that he was buried at St. Anne's. Peerage, vol. II. pag. 76.

1764—Richard, Earl of Rosse, buried 29th August. Register.

1797—Viscount Ranelagh, buried 23d April. Register.

1812—Viscountess Ranelagh, buried 3d January. Register.

1814—Hon. Robert Molesworth, buried 28th February. Register. He was third son to Robert, Viscount Molesworth, and married Mary, daughter of the late, and sister to the present Viscount Ranelagh, by whom he had two daughters, now living.

Near to the monument of Archbishop Jones there is a large slab of black marble, fixed high in the wall, with an inscription thereon, to the memory of the renowned Frederic, Duke Schonberg. The remains of this great General were removed to this cathedral, immediately after the battle of the Boyne, where they lay until the 10th of July, and were then deposited under the altar; the interment of Duke Schonberg is noted with a pencil in the register, the entry is almost illegible, insomuch that it has been often sought for in vain. Although he well merited from the gratitude of a country in whose cause he fell, and the favor of a prince whom he faithfully served, such a testimonial, no memorial of the place of his interment was erected until the year 1731.

Dean Swift, besides his anxiety to embellish this his Cathedral, was actuated by a just indignation towards the relations of this great man, who, though they derived all their wealth and honours from him, neglected to pay the smallest tribute of respect to his remains; he therefore caused this stone to be erected, and himself dictated the inscription, which is as follows:

Hic infra situm est corpus Frederici Ducis de Schonberg,
ad Bubindam occisi. A. D. 1690.

Decanus et Capitulum maximopere etiam atque etiam petierunt, ut hæredes Ducis monumentum in memoriam parentis erigendum curarent. Sed postquam per epistolas, per amicos, diu ac sæpe orando nil profecere; hunc demum lapidem statuerunt; saltem ut scias hospes ubinam terrarum Schonbergenses cineres delitescunt.

Plus potuit fama virtutis apud alienos quam sanguinis proximitas apud suos. A. D. 1731.

Dean Swift, before he caused this stone to be erected, made repeated applications to the descendants of this nobleman, and endeavoured to interest them so far as to contribute somewhat toward erecting a monument to his memory: on the 10th of May 1728, he wrote a letter to Lord Carteret, from which I extract the following passage:

"The great Duke of Schomberg is buried under the altar in my cathedral. My Lady Holderness is my old acquaintance! and I writ to her about a small sum, to make a monument for her grandfather. I writ to her myself: and also, there was a letter from the dean and chapter, to desire she would order a monument to be raised for him in my cathedral. It seems, Mildmay, now Lord Fitzwalter, her husband, is a covetous fellow; or whatever is the matter, we have had no answer. I desire you will tell Lord Fitzwalter, 'that if he will not send fifty pounds to make a monument for the old duke, I and the chapter will erect a small one of ourselves for ten pounds; wherein it shall be expressed, that the posterity of the duke, naming particularly Lady Holderness and Mr. Mildway, not having the generosity to erect a monument, we have done it of ourselves.' And if, for an excuse, they pretend they will send for his body, let them know it is mine; and rather than send it, I will take up the bones, and make of it a skeleton, and put it in my register office, to be a memorial of their baseness to all posterity. This I expect your excellency will tell Mr. Mildway, or, as you now call him, Lord Fitzwalter; and I expect likewise, that he will let Sir Conyers D'Arcy know how ill I take his neglect in this matter; although, to do him justice, he averred, 'that Mildmay was so avaricious a wretch, that he would let his own father be buried without a coffin, to save charges." Swift's Works, Vol. XVII. pag. 219, Scot's edition.

Swift's letter to the Countses of Holderness, to which he alludes in that to Lord Carteret, is entered on the book of Chapter-minutes, and is as follows:

"Madam,

"I took the liberty of writing to your Ladyship some years ago, upon the score of an old acquaintance, but you were not so good as to return me an answer, although my letter were,

altogether, intended to the honour of your Ladyship's family, and particularly of that great person the Duke of Schomberg, your grandfather, whose body lies in a vault of St. Patrick's cathedral, where I have the honour to be Dean."

"The chapter and I having reflected, with much concern, that the remains of a General, so renowned all over Europe, and so highly deserving both of England and this kingdom, should lye obscurely, without any monument over him, have made a formal order in full assembly, whereof I send you a copy annexed, that I should be desired to represent this matter to your ladyship, and to request that you would please to assign what moderate sum you think fit, to erect a plain marble monument over his grace; it shall be submitted to your ladyship, whether you will chuse to get an epitaph drawn by some friend of your own or leave it to us."

"Your Ladyship may be firmly assured, that the money, be it more or less, shall be laid out with the utmost good management, because it is a matter which the chapter and I have much at heart."

"I send this letter under cover to Sir Conyers Darcy, being wholly ignorant where to address your ladyship."

I am, with great respect,
Madam, &c.

Deanery-house, J. S.
May 22, 1729.

When this inscription was first set up, Swift was informed that it had given great offence; he wrote to his friend Pope upon this occasion, his letter is dated 29th July, 1731; when we read the following passage, we must acquit him of any intention of offending, either his Majesty, the Queen, or the King of Prussia.

"I am taught, and have reason to believe, that I am under the Queen's displeasure on many accounts, and one very late, for having fixed up a stone over the burying-place of the Duke of Schomberg, in my cathedral: which, however, I was assured by a worthy person, who solicited that affair last summer with some relations of the duke, 'that her majesty, on hearing the matter, said they ought to erect a monument.' Yet I am told assuredly, that the King not long ago, on the representation and complaint of the Prussian envoy (with a hard name) who has married a grand-daughter of the Duke, said publickly in the drawing-room, 'that I had put up that stone out of malice, to raise a quarrel between his majesty and the King of Prussia.' This perhaps may be false, because it is absurd: for I thought it was a whiggish action to honour Duke Schomberg, who was so instrumental in the revolution." Swift's works, Vol. XVII. pag. 412.

Again he writes to the Countess of Suffolk, (24th July)

"I hear the Queen has blamed me for putting up a stone, with a latin inscription, over the Duke of Schomberg's burying place, in my cathedral, and that the King said publickly, 'I had done it in malice, to create a quarrel between him and the King of Prussia.' But the public prints, as well as the thing itself will vindicate me: and the hand the Duke had in the revolution made him deserve the best monument: neither could the King of Prussia justly take it ill, who must needs have heard that the duke was in the service of Prussia and stadtholder of it, as I have seen in his titles." Vol. XVII, pag. 416. On the 26th of October following, the subject of this monument is resumed in a letter to the same lady, from which I extract the following paragraph.

"But what your ladyship would have me discover, through all your refined civilities, is my great imprudence in ordering that monument to be fixed in my cathedral. I shall not trouble you with a long story, but if ever a numerous venerable body of dignified clergymen had reason to complain of the highest repeated indignity, in return of the greatest honour offered by them, to persons they were wholly strangers to, then my chapter is not to be blamed, nor I, who proposed the matter to them: which, however, I could have done by my own authority, but rather chose it should be the work of us all. And I will confess it was upon their advice that I omitted the only two passages which had much bitterness in them; and which a bishop here, one after your own heart, blamed me very much for leaving out; declaring that the treatment given us by the Schomberg family deserved a great deal worse. Indeed, madam, I shall not attempt to convince England of any thing that relates to this kingdom. The drapier, whom you mention, could not do it in relation to the half-pence; neither can the parliament here convince you that we ought not to be just now in so miserable a condition in every article of distress. Why should the Schomberg family be so uneasy at a thing they were so long warned of, and were told they might prevent for fifty pounds?" Swift's Works, Vol. XVII. pag. 449.

One of the passages, to which he alludes in this letter, Dr. Delany informs us was as follows: Instead of "Saltem ut scias hospes," &c. it stood thus, "Saltem ut sciat viator indignabundus, quali in cellula, tanti ductoris cineres delitescunt."

This great man, the actions of whose life rendered him remarkable through most countries of Europe, was born in the Palatinate, in 1618, of a noble and ancient family; he first signalized himself under Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange, after whose death he engaged himself into the service of France; by that court he was sent to Portugal, and commanded the army of that nation on the plain of Montecarlos, where he led them to victory, and thereby settled the crown of Portugal in the house of Braganza, and established their independance as a separate kingdom, forcing their enemies to accept of a peace, which, before his coming, they could not be prevailed on to grant. In 1672 he led the French armies into Catalonia against the Spaniard; for this and other services, notwithstanding he was a protestant, the batoon of a Mareschal was conferred upon him by the French King. He next commanded in the low countries, and forced William, Prince of Orange, afterwards William the third, to raise the siege of Maestricht, when nothing less than a surrender of that city was expected. In 1685, when the persecution of the protestants began in France, he had leave to retire, and afterwards became first Minister of State to the Elector of Brandenburgh, Governor of Prussia and Generalissimo of all his forces. In 1688, he attended King William into England, by whose orders he set sail for Ireland, from Highlake, in August 1689, and, with the small force of 10,000 men, secured the north of Ireland in the interest of his master, until his arrival. He accompanied King William, in 1690, to the banks of the Boyne, where he received a mortal wound in his neck as he crossed that river. His body was brought to Dublin and interred under the communion table of this cathedral.

The life of Schonberg is so identified with the history of the age in which he lived, that to recount his actions, civil and military, would be to write the history of Europe for half a century; the reader is referred to Rapin's history of England. Oldmixon's history, Vol. II. and Kennet's, Vol. III. likewise to Doctor Stories history of the civil wars in Ireland. Harris history of King William, and a panegeric to his memory, published in 1690, 4to, London, by H. de Luzancy, Minister of Norwich, chaplain to him and his successor in title and honours, Meinhardt, Duke of Schonberg: there is some account of Duke Frederic and his son Meinhardt, in Nobles's continuation of Grainger's Biog. Hist. Vol. I. pp. 177 and 179.

Frederick enjoyed remarkable honours, testifying the various services he rendered to those several nations by whom they were conferred; in England he was a knight of the order of the Garter; Baron of Teyes, Earl of Brentford, Marquis of Harwich and Duke of Schonberg, by patent, dated 9th May, 1st Will. and Mary. Crosley, Peerage, page 17. He was, likewise, General of his Majesties land forces, Master of the ordinance in Ireland and the Netherlands; Duke and Peer of Portugal; Grandee of Spain; Count of the holy Roman Empire; Stateholder of Prussia and Mareschal of France. Before his departure for Ireland, the House of Commons of England presented him with 100,000*l*. He was twice married; first, to Joanna Elizabeth, his cousin germain, (his fathers brothers daughter) by whom he had five sons; two only, Meinhardt and Charles, survived him; the latter, by virtue of the entail, succeeded his father in his ducal honours;

but he died in Italy, of his wounds received at the battle of Marsaglia, in 1693, and was succeeded by the 2d son, Meinhardt, who became Duke of Schonberg, and was, by letter of privy seal, dated Breda, 18th March, 1691, and let. pat. Dublin, 3d March, 1692, created Baron of Tarragh, Co. Meath, and Earl of Bangor, in the County of Downe, and Duke of Leinster; all Irish honours, which became extinct, by his death without male issue, on 6th June, 1719. Rot. Pat. 4 Guliel. He was likewise a Knight of the Garter. It is said he was present, with his father, at the battle of the Boyne.

The Duke, Frederick's, second marriage was with Susanna, daughter to Daniel, Earl of Aumale-Harcourt, of an ancient family in Picardy, by whom he had no issue.

Meinhardt was married twice, first to Charlotte, eldest daughter of Charles-Lewis, Elector Palatine, by whom he had two daughters; Frederica, married to the Earl of Holderness, and Mary, who married Count Dagenfelt of the Empire of Germany.—Crosley, Peer. pag. 17.

The arms of this house are blazoned by Crosley, in his Peerage of Ireland, but he makes no mention of the Dukes motto, which was peculiarly applicable to his whole career of life.—"Quo fata vocant."

The two next monuments, viz. that of Dean Fyche and Dean Sutton are described in other parts of this volume.

On the same wall, but more to the east, there is a monument with the following inscription, on two slabs of black marble.

Heare lieth bvried ye bodie of Dame Mary Sent Leger, late wife to Sr Anthony Sentleger, Knyght, M^{r} of ye Rolls and of his Maties privie Covnsell of estate in the realm of Ireland, davghter to Francis Sovthwell of Wyndham hall in Norfolke, Esqvire, first maried Tho. Sidney of Wyken, in ye said Covntie, Esqvire, by whom shee had issve 3 davghters, Eleanor who died yonge; Anne wch died 3^{d} of October, 1602, and is heare likewise bvried; and Thomazin maried to Sr Wm Godolphin, Knyght, after ye said Dame Mary was maried to Nicholas Gorge of London, Esquire, by whom shee had noe issve;

And to her third hvsband shee maried Sr Conyers Clyfford of Bobbinge-covrt in Kent, Knyght, Governor of Connagh & of ye privie Covnsell of estate in this Realme, by whom shee had issve two sonnes and a davghter, Henry and Coyniers, now livinge, Francis the davghter died yonge, lastly shee maried ye said Sr Anth. Sentleger, by whom she had issue, Anthony and Francis, a davghter who died fower dayes after her byrth, and of whom ye said Dame Mary died in childbed ye 19 day of December, 1603, being 37 yeares of age, whose sovle (noe dovbt) resteth in all joyfvll blessednes in ye heavens w^{t} her Saviore Jesvs Christe whose trve and faithfvll servant shee lived and dyed.

Sir Conyers Clifford was Governor of Conaught in 1597, and being ordered to march at the head of six or seven hundred men to join the Lord Deputy, Thomas Lord Borrough, at the fort of Blackwater, he attempted it with great bravery but was opposed by 2000 rebels, who attacked him in his march; he nevertheless made good his retreat, marching in view of them thirty miles. Ware, annals 40th Eliz. Cox, Hist. Anglic. pag. 413.

More to the eastward, near the angle of the north and east walls, on a small square stone, is the following inscription:

Heare lieth buried the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bvttolph, Deane of Raphoe, heretofore Chaplaine, both to King Charles ye first & his now sacred Maiesty, King Charles the second; who maryed Ann ye davghter of Henery Mingay, Esq. of Ameringill in the Covnty of Norfolk, by whom he left issve only one davghter & died the day of Avgvst, 1676.

This monument was erected by his widow, as appears from the licence, in book of Chapt. min. dated 19th Jan. 1676.

On the epistle side of the altar, without the balusters, there is a large brass plate fixed in the wall, whereon is engraved a figure of a man with nine children behind him, and opposite to him a woman with six children behind her, all in a kneeling posture, underneath them the following inscription, in old english characters.

Glorify thy name: hasten thy kingdome; comforte thy flock: confound thy adversaries:

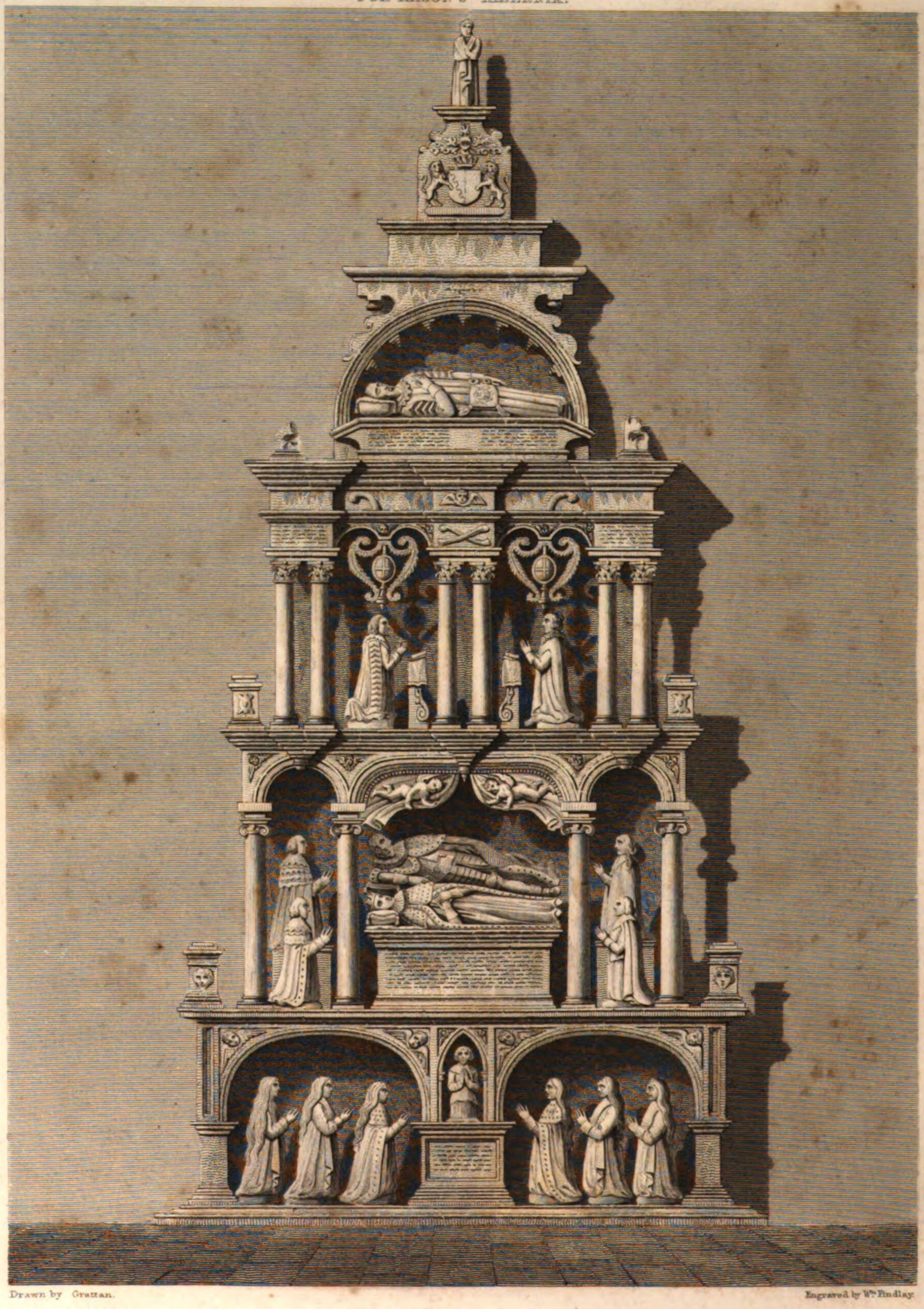
Ser Edward Ffiton of Saulworth, in the Counte of Chester in England, Knight, was sent into Ireland, by quene Elizabeth, to serve as the first L. president of her highnes Counsell within the province of Connaght and Thomond, who landing in Ireland on the Ascention day 1569, A.^{o} R. R. Elizabeth XI, lyved there in the rome aforesaid till Mighellmas 1572, A.^{o} Elizabeth XIIII° and then, that Counsell being dissolved and he repayring into England, was sent over againe in Marche next following as Threasaurer at Warres, Vicetreasaurer, and Generall receyvor, within the realme of Ireland, and hath here buried the wyef of his youth, Anne, the second daughter of Sir Peter Warburton of Areley, in the County of Chester Knight, who were borne both in on yere, viz. he ye last of Marche 1527, and she the first of Maye in the same yeare, and were maried on Sonday next after Hillaries daye 1539, being ye 19 daye of Januarie, in the 12 yere of their age, and lyved together in true and lawfull Matrymonie juste 34 yeres: for ye same Sonday of ye yeare wherein they were maried, ye same Sondaie 34 yeres following was she buried, though she faithfully departed this lyef, 9 daies before, viz. on Saturdaie ye 9 daie of Januarie 1573; in which tyme God gave theim 15 children, viz. 9 sonnes and 6 daughters, and now her body slepeth under this stone, and her soule is retourned to God y^{t} gave y^{t}, and there remayneth in kepinge of Christe Jesus her only Saviour. And the said Ser Edward departed this lyef the thirde daie of July A^{o} Dni 1579 and was buried the XXI. daie of September next folowing, whose fleshe also resteth under the same stone, in assured hope of full and perfecte resurrection to eternall lyef in ioye, through Christe his onely Saviour; and the said Ser Edward was revoked home into England, and left this land the daye of Anno Domini beinge the yere of his age.

The following account of the ceremonial, observed upon this occasion, is extracted from the manuscripts of Bishop Sterne.

The order in the presyding for buriall of the worshypfull Lady Fytton, on Sonday, bein the 17 day of January, Anno 1573.

Fyrst, serteyne youmen to goo before the penon wyth the armes of Syr Edwarde Fytton, and hys wyfe's, dessessed; and next after them the penon, borne by Mr. Rycharde Fytton, second son to Syr Edw. Fytton and Lady, hys wyfe dessessed, and sarten gentillmen servants to the sayd Syr Edw. Fytton; then the gentill-hossher and the chapplens, and then Ulster Kyng of Armes of Ierland, weryng his mornyng goune and hod, wyth hys cote of the armes of Ynglande. And then the corpes of the sayd Lady Fytton, and next after the corps, the Lady Brabason, who was the principall morner, bein lyd and assysted by Syr Rafe Egerton, Knyght, and Mr. Fran. Fytton, Esq. brother to the said Syr Edwarde: and next after her, Mistress Agarde, wyfe to Mister Fran. Agarde; then Mrs. Chalenor, wyfe to Mr. John Chalenor; then Mrs. Dyllon; then Mrs. Bruerton, beyng the other IIII murners. Then Sir Edward Fytton goying bytwene the Archebysshoppe of Dublyn and the Bysshopp of Methe; then Sir John Plunkett, chefe Justice of Ierland; then Master Dyllon beyng the chefe Baron; then Mr. Fran. Agarde and Mr. John Chalenor, wyth other men to the number of XIIII gentyllmen: then sarten other gentyllwomen and maydens, morners to the nomber of VIII; and then the Mayor of Dublyn, wyth hys brytherne the Schyreffes and Aldermen; and the poure folks, VI men on the one syde of the corse and VI woumen on the other syde. And so comyng to the cherche of St. Patryke, where wos a herse prepared; and when

FOR MASON'S HIBERNIA.



Drawn by Grattan.

Engraved by Wm Findlay.

MONUMENT FOR RICHARD, FIRST EARL OF CORK &c.

Dublin. Published Augst 1 1818.

they cam to the herse, the yomen stode, halfe on the one syde and halfe on the other; the penon bered stode at the fette of the corps; then the corps was layd uppon a payer of trestells within the herse, and then the IIII morners were brought to ther places by Ulster, Kyng of Armes aforesayd; and the cheffe morner was brought to her place at the hede of the corps, and so the herse was closd; and the tow assystans sett uppon tow stowles without the rayles. And then sarvyce was begon by the Bysshope of Methe, and after sarvyce, there was a sermon made; and the sermon endyd, the company went home to the howse of the sayd Sir Edw. Fytton; and the corpse was buryed by the reverent father the Bysshope of Methe, and when the corps was buryed, the clothe was layd agayne upon the trestylls wythin the herse, whych was deckyd wyth scochyons of armes in pale of hys and her armes; and on the morow the herse was sett over the grave, and the penon sett in the wall over the grave. And Ulster, Kyng of Armes, had v yardes of fyne blake clothe for hys lyvery, and 50*s*. sterlyng for hys fee, and the herse wyth the cloth that was on the corse, wyth all the furnyture there of the herse.

It appears that the claim of the King at Arms, to the valuable materials which composed the hearse was disputed by the Vicars Choral, nor was the matter settled till 1578, in that year it was finally adjudged and determined in favor of the former, by the Lord Deputy and Council, the decree was as follows:

By the Lord Deputy and Council.

W. Fitz Williams,

Whereas, controversy depended before us, the Lord Deputy and Councell whose names are hereunto subscribed, betwixt Ulster, King at Arms within this realm, Plaintiff, of the one part, and the Vicars Choral within the cathedral church of St. Patrick's by Dublin, Defendant, of the other part: as well for and concerning the hearse of the late Lady Ann Fitton, wife to Sir Edw. Fitton, Knight, Vice-treasurer and Treasurer at Warrs within this realm, with the furniture and garnishments of the same; as also for other hearses with their furniture and garnishment, which heretofore happened within the said church since the said Ulster had the said office, as by the pleading in the said cause more at large appeareth. Whereupon the said Lord Deputy, as one desirous not only to end and finally determine the said present controversy, but also to leave the like cause of the same contention for ever hereafter without doubt, question or ambiguity, sent into England to know and learn, what was the order there in the like case of hearses with their furniture and garnishment: whereupon was returned for answer, by their heralds Kings of Arms of England, under their hands, a copy of a decree given by Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, then Earl Marshall of England, upon an order taken by William, Marquess of Winchester, late Lord Treasurer of England, and Robert, late Earl of Leycester; unto whom the Lords of the Privy Council of England remitted the same, betwixt the King's heralds and pursivants of Arms of England, on the one part, and the dean and chapter of St. Peter's Westminster, on the other part, for the hearse of the Lady Katherine Knolles, deceased, with the furniture and garnishment of the same: by which orders, decrees and sentences, as well taken by the said late Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leycester, and by the said Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshall of England, it manifestly appeareth, that the hearses with the furniture and garnishment erected at funerals, in any cathedral church, or any other church or chapel whatsoever, within the said realm of England, belong and appertain of right unto the said King's heralds and pursivants; as also by the same copy more at large may appear. Forasmuch as we, the said Deputy and Council, having advisedly considered of the premisses, together with the letters patent which the said Ulster hath of his office, by which also appeareth, that he hath the same office, in as large and ample manner, as the King of Arms in England have theirs, and with like perquisites, profits and comoditys: and nothing material is or hath been shewed by the said Vicars Choral for instituting them to the said hearse: it is by us ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the said Ulster shall have, possess, occupy and enjoy, as a perquisite belonging to his said office, the said hearse of the said late Lady Ann Fitton, with all the furniture and garnishment of the same, against the said Vicars Chorals and their successors for ever. And that this, our order and decree, remain from henceforth as a monument for discussing like controversies, upon like causes and titles, so often as the same shall happen within this realm. Given at her Majestys castle of Dublin, the 28th of July, 1578.

F. Armacan. Adam Dublin, C. sigilli. E. Kildare.
H. Midensis. N. Bagnall. Lucas Dillon. N. White.
Frances Agarde. John Chaloner.

Near to the altar, on the south wall of the Choir, is the monument which Richard, Earl of Cork erected, early in the reign of King Charles I. This pile is an interesting object, as well from the grandeur of its appearance, as on account of the schisms and factions which it occasioned in the ecclesiastical and civil departments of the state: it was originally placed against the east wall, where the altar now stands, and under the altar is the family vault of hewnstone, which was constructed by the founder.

It is not to be wondered at that the situation this monument was placed in should give umbrage to many persons, we are surprized rather that it should ever have been imagined by such a person as the Earl, much less consented to and countenanced by such men as Primate Usher and Archbishop Bulkeley: Archbishop Laud, however, took the matter up in a serious way, and even went so far as to present to the King a complaint, grounded upon a communication made to him, that it usurped the place of the high altar. However, in his letter to the Earl of Strafford of 11th March 1633, he says, that not only the Earl himself, but the Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin, "justified that it stood not in the place of the altar, and that it was a great ornament to the church, so far from being an inconvenience; "I confess" adds this prelate, "I am not satisfied with that they say, yet it is hard for me, that am absent, to cross, directly, the report of two Archbishops." Strafford's letters, Vol. I. pag. 211. Usher's letter to Laud was written in 1632, it is published in Parrs collection, the following paragraph is that to which the latter prelate alludes.

"I am further intreated by our Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Corke, to certify my knowledge touching the placing of his monument in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, in the suburbs of Dublin. The place wherein it is erected, was an ancient passage into a chappel within that church; which hath, time out of mind, been stopped up with a partition made of boards and lime. I remember I was present when the Earl concluded with the dean, to allow 30*l*. for the raising of another partition betwixt this new monument and the quire, wherein the ten commandments might be fairly written; which, if it were put up, I see not what offence could be taken at the monument, which, otherwise, cannot be denied to be a very great ornament to the church."

But the dissatisfaction, which this business occasioned, extended farther than to the immediate adherents of the Earl of Cork; Weston, Lord Treasurer of England, was likewise offended, as Lauds letter informs us, "because of his kinsman the Lord Chancellor Weston," to whose memory the monument was, in a great measure, dedicated; and the Primate even expresses his fears, least the Earl of Strafford's interesting himself in its removal might occasion a breach between him and the Lord Treasurer; "for myself," he writes, "I am not considerable, but I would have your Lordship keep all great friends entire."

Unimportant as it may seem, yet the active part which Lord Strafford took in this business caused many of the misfortunes which, afterwards, befel that unfortunate nobleman; it raised against him many adversaries, and the injury which the enmity of the Earl of Cork occasioned to him at his tryal is well known; it was supposed, generally, at the time, that he was influenced by other less pure motives than religious zeal; in the postcript of a letter to him, Primate Laud writes as follows:

"I had almost forgotten to tell you that all this business, about demolishing my Lord of Cork's tomb, is charged upon you as if it were done, only, because he will not marry his son

to my Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join with you; whereas the complaint came against it to me out of Ireland, and was presented by me to the King, before I knew that your Lordship was named for deputy there: but jealousies know no end." Strafford's letters, Vol. I. pag. 211.

Some part of the correspondance between Primate Laud and the Earl of Cork, upon the subject of this monument, is to be found in Strafford's letters; in the following passage, (Vol. I. pag. 222) the Primate calls the Earl pretty severely to task: "and whereas your Lordship writes, at the latter end of your letters, that you bestow a great part of your estate and time in charitable works, I am heartily glad to hear it; but withal your Lordship will, I hope, give me leave to deal freely with you, and then I must tell your Lordship, if you have done as you write, you have suffered strangely, for many years together, by the tongues of men, who have often and constantly affirmed, that you have not been a very good friend to the church in the point of her maintenance. I hope these reports are not true, but if they be, I cannot account your works charitable, having no better foundation, than the livelihood of the church taken away, to do them."

The Primate in his letter alludes, probably, to the business of the College of Youghal, which the Earl of Cork had purchased with all its advowsons under a doubtful title, and had sought to obtain a confirmation thereof, by a grant from his elder brother, the Bishop of Corke, Cloyne and Ross, at that time Warden of the College; the Lord Deputy, glad of such an opportunity to annoy his adversary, summoned him to appear in the high court of Castle-chamber, where he forced him to abide his arbitration, and then awarded, that he should pay 15,000*l.* to the King for the issues for 36 years, and likewise seized the appendant advowsons into the hands of the crown.

Other proofs of frequent bickerings between the Lord Deputy and the Earl appear from the letters which passed between the former and Archbishop Laud; "no longer since than this term," writes the Lord Deputy in March 1634, "a poor vicar was restored to an impropriation and two vicarages, usurped these 30 years and better by the Earl of Cork; we put him in possession, the case in good faith very clear, and now the Earl pretends to bring the trial of the right to the common law, where your Lordship may judge what good measure the poor man may expect, from a jury, against the Earl."

A clause in the Earl of Cork's will, represents him in a very different light from that in which it appears, from the letters above quoted; he therein charged every one of his sons, "upon his blessing, not to make the least benefit or profit of any advowson or presentation within their several possessions, but that they pick out learned and religious ministers and bestow them freely on them, tying them to personal residence." He appears, indeed, to have been a man of exemplary piety, and did, probably, amass the whole of his enormous fortune without any injury to his conscience: the motto which he adopted, "God's providence is our inheritance," was such as we can hardly suppose would be chosen by a man, altogether worldly-minded. Borlace, alluding to his disputes with Laud and Strafford, says, that notwithstanding his great possessions no one did ever tax him with exorbitance, except such as thought princes had too little and religious men not enough. Reduct. of Ireland, p. 210. The Lord Deputy was indeed a dangerous enemy: in his diary, the Earl of Cork says he prejudiced him no less than 40,000*l.* in his personal estate, and in his inheritance 2000 marks a year.

But to return. This matter of the monument was deemed of such importance, that a king's letter, authorising an investigation, was issued from Westminster, 16th April 1634; it appears enrolled on the patent roll, 10th Cha. I.

The Lord Deputy, in a letter to the Primate, dated 23d August 1634, informs him of the proceeding's had upon this letter, his words are as follows:

"This letter goes by so safe a hand as will free us both of the trouble of cypher; therefore, in a few words, I have issued a commission, according to my warrant, for viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb; the two Archbishops and himself with four other Bishops and the two Deans and Chapters, were present when we met, and made them all so ashamed that the Earl desires he may have leave to pull it down without reporting further into England; so I am content if the miracle be done though Mahomet do it; and there is an end of the tomb before it come to be intombed in deed." Straffords letters, Vol. I. pag. 298.

In a subsequent letter, dated 10th March 1634, he writes as follows: "The Earl of Corke's tomb is now quite removed; how he means to dispose it I know not: but it is put up in boxes, as if it were march-panes and banquetting stuffs, going down to the christenings of my young master in the country. The wall is closed again, and so soon as it is dry and fit to be wought upon, it shall be decently adorned, or else ——— it costs me at least one fifty pounds for my share." Strafford's letters, Vol. I. pag.

Shortly after, this monument was erected in the place which it now occupies. It was intended, as the founder himself expresses it, to serve as "a perpetual memorial of his virtuous and religious wife, and of her predecessors and posterity," it was considered, at the time, to be a great work: the tourist, whose work I quoted in page 7, calls it the "verye famous, sumptuous, glorious tombe of my Lord of Corke," he moreover informs us that the marble, whereof it was made, was got within three miles of this city.

The upper stage of this monument is appropriated to Weston, Dean of this Cathedral, whose effigies is placed under an arch, in a recumbent posture, arrayed in his Chancellors robes: two slabs of black marble are placed under him, separated by a small coat of arms; on them is inscribed, as follows:

Here lyeth interred the body of that reverend, honorable, Gentleman, Robert Weston, Esq. Doctor of the civil and cannon lawes, grand-father to the Ladie Katherine, Countess of Corke, being sometimes one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and, for six yeares, Chancellor of this realm.

Who was so learned, judicious and upright in the course of judicature, as, in all the time of that employment, he never made order or decree that was questioned or reversed; he changed his mortall for an eternall life, the 20 of May 1573; whose honorable memorie no time shall extinguish.

Lower down are two arches, where are the statues of Sir Geoffry and Lady Fenton, each in a praying posture, and dressed in robes of state; below them are two marble slabs, separated by a deaths head, and bearing the following inscriptions:

Here lieth intombed the body of the twice honorable Sir Geoffray Fenton, K^{t}, Secretary and Privy Councellor to Queen Elizabeth and King James, of blessed memory, for the affairs of Ireland, and which imployment he performed with great justice; he was father to the Ladie Katherine, Countess of Corke, and departed this life the 24 of October 1608; whose workes and vertues will never die.

In memorie of the honorable and vertuous ladie, the Ladie Alice Fenton, wife to Sr Geoffray Fenton and mother to the Ladie Katherine, Countess of Corke, whose religious and charitable courteous life was an example to her sex. She deceased the 20 of May 1631, but will ever live in the happy remembrance of all posterity.

In the next stage of this monument are placed, recumbent on a table of black marble, the effigies of the Earl and Countess of Cork, cloathed in their robes, mantles and coronets; on the side of this table is the following inscription:

This monument was erected for the Right Honorable S[r] Richard Boyle, K[t], Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghall, Viscount of Dungarvan, Earl of Corke, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, of the King's Privy Counsell of this realm, and one of the Lordes Justices for the Government of this Kingdom; in memorie of his most dear, vertuous and religious Wife, the Ladie Katherine, Countess of Corke and their posterity, as also of her Grand-father D[r] Robert Weston, sometime Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and one of the Lordes Justices for the Government thereof, whose Daughter, Alice Weston, was married to S[r] Geoffray Fenton, K[t], principal Secretary of State in this realm, and they had issue, the said Ladie Katherine, Countess of Corke, who lieth here interred with her said Father and Grand-father, whose vertues she inherited on earth and lieth here intombed with them, all expecting a joyfull resurrection. Quæ obiit decimo sexto Februarii 1629.

Underneath the Earl and Countess, are two arches, wherein are the statues of some of their children; between the arches is a table, whereon we read as follows:

A N	The issue of the Right	
N O	Honorable Richard, Lord	1
D O	Boyle, Earle of Corke, and	6
M I	the Ladie Katheryne his	3
N I	wyfe, with the armes	1
	of such of their daughters	
	husbands as are married.	

At the top of the monument is the well known motto of the Earl of Cork.

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS OUR INHERITANCE.

In 1728, this monument was falling into decay, and Swift, who was at that time busied in the work of restoring those ancient testimonials, made application to the Earl of Cork and Burlington for a sum of money to repair it, his letter upon that subject to the Lord Carteret is published in his works, Vol. XVII, pag. 218, and is as follows:

"My Lord,

"I told your excellency, that you were to run on my errands. My Lord Burlington has a very fine monument of his ancestor, the Earl of Corke, in my Cathedral, which your excellency has seen. I and the chapter have written to him, in a body, to have it repaired, and I in person have desired he would do it. And I desired likewise, that he would settle a parcel of land, worth five pounds a year, (not an annuity) to keep it always in repair. He said, 'he would do any thing to oblige me; but was afraid that, in future times, the five pounds a-year would be misapplied, and secured by the dean and chapter to their own use.' I answered, 'that a dean and twenty-four members of so great a chapter, who, in livings, estates, &c. had about four thousand pounds a year among them, would hardly divide four shillings among them, to cheat his posterity; and that we could have no view but to consult the honour of his family.' I therefore command your excellency to lay this before him, and the affront he has put upon us, in not answering a letter written to him by the Dean and Chapter in a body."

However, although his Lordship did not think it expedient to appropriate the annuity required, he, nevertheless, commanded that the monument should be repaired. To the munificence of William Spencer, Duke of Devonshire, representative of the elder branch of this illustrious family, the public are indebted for the engraving of this monument hereunto annexed.

Richard Boyle laid the foundation of the wealth and honours of that illustrious family; he was born at Canterbury, in 1566, was bred to the profession of the bar; but, being obliged to discontinue his studies through want of means, he set out for Ireland, where he arrived in June 1588, with a sum not exceeding twenty seven pounds in his pocket; he seated himself at Limerick and married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Will. Apsley, Esq. and by her, who died childless, he obtained an estate in land of 500*l.* per annum, which was the beginning of his fortunes.

He was appointed clerk of the council of Munster in the time of Queen Elizabeth; in 1606 was made privy councellor to King James, for that province, and afterward, in 1613, for the whole kingdom; in 1616, he was created Lord Boyle and Baron of Youghal; in 1620, Viscount Dungarvon; in 1631, Earl of Cork and hereditary Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, a place rather of honour than profit, having only a fee of 30*l.* annually, from the exchequer, and although he carried the staff and bore the dignity, the Vice-treasurer had the profits of office.

In 1602, he purchased the great estate of Sir Walter Raleigh, in Munster; in 1603, he married his second wife, Catherine, only daughter of Sir Geoffry Fenton, principal Secretary of State for Ireland, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters, whose figures in alabaster decorate the lower stage of this monument.

He died at Youghal, in 1643, aged seventy-seven years, and was buried there, in pursuance of the instructions given in his will, which moreover directed, that if he should die in or near Dublin, his body should be buried "in the vault of his new tomb, erected over his last dear deceased wife, in the chancel of St. Patrick's church."

He was, as Sir Richard Cox justly observes, one of the most extraordinary persons, either that or any other age ever produced; his distinguished merits and singular success procured him the appellation of "the great Earl of Cork," by this title he is commonly known, and, whether we consider the vast acquisitions of estates, which he justly acquired, or the public works he accomplished, we must allow it was not improperly applied. When Cromwell witnessed his vast operations, he is reported to have said, "that if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion." Borlace, likewise, in his Reduction of Ireland, (p. 210) relates a remarkable circumstance, which shews how much this nobleman was respected in his life time; although he was not a member of the English house of Peers he was invited to sit there on the woolsack, "ut consiliarius."

Besides the titles he obtained for himself, two of his sons were advanced to the peerage during his life time; Lewis being, in 1627, created Baron of Bandon Bridge and Viscount Boyle of Kynalmeaky; and Roger, in the same year, before he was eight years old, was created Baron of Broghill; the former died without issue, the latter, was, in 1660, created Earl of Orrery, and, upon the failure of the male issue in the elder branch, in 1753, his great grandson, John, inherited the titles of his ancestor, which he united to those of his own peculiar branch. Francis, the next son, was, in 1660, made Viscount Shannon; thus, all his sons who arrived at age of manhood became ennobled, except his youngest, the truly illustrious Robert Boyle, to whom a peerage had several times been offered, but as often declined; he was, perhaps, sensible that nothing could add dignity to so great a name.

The small beginnings of his fortunes I have already mentioned, he afterwards improved his advantages so much, that he became the richest subject in his Majesty's dominions: in the subsidy roll his name was placed at the head of the list, as paying the largest contribution, his property being taxed at 125*l.* each subsidy, when the Earl of Ormond's, who next follows, was rated only at 100*l.* It is curious to observe that Lord Fitzwilliam of Merrion, whose property has become of late so valuable, paid so small a contribution as 1*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* for each subsidy. But, the greatest acquisition that the Earl ever made was the estate of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had a warrant of privy seal, dated 3d February 1585, and letters patent, 16th October 1587, granting to him three seignories and an half in the counties of Cork and Waterford; each seignory, according to the applotment, was to comprise 12,000 acres; he, moreover, purchased a part of Beechers seignory, on which he built the town of Bandon: so soon did he stock this vast district that, on the 30th of August 1611, there were reviewed at Tallow, by the Vice-president, a troop of eighty horse, mostly gentlemen and freeholders, armed at all points; 186 pikemen, 356 armed with shot, 6 halberts, &c. in all 550, English tenants, planted by Sir Richard Boyle on those seignories. Smith's Hist. Cork, Vol. I. page 54, &c. This force was greatly augmented before the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1641; the following is an account of the number of horse and foot his tenants were obliged to furnish, upon occasion, and of the patrimony given by him to each of his sons, which gives a comprehensive view of the great possessions which he had then acquired.

"On the estate of Lord Dungarvan, his eldest son.

In the county of Waterford.

The manors of Dungarvan, Pilltown, Affane, Cappoquin, and Bewley: also the manors of Lismore, Tallow and Lisfinny, Ballinatray and Stronecally, furnished, by their leases, 155 foot, and 43 horse.

In the county of Cork.

In and near Youghal, the manor of Inchiquin, the lands of Kilmacow, the manors of Kilnatoloon and Coole, the possession of part of St. Francis's-abbey in Cork city, 58 foot and 37 horse.

In the estate assigned to Lord Kinalmeaky, his second son.

Part of Gill-abbey, the manor of Kinalmeaky, lands of Kilbeg and Kilbroghan, the manor of Coolefadda, the town of Bandon-bridge, and Ballymodan, lands in the barony of Carbery, 395 foot, 114 horse.

In Lord Broghil's possessions, afterwards Earl of Orrery.

Part of the abbey of Molana, in Mac-Awliff's country, in the manors of Broghil and Rathgogan, the manor of Askeyting, and several other lands in the counties of Limerick and Kerry, 418 foot, and 132 horse.

In the possessions assigned to Francis Boyle, Esq. afterwards Lord Shannon.

The manors of Carigoline, Carigtoghill and Barry's-court, and the lands and manor of Tracton-abbey, 430 foot, and 145 horse.

In the estate assigned to Robert Boyle, Esq. his youngest son.

Lands in the barony of Fermoy and Condons, the abbey lands of Fermoy and Castle-Lyons, lands in the counties of Clare and Tipperary, and in the province of Conaught, 228 foot, and 30 horse." Smith's Hist. Cork, Vol. I. pag. 57.

But the suddenness of his elevation to great wealth and honours, was scarcely more remarkable than the reverse of fortune that he experienced, being suddenly stripped, by the rebellion, of all that he possessed.

I shall conclude this long article by the following extract from a letter, written by him, to the Earl of Warwick, shortly after this calamatous event.

"Before this rebellion, my revenue, besides my houses, demesnes, parks, and other royalties, did yield me 50*l.* a day rent. I do vow unto your Lordship that I have not now 50*l.* a week coming in to me; so as, I fear, I must come a begging to you to allow me to be one of your beadsmen. But God's will be done; to whom I am thankful for granting me patience to undergo these great afflictions and losses. My Lord, when my son Dungarvan obtained a troop of horse, it was more for ornament than benefit; but now, our lands being wasted, it must be for his subsistance. My younger sons, Kinalmeaky and Broghill, are in a worse condition; for although each of them have 100 horse, which I have hitherto paid, I am forced now to make it my humble suit to your Lordship, to move the Lord Lieutenant, that they may be taken into his Majesty's pay; for the horses and men are very good, well-seasoned, and acquainted with the service. I am confident, that the Countess of Denbigh will join with you for her son Kinalmeaky, and that the Earl of Suffolk and Lord Howard, with their friends, will co-operate also." Smith's Hist. of Cork, Vol. II. page 131. from a MS in Lismore Castle.

In 1632, the Earl of Cork wrote an account of his own life, which he calls his, "True Remembrances." A pedigree of his family, deduced from very remote times, is given in Thoresby's Leeds, pag. 64, much of his history is to be found in Smith's history of Cork and in Budgell's history of the family of Boyle; but I do not respect, very highly, the authority of this last work.

I shall now proceed to mention some of the persons whose bodies have been entombed in the Earl of Cork's vault.

1608—October 19, Sir Geoffry Fenton died; he was married to Ales, daughter of Dean Weston, by whom he had issue, a son, William, and a daughter, Catherine, wife of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork. Cl. MS.

1623—December 4, Sir Thomas Moore, aged 30; he was son and heir of Gerald, Viscount Drogheda, and was married to Sarah, second daughter of Richard, Earl of Cork, but had no issue; his widow re-married with Robert, Lord Digby. Archd. Peer. Vol. II. pag. 98.

1629—February 16, The Countess of Corke died; her funeral was solemnized March 11th. Cl. MS.

1633—July 14, Lady Digby died. Cl. MS. buried 12th August: second daughter to Earl of Cork, she married first, Sir Thomas Moore above mentioned, and secondly, Robert, Lord Digby, Baron Geashil, who re-married after her death. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 168. Vol. VI. pag. 290, &c.

1656—March 27, Joan, fourth daughter of Richard, Earl of Cork, wife of George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, "sumptuously buried in her fathers vault." Cl. MS. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 102.

1661—July 13, Kildare, second Lord Digby, buried; he was son to Lady Digby above mentioned; his wife, ten years after, erected a monument to his memory in the church of Coleshill. Archdall, Peer. Vol. VI. pag. 291.

1668—September 15, Mary, daughter of Archbishop Parker, wife to Morrough, afterwards, in 1673, created Viscount Blessington. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 148.

1682—September 20, died Barbara, daughter of Earl of Orrery, buried 24th November; she was married to Arthur, Earl of Donegal.

The sepulture of the following persons is extracted, chiefly, from the register of this cathedral.

1690—February 21, Richard, son of Dean Veygar.

1691—April 1, Captain Boyle.

1702—December 10, Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh; he died at Oxmantown, aged 93, was buried the next night, at eleven, in the Earl of Cork's tomb.

1707—May 14, Madam Vigors, daughter to the Bishop of Leighlin.

1709—October 20, Lady Powerscourt. Regist. She was eldest daughter to the Earl of Orrery, and married Ffolliot, Viscount Powerscourt; having no issue, the title, at his death, became extinct.

1710—June 24, a daughter of — Vigors, Bishop Leighlin and Ferns.

1710—November 24, Honora, Countess Dowager of Ardglass. Regist. She was fourth daughter to Archbishop Michael Boyle, and wife to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Ardglass, by whom she had no issue; she re-married with Sir James Cuffe of Ballinrobe, county Mayo.—Archdall, Vol. I. pag. 148.

1710—December 20, a child of Mr. Boyle's. Regist. This was the only son of the second Viscount Blessington; the title became extinct upon his fathers death, in 1733.

1713—February 25, Lady Beresford, late wife of General Gorge. Reg. She was wife of Sir Tristram Beresford, and remarried with General Gorges, of Kilbrew, the son of Robert Gorges, L. L. D. Archdall, Vol. II. pag. 300.

1715—May 7, Joseph Dean, Esq. Lord Chief Baron. Reg. Joseph Deane, (son of Joseph Deane, of Cromlin,) married, in 1673, Elizabeth, daughter of John Parker, Archbishop of Dublin; by her he had a son, named Joseph also, who was made, in 1714, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; the Baron left five daughters, who became, by the death of their brother, as hereafter mentioned, co-heiresses; the Chief Baron's wife, Margaret, was sister of Henry, first Earl of Shannon. Archdall, Peer. Vol. II. pag. 364.

Archbishop King, in a letter to Samuel Molineux, dated 21st May 1715, attributes his death to a cold, contracted during the time of a total eclipse of the sun, which happened in the early part of this month; "the cold and dew," he writes, "was complained of by every one, during the eclipse, and many got cold; my Lord Chief Baron, Deane, was on horseback on his return from his circuit, and took then a shivering, which was the beginning of his fever, of which he died." In a letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, dated 7th of May, the Archbishop makes a similar remark. "The time of the eclipse was deadly cold here, many took colds in it, and there was a very great dew, every thing looked with yellow, and a yellow spot inclining to green." The Chief Baron's funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Bolton; probably Theophilus, who was afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.

1715—August 1, Joseph Dean, son of the same.

1717—February 7, Foliot, Lord Viscount Powerscourt.

1718—April 29, Murrogh, Lord Viscount Blessington.

1721—January 3, Bart. Vigors, Bishop of Leighlin, Har. Ware, Vol. I. pag. 450. His name does not occur in the register.

1725—April 6, died Lady Blessington; intombed the 11th. Reg. Her name was Anne, she was daughter of the Earl of Montrath, and second wife to Morrough, Viscount Blessington, by whom she had issue, the second Lord Blessington, and two daughters, the youngest of whom, Anne, was married to Lord Mountjoy, whose son was afterwards created Earl of Blessington. Butler MS. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 149.

1729—July 19, —— Vigors, widow of Vigors, late Bishop Leighlin, &c.

1733—May 17, Charles, second Viscount Blessington, interred; he died at Paris, 2d June 1732, his father and grandfather, as is above mentioned, were buried here; and likewise his son (aged only five months, 20th December 1710,) Archdall, Vol. I. pag. 149.

1746—December 16, Lady Henrietta Boyle, wife to Right Hon. Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons. Reg. She was youngest daughter of Charles, third Earl of Cork; her husband was afterwards made Earl of Shannon. Archdall, Vol. II. pag. 365.

1753—December 1, Rev. Bart. Vigors, Dean of Leighlin.

1761—December 6, Viscountess Doneraile.

1764—December 31, Henry, Earl of Shannon, Lord Justice; "extra ringing and muffling four days." Regist. This person was not descended from that son of the first Earl of Cork, who, as I have mentioned above, was created Viscount Shannon; for that title became extinct in 1740, Francis, the second Viscount, having deceased in that year, without male issue. This Henry was son to Henry Boyle; second son to the first Earl of Orrery, Lieutenant Colonel to Duke Schonberg's regiment of horse, who died in Flanders, in 1693.

He was, in 1715, chosen Knight of the shire for Cork, which county he represented until he attained to the peerage; in 1733, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and, in the same year, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, a situation in which he eminently distinguished himself; he was also Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was sworn a Lord Justice, fifteen different times; in 1756, he was created Baron of Castlemartyr, Viscount Boyle of Bandon, and Earl of Shannon. His Lordship is the ancestor of the present Earl.

1767—March 8, Henry, son of Henry, Earl of Shannon.

1771—October 12, Bartholomew Vigors, nephew to Dean Vigors, "a relation of the Cork family." Regist. Many other persons of this name are entombed here.

Near to the Cork monument is the vault of the Loftus family, over which were suspended the sword and gauntlets of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburn and Baron Rathfarnham; he served in the army of King William, as Colonel of a regiment of foot, at the siege of Limerick, where he was killed by a canon ball, on the 15th September 1691, as he was sitting in his tent; this instrument of his death was, likewise, suspended over his body, and is the only part of the trophy which now remains, except the crest of the family (a boars head erased) which surmounted the whole.

The following persons are entombed in this vault.

1595—July 21, Jane Purdon, wife of Archbishop Loftus, buried. Cl. MS.

1595—August 26, Mary Purdon, wife of Robert Conway, L. L. D. Cl. MS. She was the daughter of Simon Purdon of Tallagh.

1599—May 29, Captain Adam Loftus, third son of Archbishop Loftus; he was slain in the Birnes country, 6 miles beyond Wicklow. Archdall, Vol. VII. pag. 251.

1601—July 7, Anne Duke, daughter of Sir Henry Duke, of Castle Jordan, wife to Sir Edward Loftus, the Archbishop's second son, buried. Archdall, Vol. VII. pag. 251.

1602—September 5, Sir Edward Loftus, Sergeant at Law, second son to the Archbishop, buried.

1605—April 1, Archbishop Loftus died, aged 74.

1608—November 15, Alice, daughter of the Archbishop, buried; she was married to Henry Warren, Knight. Archdall says she was buried at Ballymacwilliam. Peerage, Vol. VII. pag. 254.

1609—March 19, died Martha, fourth daughter of Archbishop Loftus, wife of Sir Thomas Colclough, of Tintern abbey, county Wexford, buried in this cathedral. Archdall, Peer. Vol. VII. pag. 253.

1612—January 2, Isabella, daughter of Mary Purdon abovementioned, wife of William Conway. Cl. MS.

1635—December 14, Sir Thomas Loftus, of Killyan, fourth son of Archbishop Loftus, buried. Archdall, Vol. VII. pag. 255.

1640—October 11, Sir Robert Loftus, Knight, buried. Archdall, Vol. VII. pag. 247. He was eldest son of Adam, Lord Chancellor, first Viscount Loftus of Elye, he died at Mellefont, in his fathers life time.

1657—August 1, Thomas, son of Thomas Boyd and Mary Loftus, buried in the Chancel. Cl. MS. His wife, Mary, was the fourth daughter of Sir Adam Loftus.

1659—December 16, Sir Arthur Loftus of Rathfarnham, Knight, buried; he was father of Adam, Viscount Lisburne, and was married to Dorothy, sixth daughter of Richard, first Earl of Cork; when her marriage articles were signed, in 1624, she was but eight years old. Archdall, Vol. VII. pag. 262.

1668—March 29, Lady Dorothy Boyle buried, she was married, first to Sir Adam Loftus abovementioned, and secondly, to ——— Talbot.

1676—January 5, Theobald, Viscount Mayo buried, he married Ellen, second daughter of Sir Arthur Loftus.

1691—June 10, Lady of Dudley Loftus buried. Regist.

1691—September 28, Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne, Regist. He was twice married, yet had but one daughter, Lucia, who survived him; she married Thomas, Lord Wharton, to whom she carried the estates of this family, which her son Philip, Duke of Wharton, sold in 1723, for 62,000*l.* to William Conolly, Speaker of the House of Commons; the Duke died in France, in 1731, without issue.

1695—April 10, Doctor Dudley Loftus, buried, aged 77. The history of this remarkable person is too full of events, and his qualities too considerable, to be described in the moderate

compass of a few lines; the history of Doctor Dudley Loftus is destined for a future page of this work.

1705—September 8, Lady Loftus died. Regist.

1708—April 7, Nicholas Loftus, Esq. died. Regist. He was Clerk of the Pipe. Butler's MS.

1709—October 29, Lady Loftus buried. Regist.

1728—July 8, Mrs. Gorge, widow, "buried with the Loftus family, on the south side of the steps of the altar." Regist. She was the sister of Adam, Viscount Lisburne, and married Rob. Gorges, of Kilbrew, L. L. D. Archdall, Peerage, Vol. II. pag. 300.

1748—February 18, Daniel Paul, Esq. Lieutenant Colonel of horse, "interred in the Lord Lisburnes vault, at the south end of the altar, between the rails and the Lord Cork's monument." Regist.

1749—July 7, Right Honorable Lady Anne Paul, widow of Colonel Paul. Regist.

Lettice, eldest daughter of Sir Adam Loftus, who was married to Richard Parsons, eldest son of Sir William, was buried in this Cathedral, 26th October 1633. Lodge, Vol. II. pag. 73. She was mother to the second Sir William Parsons, who was buried in Ranelagh vault, in 1658. Her daughter Jane, who, in 1657, married John Franks, was buried beside her, in October, 1659, but I have not been able to ascertain whether their bodies have been deposited in this vault or in that of the Ranelagh family.

Over the door leading from the Choir to the Chapter-house, there is a monument erected to the memory of Elizabeth, Viscountess Doneraile, whose body is deposited in the Cork vault, the inscription is as follows:

Here lieth the body of the Right Honourable
LADY ELIZABETH, VISCOUNTESS DONERAILE:
Wife of the Right Honble Hayes Sentleger, Lord Viscount
Doneraile, Daughter of the Right Hon. Joseph Dean, Lord
Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1715,
and of Margaret Boyle, Daughter of the Hon. Roger Boyle
of Castlemartyr, in the County of Cork, Esq.
She departed this life on the 3^d^ day of Dec. 1761, in the
59th year of her age.
She lived, universally esteemed, & died, universally lamented.
Her disconsolate husband, with whom she lived in perfect
harmony forty years, hath caused this monument to be erected,
in testimony of the Love which he bare her,
and as a memorial of his sincere respect
for her many great and amiable Virtues.

It appears from the licence, granted by the Chapter, that this monument was at first intended to be placed on the north side of the communion table, "where the ancient monument of the Sentleger family then stood," which was to be removed to the south side and placed over the door. Min. of Chapt. 24th February, 1762.

Under the second step of the altar, is the burial place of the family of Domville, who settled in this kingdom, soon after the accession of the family of Stewart to the crown of England.

The following persons are here entombed:

1615—July 3d, Margaret, daughter of Archbishop Jones, wife of Gilbert Domville, Clerk of the Hanaper,

1637—Gilbert Domville, Clerk of the Hanaper.

1673—February 20, Launcelot, son of Sir Wm. Domville.

1682—December 4, Bridget, wife of Sir Wm. Domville.

1689—July 10, Sir William Domville, Knight, Attorney General.

The following notices are extracted from the register of the Cathedral.

1698—December 9, Sir William Domville.

1705—August 22, Madam Domville, buried in her husband's vault.

1708—March 13, Madam Domville, daughter of Sir William.

1721—April 17, Sir Thomas Domville. Reg. He was created a baronet, by patent, 21st December 1686; he was father of Sir Compton Domville, and of Elizabeth, who married Admiral Pocklington, ancestor of the present family.

1730—January 8, Dame Anna Domville, relict of Sir Thomas. Reg. She was the second daughter of Sir Charles Compton.

1766—November 1, Admiral Pocklington. Reg. Christopher; he married Elizabeth, only daughter, by his third wife, of Sir Thomas Domville above-mentioned, and, by her right, inherited the estates of that family, after the death of Sir Compton Domville, in 1768.

1768—March 16, Right Hon. Sir Compton Domville.

1784—October 1, Mrs. Domville. Regist. Her name was Elizabeth, sister and heiress to Sir Compton Domville, she was the mother of Charles Pocklington, Esq. who assumed name and arms of Domville.

Archbishop Talbot's gravestone is before the steps ascending to the altar; on the north side of it, lies interred the body of Sir William Skeffington, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who died in the government, in December 1535, at the priory of Kilmainham, at that time the vice-regal residence; a monument was erected to his memory, at Skeffington, in Leicestershire, but it was destroyed in the next succeeding age.

Near to the Altar are deposited the remains of a noble personage, whom Stanihurst designates by the title of "Lord of the out-isles of Scotland." In the year 1545, the Earl of Lenox fled from Scotland to Henry VIII. and craving succour from that prince, he was recommended to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, when he arrived, required of the Earl of Ormond to assemble what force he could to reinstate him; the Earl accordingly mustered in Ostmantown green, 600 galloglasses, 400 kerns, 60 horsemen and 440 shot; with this force, to which the Lord Deputy added 1500 soldiers more, he marched to Skerries, in Fingal, where he took ship, and sailing northward, was joined by the Earl of the out-isles; their scheme being rendered abortive by contrary winds and the unskillfulness of mariners, Ormond and Lenox landed their men at Carrickfergus, but the Lord of the out-isles remained on board; he encountered a storm, and was driven upon Hoath, where he expired, being overcome by the fatigues of this expedition. His body was conveyed to Dublin and interred in this Cathedral; the following inscription, since defaced, was placed over his body.

Vique manuque mea patriæ dum redditur exsul,
Exsul in externâ cogor et ipse mori.

Several other remarkable personages were buried in the choir, but none of their monuments are now to be found. Archbishop Alexander de Bicknore was buried near Archbishop Talbot, and Archbishop Walter Fitzsimon was likewise buried in the choir, before the image of St. Patrick. Archbishop Hugh Ynge was also buried in the choir. The Archbishops, Adam Loftus and Launcelot Bulkeley, under the altar: Hugh Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, was, 1st May 1553, interred in the same place. Dean Alexander Craike on the north side of the altar; Dean Moignes body, was also interred in the choir. John Kerney, Treasurer of this Cathedral, was buried near Sir W. Skeffington, in 1601: Robert Price, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, who died the 26th March 1666, was interred in the choir.

"1696—November 9, the William packet boat, coming from Holyhead with 80 passengers, among whom was Brigadier Fitzpatrick and several other officers, was, by a violent storm, cast away near Sutton, in Dublin bay; all persons, except the master and a boy, were lost; the body of Brigadier Fitzpatrick was found upon the shore, which being brought to Dublin, was, on the 19th, honorably interred in the choir." Isaac Butler's MS. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the perpetual communication that subsists between the two countries, which is scarcely interrupted by the most tempestuous weather, no Holyhead packet has been lost, since that here recorded; so that, paradoxical as it may appear, the experience of a century has proved the sea voyage to be fraught with at least as little danger, as the land journey from one metropolis to the other; at least the accidents, occasioning loss of life or limb, which have occurred during that period, have been more numerous in the latter than the former. This persons name was Edward Fitzpatrick, he was elder brother of Richard, first Lord Gowran, the son of which latter was created Earl of Upper Ossory. Archdall, Vol. II. pag. 346.

The register, moreover, records the sepulture of the following persons within the choir; whether in any of the vaults before mentioned it does not explicitly mention.

1692—January 7, Lady Catherine Hamilton. Regist. "Under the steps of the altar." Butler's MS.

1693—September 18, Captain Jephson. Regist. "Near the steps of the altar." Butler's MS.

1704—January 27, Ambrose Aungier, Lord Longford, interred under the steps of the altar, on the north side. Regist. The last Earl of Longford, of this name, he was descended from Sir Francis Aungier, who held the office of Master of the Rolls, and obtained from King James I. a grant of the monastery of white-friars, which he fitted up for a mansion house for himself and his descendants, who lived there for several years, in great splendour. Archdall, in peerage, Vol. III. pag. 378 says, that his elder brother, Francis, third Lord Longford and first Earl, was buried here, 22d December 1700, but I do not find any such entry in the register.

In the isle, south of the choir, under the window, there is a monument of black stone, with an inscription to the memory of Mrs. Mary Taylor and some of her children; she was interred in 1761.

In the same isle, adjoining the wall of the choir, at the third arch from the altar, is the tomb and monument of the family of Worth. This burial place was granted by the Chapter to William Worth, second Baron of the Exchequer, on the 11th May 1682, upon consideration that he, "with convenient speed, do beautify the quire with a monument, to be a burial place for him, his heirs and choice friends, &c. he paying 10*s.* and the like sum upon the burial of each person intombed there."

There is a monumental plate bearing the following inscription.

Here Lies the Body
of William Worth, Esq.
some time
Second Baron
of the Court of Exchequer;
who dyed,
x^br^ the xxiii^d^ A. D. MDCCXXI.
Ætat. suæ, LXXV.
To whom,
and his Heirs for ever,
This Chappel
and Burial place
was Granted,
from the Reverend
the Dean and Chapter
of St. Patrick,
with the Consent
of Francis,
Lord A. B. of Dublin,
by Indenture,
dated
the 11th of May, A. D. MDCLXXXII.

The following persons, were, according to the register, entombed in this vault.

1698—February 5, Dorothy, wife of Edward Worth.

1704—January 12, died Dorothy, Lady Bulkeley, intombed the 13th, in Baron Worth's vault. Regist. Archdall, who follows Lodge, says in his Peerage, Vol. V. pag. 23, that after the death of her first husband, Sir Richard Bulkely, son to the Archdeacon and grandson to the Archbishop, she re-married with Baron Worth; but they likewise (page 24) marry the Baron to Lucy, widow of his son, the second Sir Richard; and yet they put down her and her husband's deaths as both happening in 1710. Baron Worth, in his will, mentions his late wife under the name of Lucy. I have not been able to rectify this error.

1706—October 7, deceased Madam Worth, wife to Mr. Edward Worth.

1721—December 27, William Worth, Esq.

1725—November 11, Mr. William Worth.

1732—May 9, Mrs. Worth, wife of Edward Worth, Esq.

1732—February 28, Doctor Edward Worth.

1741—November 16, Edward Worth, Esq.

1741—November 28, Mrs. Sarah Hoar, daughter of Edw. Worth, and widow of ——— Hoar, county Cork. Regist. Archdall says her husband's name was Edward.

Next adjoining this last, but more to the west and behind the Archbishops throne, is the tomb which was granted, in March 1782, to the family of Archbishop Cradock, he was, himself, interred here in December 1778, there is no monumental plate or inscription over it; the register mentions only one other person of the family entombed here.

To the left of the south entrance, which was anciently called St. Paul's gate, in the corner, there is a small slab of white marble, with the following inscription:

Here lieth the
Body of Alex^dr^
M^c^gee, servant to
Dr Swift, Dean of
St Patrick's.
His gratefull
Master caused
this Monument,
to be erected in
memory of his Dis-
-cretion, Fidelity,
and Diligence,
in that humble
station.
ob. Mar. 24: 1721-2
Ætat. 29.

On the south side of the nave, between the fourth and fifth columns, there is a large monument erected to the memory of Narcissus Marsh. Of this a description is given in another place.

Next adjoining to the monument of Primate Marsh, is that of Dean Swift, described in another part of this volume; and fixed in the column, next to this last, is a marble slab, consecrated to the memory of Mrs. Esther Johnson, which likewise has been elsewhere described.

A splendid monument of white marble, has, of late, been erected, by the gentlemen of the Irish bar, to the memory of John Ball, Esq. Serjeant at Law; it is placed over that of Mrs. Johnson.

Monumental inscriptions should be considered, generally, in the light of panegyric, there is nothing, however, in the following epitaph, that is not strictly true; by recording, in this unprecedented way, the virtues of their amiable brother, the profession has transmitted to posterity a testimonial of their own.

The situation in which this monument has been placed, is, doubtless, accidental; however, its vicinity to that of Swift, naturally calls to our recollection the character he gives us of the lawyers of his own day; a more striking contrast, than such a comparison presents, can scarcely be imagined. The sculptor is the only person concerned, who appears to have failed in his duty; the design is not classical, and the bust has little or no resemblance to the original; whatever is not copied or quite common place, is tasteless and extravagant; the inscription is as follows:

Totus teres atque rotundus.

By the unanimous vote
of the Irish Bar,
this memorial
of esteem and admiration
is raised, to the memory of
JOHN BALL,
one of his Majesty's Serjeants
at law.
He died 24th August 1813, in
the 60th year of his age.

During a life of strenuous exertion
he never excited one transient enmity;
in his progress to the highest professional eminence
he never stooped
to any unworthy condescension;
zealous but candid, modest yet bold,
his simple and persuasive eloquence
was the pure result
of generous feeling and animated conviction;
no sophism disgraced his reasoning,
no studied ornament impeached his sincerity,
Worth, Learning, Intellect, all conspired
to exalt him to distinction:
characteristic modesty grew with the growth
of his reputation,
whilst it seemed to impede, it advanced his progress,
and interesting all men in his success,
shed an unoffending lustre upon his prosperity.
This unprecedented offering of a grateful profession,
to a member, distinguished
by all the great and amiable qualities
of the head and heart,
whilst it affords a present solace
to his afflicted family and mourning friends,
after personal remembrance shall have ceased,
may perpetuate the benefit of his example,
by encouraging unobtrusive worth
and unpatronized genius,
to pursue his path, and acquire his celebrity.

Near the west end of the south isle is the vault which was granted, by the Chapter, to John William Keating late Dean of this Cathedral; his body is here entombed, and in the same vault are deposited the remains of Mary-Mervyn his second wife, and her father, Oliver Nugent of Bob'sgrove, County Cavan, Esq. the monumental inscription has been given in a preceding page.

The monument of Archbishop, Michael Tregury, which was removed from the west end of the south isle, called antiently St. Stephen's chapel, has been fixed in the wall, on the north side of the western door; for an account of this venerable monument the reader is referred to the history of the Archbishops of Dublin.

Near to the steeple is the burial place appropriated to the family of Richard Meredyth, Bishop of Leighlin and Dean of this cathedral; the marble tomb which was dedicated to his memory, was destroyed in the revolution of 1688, when King James's soldiers converted this church into a stable; but, since that period another has been erected, a little more to the east, between the first and second windows; the inscription having been given in another place, I shall not here repeat it, but proceed to notice some considerable persons who have been entombed in this vault.

1596—December 26, John, brother of Bishop Meredyth; he was the first person buried in this vault. Ulst. office.

1597—August 7, Richard, Bishop of Leighlin, Dean of this cathedral.

1662—February 14, Sir George Carr of Yorkshire; he married the second daughter of Sir Robert Meredyth. Ulst. office.

1664—February 14, Sir William Meredyth; he was the eldest son of Sir Robert Meredyth and grandson of the Bishop; created a baronet in his fathers life time, 20th November, 12 Charles II.. Ulst. office.

1668—October 19, Sir Robert Meredyth, eldest son to Richard, Bishop of Leighlin, &c. he was father to Sir William, the first baronet of this family; see more of him in page 177.

1669—April 15, Lady Meredyth buried; her name was Anne, she was daughter of Sir William Usher, and widow of Sir Robert Meredyth above mentioned.

1669—December 8, Sir Amos Meredyth buried; this person was not a descendant of the Bishop, but a near relative; he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, in 1639, and was remarkable for his loyalty to the unfortunate Charles I.; during the period of the civil wars he resided at Powderham Castle, in Devon, and was sent by the inhabitants of that county to their sovereign, when at York, for a commission of array; upon this occasion he presented to his Majesty a considerable sum of his own money; he raised a troop at his private expense, and served as Colonel of a regiment of horse until the end of the war; he built and maintained the fort of Exmouth, in Devon, at an expense of 1200*l.* and engaged for 1600*l.* more, for payment of the forces under Lord Berkeley's command; he sent several thousands of pounds in money, to Jersey, for King Charles II. for which offence, Cromwell designed to put him to death; his estates, to the value of 20,000*l.* were sequestered, and he himself was detained for a long time in prison; upon the restoration he was made gentleman of the Privy chamber to Charles II. Commissioner of Excise and Customs in Ireland; he obtained likewise considerable grants of land, at Ballinakill in the Queen's county, and elsewhere. Ulst. office.

The register records the sepulture of many persons of this family; the following list is extracted from that record, except where some other authority is cited.

1719—June 19, Lieutenant General Thomas Meredyth, in their tomb.

1729—May 16, Dorothea, wife of Arthur Meredyth, Esq. "In the Keating's tomb, near the steeple, in the north isle, she lived with her husband 68 years." Regist.

1731—January 16, Thomas Meredyth, Esq. Regist. M.P. for borough of Cavan. Butler's MS. He was the second son, but eldest surviving son, of Thomas Meredyth of Newton and Carlanston; his son John, was, 26th July 1755 created a baronet; John was father of the present Sir Henry Meredyth. Ulst. office.

1732—May 6, Arthur Meredyth, Esq. Regist. Dean Swift, in a letter to Gay, dated 4th May 1732, writes as follows: "I buried the famous General Meredyth's father last night, in my cathedral, he was 96 years old." Swift's works, Vol. XVIII. pag. 67. Butler, in his MS. mentions the burial of Arthur Meredyth of Dollarstown, county Meath, aged 112 years, and adds, that he was remarkable for his piety and almost boundless charity, he does not, however, mention the day of his death; it appears, from the register, that there were two Meredyths, with the christian name of Arthur, buried in the same year.

1732—December 19, Arthur, son of Thomas and Catherine Meredyth.

1737—Sir Richard Meredyth, second baronet, son of Sir William, was buried here, according to the pedigree in Ulst. office, but his name does not appear in the register.

1739—December 29, Charles Carr, Bishop of Killaloe.

1743—October 8, Richard Meredyth, Esq.

1746—February 18, Robert Meredyth, of Co. Kildare, Esq.

1747—August 1, Rev. Charles Meredyth, A.M. Dean of Ardfert.

1748—August 1, Sir Robert Meredyth, son of Sir Richard, and fourth baronet of this, the elder branch, was buried here, according to the pedigree in Ulst. office, but his name does not occur in the register.

1754—August 5, Mrs. Carr, wife of Charles, Bishop of Killaloe.

1755—September 9, Mrs. Sarah Meredyth, widow of Robert Meredyth.

1756—March 31, Mrs. Meredyth, widow.

1769—March 15, Sarah Meredyth alias Paul. Regist. She was wife to Sir Richard Meredyth, the second baronet.

1769—November 23, Thomas Meredyth, Esq.

1774—May 1, ——— Here the name is omitted, and after a space there is written, "I hope I shall not be blamed when in my grave for neglect of my duty; if the great man Fergus, or Ferragus Gibbons, had commanded his son to give me the account, I would have entered them; but Gibbons had not then the intention, and I fear never will." "Roger Kendrick."

Kendrick was virger, and surveyor of lands to the City of Dublin; Fergus Gibbon was Sexton, he and his daughter Cross, robe-keeper, were principals or abettors in stealing the church plate in 1779.

1783—Sir Paul Meredyth, fifth baronet, was interred here, according to the pedigree in Ulst. office, but I do not find his name in the register.

1787—April 30, Joshua Meredyth, fourth son of Sir Richard, the second baronet above-mentioned; the family pedigree, in Ulster's office, mentions that he was buried in this Cathedral, but I could not find his name in the register.

1789—November 20, Mrs. Meredyth, of Dollardstown. Register. I apprehend that this lady was Susannah, wife of Joshua last mentioned; she was daughter and sole heiress of Barry Collis, of county Kilkenny, Esq. Their son, Barry Collis Meredyth, succeeded to the title, and was the seventh baronet.

1794—September 27, Lady Antrim.

1798 January 13, Mrs. Meredyth, sister to Lady Antrim.

Near the west gate, there stood a marble tomb dedicated to the memory of John Payne, D. D. Bishop of Meath, who died 6th March 1506; the upper stone was adorned with brass plates and inscriptions; by the raising of the floor this tomb has been buried, and the top is now level with the rest of the flags; the brass plates and inscriptions have been, long since, worn out.

Against the sixth pillar from the choir, on the north side of the nave, there is affixed a tablet, whereon we read the following inscription:

To the Memory
of John Boardman, Esq.
who, for 23 Years, fill'd the office of
Grand Treasurer to the Free masons
of Ireland,
with consummate Knowledge,
rigid Integrity,
and unexampled Zeal.
He died in London, on the 29th of May 1814,
whilst on a Mission to
the United Grand Lodge of England:
This Monumental Tablet is erected, by
the Grand Lodge,
To commemorate their Gratitude for his Services,
their Sense of his Virtues,
and their Sorrow for his Loss.

Augs Fredk Duke of Leinster, Gd Master,
Hon. Abrm H. Hutchinson, Dy Gd Master,
John H. Baron Hutchinson, } Wardens.
John C. Baron Kilmaine, }
Revd Robt Handcock, D. D. Gd Secy

The monument of Archbishop Smith comes next in order, being placed between the fourth and fifth columns on the north side of the nave, and next to it, on the third pillar, is one of white marble erected to the memory of Richard, Earl of Cavan, by his Countess; the vault is at a small distance to the rere thereof; the inscription is as follows:

Sacred
to those Virtues that
adorn the
Just and Brave,
this marble perpetuates
the Memory of
Richard Lambart,
Earl of Cavan, Viscount
Kilcoursie, and Baron of Cavan,
Lieutenant General of his
Majesty's forces,
and Col. of the 15th Regiment
of infantry;
who yielded human life for
eternity,
on the 2nd day of November,
1778.
Æ 56.

Just behind, under the third window, is the family vault; but the Earl, to whose memory this tablet is dedicated, was not the first of this noble family who was buried within this cathedral; from the register and other authorities the following account has been extracted.

1639—March 12, Hester, relict of Oliver, first Baron of Cavan; she was the daughter of Sir William Fleetwood, knight, of Carrington manor, Bedfordshire. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 352.

1660—June 25, Charles, the first Earl of Cavan died, and, according to the instructions given in his will, was buried in this Cathedral, on the 4th July; where his mother, wife, and one of his sons, were buried before him. His wife died in 1655, she was daughter of Lord Roberts of Truro: Charles, his fourth son, died 2d June 1660, aged 23 years, and was buried on the 9th; besides these, the following persons of this family were buried here. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pp. 355, 356, 357.

1661—August 9, Lady Elizabeth Lambert.

1687—June 2, Lady Catherine Lambert.

1702—December 5, Charles, the third Earl; he died a lunatic. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 360.

1742—February 3, Castillina, widow of Charles, third Earl of Cavan, aged 80; she was, I believe, buried here likewise. See Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 360. According to his account she must have been more than 80, as he was married in 1670.

To the east of the Earl of Cavan's vault there is a monument erected by George, Marquis of Buckingham, when Lord Lieutenant, to the memory of Henry Tompkins; the inscription is as follows:

Henrico,
Henrici Tompkins de Weston-Turville
in Com. Bucks. Arm.
Filio natu maximo,
Georgius, Marchio de Buckingham,
Hiberniæ Pro-Rex,
amoris ergo et desiderii
P.
Quinto die Maii
annum ætatis quindecimum
vix emensus,
morte heu! immaturâ
præreptus est,
MDCCLXXXVIII.

His body, as the register of the Cathedral informs us, is entombed in a vault, made for him by order of the Marquis, situated at the east end of the Earl of Cavan's.

Next to that of Tompkins a monument has been lately erected to the memory of Richard, Earl of Rosse, it consists of a white marble bust, under which, is the following inscription:

This marble was erected
by John, the sixth
Lord Viscount Netterville,
in memory of
Richard Parsons, Earl of Rosse,
who, with his Sister
Lady Elizabeth Parsons,
are interr'd
within this Cathedral.

In St. Nicholas's Chapel, which occupied the north transept, there were formerly many monuments, but they are not now discoverable; the tomb stone of only one remains, which was placed under the communion table near the east window of this chapel, the inscription is as follows:

Hic reqviescit corpus
Henrici Price, S. T. P. Hu-
jus ecclesiee, per annos
circiter xx, pastoris
dignissmi; qui obiit, Sept. 8,
A. D. 1706.

I shall have occasion to notice this person (nor is he undeserving of notice) among the prebendaries of Monmahenoc; he was, likewise, as the inscription sets forth, curate, to the Dean and Chapter, of the parish of St. Nicholas without.

In St. Mary's chapel, besides the two Saunfords, several other Archbishops of this see have been interred, and many

other eminent persons, whose grave stones, monuments, and stone coffins were exposed to public view, when that chapel was repaired in 1721, and also, in the last year many were visible, but the brass plates and inscriptions were lost or so mutilated that nothing could be discovered from the inspection of them.

As a supplement to this account of persons buried within the Cathedral, I shall annex the following list, in which the names of many persons, are, without doubt, comprised, whose bodies are deposited in some of the vaults before mentioned; but, as the authorities from which I quote, say nothing of the precise place, I am unable to satisfy the reader in that respect; possibly some of them may be interred in the adjoining cemetary.

The first person I shall mention in this place is Sir William Drury, Lord Justice, who died in the government, at Waterford, in 1579; his body was embalmed, and brought to Dublin; and, after it had lain in state several days, was interred in this Cathedral.

1603—October 28, Sir Ralph Lane, Chief Muster-master of Ireland.

1621—March 11, Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher, ninth Lord Delvin, wife of fourteenth Earl of Kildare, was buried in this Cathedral. Archdall, Peer. Vol I. pag. 100.

1624—November 14, died; buried 19th, Sir John Blennerhasset, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Cl. MS.

1625—Sir Montague Blundell, Baron Blundell of Edenderry, in the King's county; he was created a baronet, 27th August 1620, appointed Vice-treasurer, 12th April 1625, in which year he died, and was buried in this cathedral. Butler's MS. penes me.

1640—November 26, Eleanor, daughter of Arthur, son of Sir William Usher: she was wife of Robert Lisle, of Trim. Cl. MS.

1641—February 26, Captain James Rochfort, killed by the rebels, at Kilsaghan. Archdall, Peer. Vol. III. pag. 18.

1652—May 14, Colonel Primeiron Rochfort, younger brother to James abovementioned, shot to death on this day; his body was interred here on the day following; he happened to kill his Major, and received sentence of death, on the 9th March 1651, from a court martial which sat at Corkhouse; the ruling powers, however, behaved humanely to his widow, Thomasine, daughter of Colonel Pigott; by her, Rochford had two sons; the second of whom, Robert, was great-grandfather to the first Earl of Belvidere, whom his father begot (says Lodge) the night he received sentence of death; it is certain he was born nine months after, and on the same day of the month, viz. on the 9th December 1652. Archdall, Vol. III. pag. 19. This feat exhibited even more prowess, than that of David Williamson, from thence called Dainty Davy, whose adventure, in the house of Lady Cherrytree, so much amused the facetious monarch, Charles the second.

1664—April 15, Charles, son and heir of Hugh, Earl Mt. Alexander. Cl. MS.

1675—December 8, Elizabeth, wife of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, she was daughter to Thomas, Lord Thurles, and sister to the first Duke of Ormond; her first husband was James Purcell, titular Baron of Loughmoe. Archdall, Peer. Vol. II. pag. 346.

1675—February 17, Sir John Borlace buried.

1676—June 8, Sir Theobald Bourke, fourth Viscount Mayo, buried; perhaps with the Loftus family, as his first wife was Ellen, daughter of Sir Arthur Loftus, of Rathfarnham. Archdall, Peer. Vol. IV. pag. 246.

The following are noted in the registry.

1687—October 8, Lady Fitton buried. Regist. She was wife to Alexander Fitton, Lord Chancellor of Ireland to James II.

1695—May 26, Lettice, daughter of Archdeacon Downs, probably, in the nave.

1695—July 15, Mary Whitside.

The cemetary adjoining to this Cathedral is designated by the appellation of the "Vicars bawn," sometimes it is called the old church yard, which latter name was given, to distinguish it from a place without the precincts, appropriated, likewise, to the purposes of sepulture, called commonly, the cabbage garden.

Having extended this note to a length, unwarrantable considering the subject, I am forced to confine myself for the remainder, within close bounds; I shall therefore take notice of only a few of the persons interred, and of some of the families, who have had or still possess places of sepulture here; indeed, a perfect account, would be, as I have before intimated, impossible, from the imperfect state of the register.

Near to the wall of the library, founded by Primate Marsh, is a vault, appropriated to his family, his remains were deposited here on the 6th November 1713, and, since that period, the following persons, who were, I presume, related to him in some degree.

1719—August 1, Epaphroditus Marsh. Regist. He was brother to the primate.

1720—May 31, Benjamin Hughson. Regist.

1743—June 28, Richard Huson, from Swords. Regist.

1759—September 22, Mrs. Jane Huson, his widow. Regist.

1759—December 21, Mrs. Grace Proby, probably niece to Primate Marsh, aged 85. Regist.

1762—May 21, Mr. John Cookman. Regist.

1771—August 1, Mrs. Alice Kane. Regist.

1805—January 8, Mrs. Alicia Atkinson. Regist.

Near to the library is situated, likewise, the burial place of the family of Synge, in which vault the bodies of the following persons are deposited, as we learn from the register.

1708—December 2, Doctor Samuel Synge, in his own vault, in old church yard. Regist. He was Precentor of this cathedral and Dean of Kildare; his younger brother was Archbishop of Tuam. Archdall, Peer. Vol. I. pag. 148.

1723—August 24, Archbishop of Tuam's lady.

1738—January 1, Jane, wife of Edward Synge, Bishop of Ferns.

1750—November 9, The wife of Nicholas Synge, Bishop of Killaloe.

1762—February 1, Edward Synge, Bishop of Elphin.

1771—January 1, Right Rev. Nicholas Synge, Bishop of Killaloe.

1787—August 12, Squire Cooper's son.

1807—October 16, Mrs. Alicia Cooper.

Robert Arundell, who was an Alderman of this City, and died in 1675, founded a vault here, and over it is a stone with an inscription; herein are deposited the bodies of some of his relatives.

John Linnegar, who was Sheriff of the City of Dublin, in 1660, and of the County, in 1676, had a vault here, over which is placed a stone with an inscription thereon; he died in 1676; many of his family have been, since that time, buried here.

There is a stone which records the place of sepulture of Peeter Vanden hovaen, Alderman of Dublin, he died in 1650.

There is a vault, and over it, a stone, with an inscription to the memory of Alderman John Pearson, who died in 1725; his descendants have, since that time, used this as their place of sepulture.

A vault was formed in 1813, by Dr. Robert Handcock, to receive the remains of his mother, Mrs. Susannah Handcock, and a monumental inscription to her memory is placed in the choir.

There is a vault, in the Vicars bawn, belonging to the family of Deey, where an Alderman of that name, and others of his family are entombed.

Several persons of the name of Walker are interred in a burial place in the Vicars bawn; one of them was an Alderman of this city.

The family of Dean Corbet have a vault here, the inscription on the stone, which has been already given, sufficiently indicates its contents.

The family of Alderman Robert Mason have a vault here, wherein he was buried, 21st January 1729; and his wife, Barbara, on the 22d February 1715.

I meet, in the register, mention of the tomb of Captain Dodson, and of Alderman Hunt's vault, the same book mentions the tomb of Alderman Spring, but I cannot discover their respective situations.

The following persons are recorded, in the register, to have been interred in this church yard.

1714—April 17, E. Spense, said to be 107 years of age.

1728—April 16, Wife of the Rev. Dr. Matthew Handcock.

1739—January 21, Rev. Dr. Matthew Handcock, Archdeacon of Kilmore.

1754—August 4, Henry Land, aged 74; sexton 38 years. Regist. He was married to Mrs. Ridgeway, who was daughter to Mrs. Brent, Swift's housekeeper, or, as he was used humorously to call her, "his Walpole"; upon her mothers death, Mrs. Ridgeway succeeded to the office.

1758—January 19, Elizabeth, wife of Ambrose Harding, Esq. "not interred till the 20th; it was supposed she was not dead." Regist.

1765—September 30, Relict of Alderman Daniel Falkiner, "in Mr. Spences ground."

1778—December 24, Alderman French, in Vicars bawn.

1779—July 7, Widow of Ald. French, in the same place.

1790—February 24, Mrs. Lyon, wife of Doctor John Lyon, "in Vicars bawn, under the Chapter-room large window."

1790—June 12, Rev. Dr. John Lyon, beside his wife. Regist.

Although Doctor Lyon did not, himself, publish any work on the subject of Irish antiquities, there is no one to whom the Irish antiquarian is more indebted; to his diligence we chiefly owe the preservation of whatever remains of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Dublin. I shall have occasion to mention Doctor Lyon and his labours in another place, and do therefore refrain from taking further notice of him here; I could not, however, pass by his name, without showing some token of respect to his memory.

The burials in the cemetery of this cathedral had become so numerous, before the middle of the seventeenth century, that the Lord Lieutenant and Council found it necessary to restrain the practice within strict bounds; their order, dated 4th March 1666, is alluded to in a resolution of the Dean and Chapter, passed 10th May 1692, entered upon the book of chapter-minutes; the latter mentions, "that the Lord Lieutenant and Council had taken notice, that the church-yards within the Precincts were over-much burthened with multitudes of corps interred there, and that, notwithstanding the incapacity to receive more, many bodies were daily brought from the parish of St. Nicholas without, and from the Close, which, in hot seasons, might prove of dangerous consequence to the whole city; therefore, by order, dated 4th March 1666, they had commanded, that no bodies should, thenceforth, be buried in said church, excepting those who had been at charges in making vaults, and erecting monuments there." In consequence of this mandate the Dean and Chapter found it necessary to appropriate a piece of land to the purposes of sepulture; accordingly they demised to Henry Price, Minister, and to the Church-wardens of the parish of St. Nicholas without, three stangs of ground in St. Kevin's parish, to be used for interment of the parishioners, and the inhabitants of the Close, at the yearly rent of five shillings, for 41 years; which lease was to be renewed, upon demand, without increase of rent, and the parishioners were to inclose the same.

This piece of ground has obtained the name of the Cabbage-garden; the ceremonial of its consecration is recorded in a manuscript volume, formerly in the collection of Sir William Davis, but now in the library of the university of Dublin.

NOTE B.

Containing some ancient Valuations of the appropriated Churches; and Names of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

PART I.

An Account of the Value at which the respective Dignities and Prebends, or the Churches and other Possessions appropriated to the Dignitaries, Prebendaries, or Œconomy fund, of this Cathedral, have been rated, at different periods of time, previous to the rebellion in 1641.

These valuations are comprised in two tables, whereof,

Table I. Exhibits all the valuations, upon record, of the several dignities or prebends, or of those manses in the close, which are now, or have, at any time heretofore been, appropriated to them.

Table II. Relates, chiefly, to the churches or other possessions of the Œconomy; it is subdivided into four distinct parts or portions, whereof,

Part 1, exhibits the valuations of those churches, or other possessions, which have, from the earliest times, been found annexed to the Œconomy.

Part 2, shews the valuations of two churches which were formerly appropriated to the Œconomy, but have been since made prebendal.

Part 3, exhibits valuations of two churches which were formerly prebendal, but one (Luske) has been since appropriated to two of the dignitaries, and is therefore, in valuations of later date, arranged along with their other possessions; the second (Athderg) became afterwards appropriated to the Vicars Choral.

Part 4, respects solely the parish of Swords; and, except the first column, those parts only which have been appropriated to the Œconomy.

From our ignorance of the early history of this church, and of the manner in which the Canons lived, we are unable to determine, precisely, which churches were, in the early ages, prebendal, or which were annexed to the Œconomy, or how far they may have partaken of both natures; many difficulties arise from this source, and many more from the frequent changes which have occurred, since the foundation, in the appropriation of those churches; for some, which were at first annexed to a dignity, have been, afterwards made prebendal, and *vice versa*; so that the reader will scarce believe what labour has been expended in compiling these tables, which are, after all, very imperfect. In consequence of those changes, we must consider, that, when we compare the value of any dignity or prebend as existing at two distinct periods of time, we do not, always, compare the same churches or parishes. The tables are arranged, so far as they can be, to exclude this cause of confusion, the parishes appropriated to each dignity being rated separate, wherever the original record furnishes the respective valuations of each.

The notes in page lxviii describe, more particularly, the original documents referred to, and contain such sort of information as could not be given in the Tables; it is to be hoped that, through means of these illustrations, the matter will be made plain to the reader; that they should be quite free from doubt or confusion cannot be expected, for the originals are not themselves free from those inconveniencies.

TABLE I. Exhibiting the Number, and Order, of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries of St.

		I. Order of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries, according to Alan's Register, fol. 177; likewise the periods in which they first occur, or appear to have been first established.		II. Value of the Prebends in 1227, with the Names by which each was then designated. See Append. No. V.	III. Valuations extracted from the notes in the Register called "Crede mihi," which appear to have been written between the years 1250 and 1303.	IV. Taxation made about 1294; from original roll called "Nova Taxatio dioc. Dub." extant among archives Christ-church Cathedral.
Dignitaries.	1	Dean,	1219,	Clondalchane, cxx *m.*	Clondalkan, *not valued.*	Dean, xli*l.*
				- - - -	Kilberry, lx*m.* & *dim.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Tavelacht, x*l.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Clonard, xx*m.*	- - - - -
	2	Precentor,	1219,	Luske, lxxx *m.*	Luske, *not valued.*	Precentor, xl*s.*
				- - - -	Ardry, xxiv*m.* ix*s.* iv*d.*	- - - - -
				Dunethymelack, xl *m.*	Dovenathymelack, *not valued.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Ch. St. Andrew, xx*s.*	- - - - -
	3	Chancellor,	1219,	- - - -	St. Martin, "nihil valet."	Chancellor, xx*m.*
				Fyneglass, l *m.*	Fineglass, &c. *not valued.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Derlasser, &c. *not valued.*	- - - - -
	4	Treasurer,	1219,	Ballymore, xx *m.*	Ballimore, *not valued.*	Treasurer, vii*l.* vii*s.*
				- - - -	B. M. de Dam. vi*m.*	- - - - -
				Clonkene, xl *m.*	St. Audoen's, x*l.*	- - - - -
	5	Archdeacon Dublin,	——	Tachtoin, xl *m.*	Tachnechy, xxxi*m.* ix*s.* i*d. ob.*	A. D. Dublin, x*l.*
				- - - -	Rathfernan, xxvii*m.* viii*s.* vi*d.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Donabroke, xiii*m.* x*s.* vi*d.*	- - - - -
				- - - -	Kilgoban xii*m.* xi*s.* vi*d. ob.*	- - - - -
	6	Archdeacon Glendaloch,	——	- - - -	Killusky, *not valued.*	A. D. Glend. v*m.* "sed nil propt. guer."
				- - - -	- - - - - -	
Sacerdotal Prebends.	7	Preb. Cullen,	1219,	- - - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -
	8	—— Kilmactalway,	1467,	- - - -	Kilmatalwe, xx*m.*	Par. Kilmatalway, ii*m.*
	9	—— Swords,	1191,	Swerdes, c *m.*	Swerdys, *not valued.*	Preb. Swerdes, iiii^{xx}*m.*
	10	—— Yago,	1230,	Dovenaghmore, xv *m.*	Vil. Yago, *not valued.*	—— Yagotstoune, lx*s.*
	11	—— St. Audoen's,	1467,	- - - -	*see above.*	- - - - -
	12	—— Clonmethan,	1191,	Kilmehoth, xv *m.*	Glinmethan, *not valued.*	—— Glimnethan, x*l.*
	13	—— Wicklow,	1467,	- - - -	Wykinglo, *not valued.*	- - - - -
	14	—— Tymothan,	1247,	- - - -	Tamothan, xx*l.* "in laico foedo"	—— Tamothane, "nil propt. guer."
				- - - -	- - - -	
	15	—— Malahidert,	1227,	Cast. Knock, xl *m.*	Castleknock, 1. xx*l.*	—— Dom. * * *
	16	—— Castleknock,	1227,	- - - -	2. l*m.*	—— N. de Lescappone, x*m.*
Diaconal.	17	—— Tipper,	1227,	Kilkevin, x *m.*	Kilkeyvin, xl*m.*	—— Typyr, v*m.*
	18	—— Tassagard,	1227,	Tathsagard, x *m.*	Tassagard, xx*l.*	—— Tassagard, c*s.*
	19	—— Dunlavan,	1227,	Dunlovan, xv *m.*	Dunlovan, *not valued.*	—— Dunlovane, viii*m.*
	20	—— Maynooth,	1248,	- - - -	Mainoth, *not valued.*	—— Maynothe, cxvii*s.* iv*d.*
Subdiaconal.	21	—— Howth,	1191,	Howth, xx *m.*	Howthe, *not valued.*	—— Howth & Kylbaroc, * *
	22	—— Rathmichael,	1227,	Rathmichell, xx *m.*	Rathmichel, l*m.* "temp.pacis,"	—— Rathmighel, v*m.* "sed nil quia vasta."
				- - - -	- - - - - -	
	23	—— Monmohenoc,	——	Mone, *see Table II.*	Muene, xx*l.* "aut minus" xxi*m.*	—— Monmohenoc, c*s.*
				- - - -		- - - - -
	24	—— Stagonil,	1303,	- - - -	Stachgonyl, *not valued.*	—— Stagonyll, "nil, quia vasta."
				- - - -	- - - - - -	
	25	—— 1. Tipperkevin,	1303,	- - - -	Tipperkevin, xl*m.*	—— Typyrkevyn, i*m.*
	26	—— 2. Tipperkevin,	1303,	- - - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -
	27	—— 1. Donoghmore,	1267,	- - - -	*see Table II.*	- - - - -
	28	—— 2. Donoghmore,	1267,	- - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
				"Preb. R. Marish. "quæ est de "bursa." } v *m.*		
				—— "Magistri P." c*s.*		

Patrick's Cathedral; and the Value, at different Periods of Time, of their respective Prebends.

V. Valuation 1306 for Papal Taxation of one tenth. Lib. Nig. St. Trin. fol. 227.	VI. Valuation, 30th Hen. VIII. for First Fruits, &c. Ir. cur. or one fourth less than st.	VII. Pensions granted at suppression, 25th April, 1st Edw. VI.	VIII. Valuation at the time of suppression of the Cathedral, according to the Inquisition, 38 Hen. VIII.	IX. Yearly val. of houses in Close at time of suppression.	X. Value of the same according to Inq. 1 Edw. VI.; in Irish currency.	XI. Value in Reg. Vis. of 1615. Eng. Sterl.	XIII. Value in year 1630, from Archbishop Bulkeley's report, penes Ar'Epum.
cm.	cxlvl. vs.	ccm.	ccxll. ixs. ixd.	iil. xiiis. ivd.	ccxll.	cccl.	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	Kilberry Rect. cxxl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xlm.	lil. xiis. viiid.	lxl.	Dim. Luske, lxil. xvis. xid.	iil.	lxviiil. viiis. viid.	cl.	Moiety Luske, cl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	Ardrye, vil. viiis. ivd.	- - -	} xxl.	- -	Blessington, xll.
- - -	- - -	- - -	Burgage, xxl.	- - -			
- - -	- - -	- - -	St. Andrew's, iil.	- - -			
xll.	ll. vs.	lxl.	lxxviiil. xs.	iil.	lxxixl. xs.	cxxl.	St. Warburgh's, lxl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xxl.	lxviiil. iiis. ivd.	lxvil. xiiis. ivd.	Ballimore, xxviiil.	iil.	xxviiil.	cl.	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	Dim. Luske, lxil. xvis. xid.	- - -	lxviiil. viiis. viid.	- -	Moiety Luske, cl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xll.	xlii. xvs. viiid.	xll.	lixl. xls. ivd.	iil.	lxxl. xis. ivd.	cl.	Tawney, Rathfarnam, Donabroke, } cl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xm.	xxxivl. ixs.	xxxvil. vs.	xlvil. xs.	il. xiiis. ivd.	xlvil. vs.	cm.	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xll.	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - -
- - -	xiiil. vis. viiid.	xxiiil. viiis. viiid.	xxxiiil. viiis. viiid.	xs.	xxxiiil. viiis. viiid.	xll.	xll.
lxl.	xxxiil. xivs.	xxviiil. xiiis. ivd.	lil.	- - -	liil. xixs. ivd.	cl.	- - - -
xm.	xl. xvis. viiid.	viiil.	xl.	viis.	- - -	xxl. Ir.	xviiil.
- - -	viil. ixs. xd.	- - -	ivl.	xs.	xvil.	xll.	cm.
xxm.	xxviii. vis. viiid.	- - -	xxil. vs. ivd.	il. xs.	xxil. vs. ivd.	xxxvl.	xll.
- - -	xl.	xxl.	xlvil. xiiis. iv.	- - -	xlvil. xiiis. ivd.	lxxxl.	ccl.
xl.	xl.	ixl.	xl.	xiiis.	xl.	- -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xiiil. vis. viiid.	xviiil.	xxxiiil. vis. viiid.	xxxixl.	xs.	xxxixl.	lxl.	- - - -
xiiil. vis. viiid.	xxl. vis. ivd.	xxxiiil. vis. viiid.	xlviil.	il. vis. viiid.	xlviil.	cm.	- - - -
xl.	xvil. xs.	- - -	xxil.	xiiis. ivd.	- - -	xxxl.	xxxl.
xl.	xl. is. viiid.	xiiil. vis. viiid.	xxl. xs.	il.	xxl. xs.	xxxl.	xxxl.
xxl.	xiil. vis. viiid.	xiil.	xxl.	- - -	xxl.	xlm.	xxxl.
xxl.	xxiiil. iis. iiid.	xxxl.	- - - - -	il. xiiis. ivd.	- - -	cl.	cl.
xxiiil. viiis. viiid.	xxivl. xvis. xd.	xxl.	xxxiiil. xs.	il. xs.	xxxiiil. xs.	cl.	lxxxl.
xxm.	viiil. is. id.	xiiil. vis. viiid.	xxiil.	- - -	xxiil.	xll.	xxl.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
xm.	xil. xvs. xid.	xl.	viiil. vis. viiid.	il.	- - -	xlm.	- - - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
"nil propt. guer."	il. xiiis. ivd.	xiil.	xixl. xviiis.	- - -	xixl. xviis.	xll.	ll.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- -	- - - -
} xl.	vl. vis. viiid.	vil. viiis. ivd.	vil. xiiis. ivd.	xiiis. ivd.	} xiiil. vis. viiid.	} xlm.	} xxvil.
	ivl.	ivl.	vil. xiiis. ivd.	- - -			
- - -	iiil.	iiil.	iiil.	xs.	} vil.	} xl.	} xxxl.
- - -	iiil.	iil.	iiil.	- - -		xl.	

TABLE II. Exhibiting the Value of some Churches which are now, or have been, at some Lands which are mentioned in those ancient Valuations, and likewise of

PART I. Comprehending such parishes, or other ancient possessions, as are still annexed to the Oeconomy, or are altogether lost to the Church.	II. Value in 1227, with the denominations by which each was then known.	III. Valuations extracted from the notes in the Register called "Crede mihi," which appear to have been written between the years 1250 and 1303.	IV. Taxation of 1294; from Roll called, "Nova Taxatio dioc. Dub." among records of Christ-church Cathedral.	V. Valuation 1306 for Papal Taxation of one-tenth, Lib. Nig. St. Trin. fol. 227.
Church of St. Kevin, - - -	- - -	St. Kevin, *Rect. not valued.*		xl.
——— Crumlin or Crum,	- - -	Cromelyn, *not valued.*		xl.
——— Castleknock, - - -	- - -	- - - - - -	xxl.	xxm.
——— Monecolumbkille or Mone,	Mone, xm.	Mon, xxviim. xs. ivd.		
Chapel of Byrton, - - - -	- - -	Cap. de Bartune, xvim.		xxl.
——— Ardscull or Arscoll, -	- - -	Archscoll, xvm.	"Non sufficit ad onera,"	
Church of Kilmesantan, - - -	Kilmesantan, xvm.	Kilmesantan, xviiim. & *dim.*	"Vasta."	"nil propt. guerr."
Chapel of Templeoge or Tamelogh, -	- - -	Tachmeloge, vim. xiis. vid.	"Non sufficit ad onera."	xls.
Church of Kilbride, - - - -	- - -	Kilbride in mont. *not valued.*	"Vasta."	xls.
Chapel of Brenockstown, - - -	- - -	Vil. Brethennock, *not valued.*	"Non sufficit ad onera."	lxs.
Rathsallagh, - - - - -	- - -	- - - - - }	"Omnia vasta."	cs.
Chapel of Freynstown or 'de villa Fraxini'	- - -	*see below.* }	- - - - -	"nil propt. guerr."
Terrenemok, - - - - -	- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -	xxs.
Selyot or Selyok, - - - -	- - -	- - - - - -	"Vasta."	xs.
Ballyogan, - - - - -	- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -	"nil propt. guerr."
Rent from Citizens of Dublin, - -	- - -	- - - - - -	"Vasta."	xls.
Altarages of St. Nicholas without, -	"St. Mich." } cs.	- - - }	"Non possunt supportare onera." }	cs.
——— St. Nicholas within, -	*or St. Nich.* }	- - - } *not valued.* }		- - - -
——— St. Bridget, - - -	- - -	Non valet ad sustent. unius Cap.	- - - - -	- - - -
Ballimore, - - - - -	- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - -
Sum Total of the Possessions of Œconomy	- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -	lxxvl. vis. viiid.

PART II. Comprehending those Churches which are now Prebendal, although anciently they were annexed to the Œconomy.	II. Value in 1227, with the denominations by which each was then known.	III. Valuations extracted from the Notes in the Register called "Crede mihi," which appear to have been written between the years 1250 and 1303.	IV. Taxation of 1294, from Roll called, "Nova Taxatio dioc. Dub." among Records of Christ-church Cathedral.	V. Valuation 1306 for Papal Taxation of one-tenth, Lib. Nig. St. Trin. fol. 227.
Donoghmore in Omayle, - - -	- - -	Dovenachmor, xxxviiim.	"Vasta."	"nil propt. guer."
		Cap. de V. Frenis, vim.	- - - - -	- - - -
		—— Kilbreni, xxivm.	- - - - -	- - - -
New Castle, - - - - -	xxm.	Nov. Castrum, lm.	xxm.	xxl.

PART III. Exhibiting the Value of certain Churches, anciently Prebendal, the state of which has been since altered.	II. Value in 1227, with the denomination by which each was then known.	III. Valuations extracted from the Notes in the Register called "Crede mihi," which appear to have been written between the years 1250 and 1303.	IV. Taxation of 1294, from Roll called, "Nova Taxatio dioc. Dub." among Records of Christ-church Cathedral.	V. Valuation 1306 for Papal Taxation of one-tenth, Lib. Nig. St. Trin. fol. 227.
Luske, - - - - - -	lxxxm.	"In ista sunt duæ Præb. bonæ." *No specific value.*	"Jac. de Hyspania" xlm.	xxxiiil. vis. viiid.
			"R. de Apyndon," xlm.	xxxiiil. vis. viiid.
Athderg or Adderke, - - -	- - -	Adderke, xivm.	"Paroch: Eccl:" vm.	cxivs.

period of time, annexed to the Oeconomy, or common fund, of the Cathedral, and of some some Churches, anciently Prebendal, the state of which has been since altered.

VI. Valuation in the notes to Alan's register, fol. 177; written about the year 1302.		VII. Rents reserved in 1509; according to the Proctor's account of that year, which see in Appendix, Number XVII.		VIII. Valuation in the year 1547, according to an Inquisition held upon the dissolution of the Cathedral, in the 38th year of Hen. VIII.		IX. Rent reserved in 1606; according to the Proctor's account of that year; in Irish currency.	
Sti. Kevini,	xl.	St. Kevin,	xivm. vis. viiid.	St. Kevin, tithes,	viiil. xiiis. ivd.	St. Kevin's,	xxl.
Cromlyn,	xl.	Cromlyne,	xiil.	Cromlyn, tithes,	xl. xiiis. ivd.	Crum. ½ tithe,	vil. xiiis. ivd.
Portio de C.knock,	xxm.	Castleknoc,	xiiil. vis. viiid.	Castleknock,	xiil.	Castleknocke,	xviiil.
		Whitistown,	xxvis. viiid.	Whitetown,	xxvis. viiid.	Whitestown,	viiil.
		Cobragh,	vm.	Moiety Cabragh, &c.	ivl.	The Cabragh,	ivl.
Mone, cum Berton, et Arscoll,	xxl.	Mone,	xiiis. ivd.	Moone,	cvis. viiid.	These portions with Rathsallagh & Frainstown,	xxviil.
		2 parts Byrton & Selyoke,	xls.	2 parts Byrton & Selyot,	xls.		
		3d part Byrton & Ascol,	xxs.	3d part Byrton & Ardscol,	xls.		
		2 parts Ascol,	vis. viiid.	2 other parts Ardscol,	liiis. ivd.		
Kilmesantan,	cs.	Talogh,	xxxiiis. ivd.	Templesaunton, alias Glassmochy,	ivl. xiiis. ivd.	Templeoge & Kilmasantan,	viil. vis. viiid
Tomolon,	xls.						
Kilbride,	iiil.			- - - -	- - -	Kilbride,	ivl.
Braynokston,	iiil.	Braynokstown,	xls.	Brenaxton,	ivl.	Brenockston,	ivl.
Raithsalhan,	cs.	Rathsalagh, carucate of	xiiis. ivd.	Rathsallaghane,	xls.	Rathsalcan,	xiiis. ivd.
Cap. de Freniston,	xxs.	Frayneston,	il.	Freinston,	xxs.	Freinston,	*see above.*
Tirnemok,	xxs.	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	-
Selyot,	xxs.	Selyoke,	*see above.*	Selyot,	*see above.*	Selyot,	*see above.*
Ballyogan,	iiil. vis. viiid.	Ballyogan, carucate of	xiiis. ivd.	- - - -	- - -	Ballyogan,	xiiis. ivd.
Reddit. Civ. Dub.	xls.	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	-
B. N. in eccles.	cs.	B. N. "infra eccles."	ivl.	St. Nicholas without,	vis. viiid.	Alt. par. quire,	vl.
—— infra muros,	xls.	—— "infra muros,"	"nihil hoc anno."	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	-
- - - -	-	Ch. St. Brigid,		St. Brigid,	il.	- - - -	-
- - - -	-	Ballymore,	xxs.	Ballymore,	xxs.	Ballymore,	xxs.
lxxxvil. xiiis. ivd.		N. B. Previous to that period of time to which Columns VII. VIII. and IX. have reference, the Œconomy fund was augmented by other possessions, for an account of which, see Book I. Chapt. XI.					

PART IV. Exhibiting different Valuations of Swords Parish; chiefly those portions that have been, since 1431, annexed to the Oeconomy.

Valuation of Swords parish, from Alan's register. fol. 154: previous, perhaps, to the division in 1431.		Rents reserved in 1509, according to the Proctor's account.		Value of the same at dissolution of Cathedral, 1546.		Rents in 1606, from Proct. account, in Ir. cur.	
Malahide & Draynam,	xxvim.	Kyllostry,	xxm.	Killostre,	xiiil. vis. viiid.	xiiil.	vis. viiid.
Lissenhale & Balmadroght,	xiiim.	Malahide,	xl. xiiis. ivd.	Malahyde,	xil. vis. viiid.	xiil.	
Boly,	xim. & dim.	Fforrowe (great)	vl.	Moche-fforrowe,	ivl.	vil.	
Skiduff,	xiiim.	Drenanne,	xivm.	Dreynam,	xl.	xl.	
Lispobell & Killostry,	xxvim.	Skydoff,	viiil.	North Quarter,	ixl. vis. viiid.	xxiv.	
Rabelle cum X foeni,	xviiim.	Clohrane, (3d part)	xlvis. viiid.	Cloghran, 3d sheffe,	iil. vis. viiid.	iil.	vis. viiid.
Killeghe,	xm. & dim.	Kyllegh,	viim.	Killeghe,	ivl. xiiis. ivd.	vil.	
Cloghrane,	vim.	Burgage,	xiim.	Burgage tithes,	viiil.	xivl.	xiiis. ivd.
De Werwe,	xm.	Bolyes,	viiim.	Booles,	vl. vis. viiid.	xl.	xiiis. ivd.
Pro una port. de decim. ibidem.	xiim.	Rathbell, (with Vic. Chor.)	xl. xiiis. ivd.	South Quarter,	xl. xiiis. ivd.	xl.	xiiis. ivd.
Pro altera med.	xiiim.						
De Terra Burgensium,	xviim.						
Preterea et ultra decimas Piscariarum, etiam redditus exitûs Curiæ, custumas et proficuas Terræ de Lissenhale— usque ad summum,	civl. iis. viiid.						

Remarks on the foregoing Tables.

The Order of Rank among the Prebendaries, given in Table I. is the same, nearly, with that which now obtains; it is, nevertheless, difficult to ascertain from whence it took its rise, for it does not depend upon antiquity of foundation, or value of endowment, or on any other cause that can be developed. The only variations that occur, respect the right of precedence between the Prebendaries of Kilmactalway and Swords; and those of Monmohenoc, Stagonil, Tipperkevin and Donoghmore; but those matters are of too slight importance to merit further consideration; the Prebendaries generally observe the order that obtains in the Charter of Restitution, which see, in Appendix, Numb. XV.

With regard to the dates annexed to each; they have sometimes reference to the documents wherein the prebends were first mentioned, because those whereby they became appropriated, are not in every case known; we have however the original deeds whereby the greater number were established, which are noticed in their proper places in the preceding pages; some, however, as the two Archdeaconries, existed before the Cathedral itself was founded; others appear to have been appropriated at the period of foundation, but underwent some change in after-times, as Stagonil, which is mentioned in Pope Celestines bull of 1191, yet the charter making it a prebend was granted in 1303; some likewise that are now prebends, as St. Audoen's, Wicklow, and Kilmactalway, were annexed formerly to some of the dignities, or were, like Newcastle, appropriated to the Œconomy. The period at which Monmohenoc became first established as a prebend is a matter of doubt, for there are two churches appropriated to this Cathedral, Monmohenoc and Moncolumkille, both of which are called Mone in ancient writings.

These alterations have occasioned much difficulty in this attempt at a synoptical arrangement, and what is worse, the work itself is less perfect in proportion as the labour of compilation has been greater. The following remarks will, perhaps, throw some light upon the subject of those alterations; if the reader seeks for further information, he will find it in the Chapters of Book I. which treat of the respective endowments of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries.

1. The corps of the Deanery has undergone no very important change since the termination of that century wherein the dignity was itself established.

2. The endowment of the Precentor has been altered, frequently, as appears from what is related in Book I. Chapt. VI. however, if we except the parish of St. Andrew, which he has lost, no considerable change has taken place since 1467. The valuations of the parish of Luske (which were made during the intermediate period of time, between those immediately subsequent to the establishment of the Dignitaries, when it appears to have been appropriated to the Precentor, and the year 1467, when it was divided between that Dignitary and the Treasurer,) are to be found in Table II. Part 3.

3. The Chancellor has lost one parish which was annexed to his dignity in early times; it lay within the Irish territory, and, after the decay of English power, during the wars of York and Lancaster, he derived little advantage there-from: neither its situation or extent could be now determined, with any degree of certainty, so that it may be considered as lost, irretrievably.

4. The Treasurer's endowment was altered soon after its original establishment; it underwent frequent changes too, in subsequent times; but, since 1467, it has remained nearly in the same state.

5. The Archdeacon of Dublin's endowment continued nearly the same during that period of time to which the preceding table refers.

6. The Archdeacon of Glendaloch had not, in early times, any fixed prebend; in 1267 Killusky was granted, and in 1332 Wicklow, perhaps as an augmentation; in 1467 they were exchanged for Newcastle, which has been, since that period of time, annexed to this dignity. The valuations of the parish of Newcastle which were made previous to the year 1467, are to be found in Table II. part 2.

8. Kilmactalway was granted to the Precentor in 1366; it was first established as a distinct prebend, in 1467.

9. The Prebend of Swords underwent a great change in 1431, in which year the greater part became appropriated, to the uses of the Œconomy fund, and to the maintenance of the College of Minor Canons; the later valuations of those dismembered portions are to be found, therefore, in Table II. part 4, where there is likewise an ancient valuation of this Prebend, which, although the precise date cannot be clearly ascertained, appears to have been made some time previous to the division above alluded to.

The Prebend of Swords was, in ancient times, the most valuable benefice in the gift of the Archbishop of Dublin; several cardinals, and other minions of the papal see, thought it, therefore, an object of their ambition; it was this circumstance that induced that amiable prelate, Archbishop Richard Talbot, to reduce its value; accordingly, in 1431, he divided this parish into minuter portions, which he appropriated to a better purpose than that of pampering the vices of an idle or luxurious prelate.

11. The Parish of St. Audoens was, before the year 1467, appropriated to the Treasurer.

13. The Parish of Wicklow, was, from the year 1332 till 1467, the endowment of the Archdeacon of Glendaloch.

15, 16. The two portions of Castlenock are mentioned, in the ancient valuations, in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of their being distinguished one from the other; they are generally designated by the names of the prebendaries in possession, and not by the name of that portion which was the endowment of each; neither is the endowment of the prebendaries to be distinguished, easily, from that part appropriated to the Œconomy.

27, 28. The more ancient valuations of Donoghmore in Omayle are to be found in Table II. part 2.

With regard to the first column in Table II. it is to be observed,

That, by Castlenock, as here placed, is meant that portion only which appertains to the Œconomy; it is not, as I have said before, easy to determine what part is meant, when the name occurs in ancient writings.

Relative to Mone, I have already observed, that it is not always easy to discover to which of the two churches, called by that name, the ancient valuations refer.

By Rathsallagh, as appropriated to the Œconomy, is meant, in the ancient writings referred to in the annexed table, a certain portion of land which did once belong to the Œconomy, but which was lost in the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of 1641: the parish of Rathsallagh has been an acquisition of comparatively modern times; the claim of this Cathedral is, however, mentioned by Archbishop Alan, in his Repertorium Viride.

Freinstown was, in ancient times, a chapel subservient to Donoghmore in Omayle.

Terrenemok and Ballyogan are the names of considerable portions of land, which, like Rathsallagh, were lost about the period of the rebellion of 1641. The rent paid by the City of Dublin is not mentioned in any of the later taxations.

Donoghmore in Omayle was annexed to the Œconomy, in 1267; it nevertheless continued to furnish maintenance to two prebendaries and a vicar; I presume that this arrangement did not long continue, for the sums, to be paid by the Œconomy to the prebendaries and vicar, exceed in amount the valuations of the parish made in subsequent times; this falling off is to be attributed to the decay of English power; from this cause it happened, probably, that the parish reverted to the prebendaries, as it produced no fruits beyond, nor even equal to, their maintenance.

Newcastle was, as I have said before, appropriated to the Archdeacon of Glendaloch, in 1467; whether it was appropriated, wholly, to the Œconomy, before that time, is not plainly discernable, the charter of 1467, and valuation of 1306, seem to insinuate that it furnished maintenance to a prebendary.

Although Luske is mentioned to have been originally appropriated to the Precentor, yet almost all the valuations extant mention it as divided into two prebends; but whether the incumbents were dignitaries or prebendaries does not appear.

I shall add here some additional remarks upon the different valuations which are referred to, in the foregoing tables, and explain such matters as require further elucidation, and shall notice such other matters contained in these records as may be deemed worthy of observation.

The first four valuations extend to both tables; those given in the subsequent columns of the first table are different from those in the second table, except the eighth column which likewise extends to both.

Column II. exhibits the most ancient valuation of the several Prebends; considering it an important document, I have inserted the original, in Append. Numb. V. The churches therein mentioned were all, at that time, Prebendal, nevertheless there occurs in the list several which were annexed, in after times, to the Œconomy; we cannot suppose they were appropriated to that fund when this valuation was made, because the object of this deed was, to fix a rate whereat the absent members might be taxed, which would have been altogether useless, if those benefices did belong, at that time, to the community at large.

It is to be observed that the names both of Ballimore and Clonkene occur in this document, which seems contrary to what the ancient records of this church declare, viz. that Ballimore was granted to the Treasurer in exchange for Clonkene: we can scarcely suppose that by Ballimore is meant the tithes of the Archbishops demesne lands there, which had been appropriated to the community by Archbishop Comin, because the value is so much greater than those tithes were rated at, upon any subsequent occasion.

Tachtoin is said, by Alan, to be the same with Tawney; Kilmehoth with Glinmethan, and Dovenaghmore is interpreted by him, in another place, to be Yago.

It is difficult to determine what prebends were meant by the last two, which are designated by the names of the prebendaries, not of the prebendal churches; possibly, one might have been Stagonil (Tehgumnill), which was granted to the college, founded by Archbishop Comin in 1189: Tallagh (Tavelagh) was appropriated at the same time, but the names of those churches do not occur in this record.

Column III. In that very ancient register called "Crede mihi," at fol. 109, there is a list, fairly engrossed, of the churches and chapels in the diocesses of Dublin and Glendaloch; this list is contemporaneous with the work itself, and Archbishop Alan, who has added some notes, written with his own hand, expressly mentions, that this list was made at the time of Archbishop, Henry de Loundres. But, besides the notes of Alan, there are others in a more ancient hand, which have furnished the information detailed in the third column of each of the preceding tables. That these notes were written soon after the work itself was compiled, is manifest, not only from the appearance of the writing itself, but likewise from internal evidence; the period they were written in was, probably, about the latter end of the thirteenth century; some however appear to have been written a few years later, the following remarks will, I trust, justify this opinion.

Kilfernoc is said to be possessed by the Precentor, at that time; this observation must have been made before the death of Eudo, the Precentor, who was the only one that possessed that parish along with the precentorship.—To the name of Yago, which is called a prebend, there is annexed the following remark, "Agnes de Ves* patrona, nunc; Marescallus prius;" and to that of Maynooth, which is likewise said to be a prebend, "Dom. Mauricius fil. Geraldi est patronus. Johannes de Saunford habet istam prebendam ex present. Baronissæ de Naas." These remarks indicate that the notes were written during the lifetime of Maurice Fitzgerald, first Lord Offaly, and not before the year 1248, when Maynooth was first made a prebend of this cathedral: possibly this John de Saunford is the same person who, in 1269, was made Dean of this cathedral, and, in 1284, was elected Archbishop of Dublin; if this be so, the note was written between 1248 and 1269.—M. Wallene was, at that time, Treasurer of St. Patrick's, which dignity he obtained in the year 1250; Ballimore is said to be his prebend, and Clonkene to belong to the Priory of the Holy Trinity.—The church of Killusky is mentioned to be the prebend of the Archdeacon of Glendaloch; this remark was therefore written at some period of time, subsequent to 1267 and previous to 1332. Tipperkeven is called a prebend, but it was not erected into that state until the year 1303.

After all, it is not improbable that the valuations are more ancient than the annotations, and the remark which occurs after Donoghmore in Omayle favours that opinion; although the rectory, vicarage, and appendant chapels are valued, there follows the observation, "sed nihil valent his diebus."

The following particulars are from the same record, and are given here because they could not be included in the preceding table.

Clondolkan, Eskyr and Rathcul are said to be appendant to the Deanery, but the respective values are not expressed; a chapel called Ballicolman, is likewise said to belong to the corps of that dignity, but this, I apprehend, is a mistake.

Tavelacht or Tallagh is mentioned, but it is doubtful whether the value annexed relates to the rectory or the vicarage.

Luske is mentioned but not valued, the annotator remarks however, "in ista sunt duæ prebendæ bonæ."

Dovenathymelack, "cum cap. de villa Cymmyn & eccl. de Tulachfergus (seu Kilfelgar) preb. Precentoris."

Relative to St. Andrew's church it is remarked, that it was at that time assigned to the precentor's vicar.

St. Martins and St. Werburghs are both set down in this list, but, it seems they were esteemed of small value.

After the valuation of Rathfarnham the following words are annexed, "quoad Prior. St. Trin. viii marc." This alludes to that contract which is mentioned in Book I. Chap. IX.

The Parish of Castleknock is divided into two prebends, the portion which belonged to the monks of Malvern is noticed besides, this latter is rated at 40 marks, and the vicarage at ten pounds; there is no mention made of the portion possessed by the Œconomy.

Muene; as the tithes of this parish, are mentioned to be divided into two portions, this observation proves clearly that the church of Monmohenoc is meant; besides, the record mentions that one part belonged to the Prebendary in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The parish of Moncolumkille is called Mon.

To the valuation of Kilmesantan, Alan adds a remark, "sed nihil valet his diebus:" after Kilbride, are the words, "seu de Ogadesye:" both these observations are in his own hand writing.

Donoghmore in Omayle is said to belong to the Œconomy; the annotator, although the church and its appendages are valued, adds the words, "sed nihil valet his diebus."

Column IV. The original roll, from whence the information contained in this column is extracted, has suffered damage to a degree that renders the writing in many places unintelligible; the chasms are distinguished, in the tables annexed, by an asterisk.

Column V. This taxation has been published in the Report from the Commissioners for arranging the Irish records, at page 310; which account, if we except a few errors committed in spelling the names of places, is tolerably correct.

The Church of Castleknock is rated, among the Œconomy possessions, at twenty marks yearly value, exclusive of the vicarage, and the prebendal portions, which latter are noticed in the following manner.

Prebenda Domini I. Palke, in ecclesia de Castrocnoke } xiii*l.* viii*s.* viii*d.*
Prebenda de I. de Dene, in eadem ecclesia } xiii*l.* viii*s.* viii*d.*

The Prebendaries of the church of Luske are mentioned in the same way, viz.

Prebenda Domini Jacobi de Spannia, in ecclesia de Luske } xxxiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.*
Prebenda Magr. Ricardi de Wyndon, in eadem ecclesia } xxxiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.*

Column VII. Table I. The sums here specified are in Irish currency, or one fourth less than sterling, except the pensions of the Dean, and the Prebendary of Swords, which appear to be according to the standard of England.

Column XI. There are copies of this visitation in the possession of Sir W. Betham Dep. Ulst. King of Arms, the Prerog. office, and the MS. library of Trinity College; the valuations are accompanied with remarks, from which I select the following:

The Precentor reports, that the fruits of his benefice had been demised, in 1588, for 40*l.* per annum.

The Prebendary of Swords reports, that his benefice had been demised, by his predecessor, for 33*l.* per annum, with royal licence, and the lease confirmed by the Archbishop, and the Chapter.

The Archbishop reports, that the Prebendary of Maynooth leased his prebend (*parum prudenter*) from year to year for 40*l.* per annum; but, without the consent, either of the Archbishop, or of the Chapter.

The Prebendary of Wicklow reports, that his prebend had been demised, by his predecessor, for 30*l.* per annum.

The same record states that the annual value of the Œconomy possessions amounted to 180*l.*

Column XIII. This report contains several matters of importance, which cannot be properly explained in this place. The valuations here given, relate solely to the rectorial tithes, or that portion which is appropriated to the dignitary or prebendary, and is exclusive of the vicar's portions.

The books of Chapter-minutes notice several leases of the prebendal churches, granted during that period of time to which the annexed tables refer. The rents reserved, appear to have been, in all cases, less than the real value; of these I shall notice the following.

The Parsonage of Swords was demised, in 1580, for 41 years, at the rent of 44*l.* per annum, Irish currency; and again, in 1598, for 60 years at the same rent. Min. Chapt. of Christ-church Cathedral. See remarks on Column XI.

The Prebend of Wicklow was demised, in 1580, for 41 years, to Sir William Usher, at 46*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, Irish currency. In 1583, the former lease was cancelled, and a new one granted, for 61 years, wherein there was reserved a rent of only 40*l.* per annum, Irish currency. Min. of Chapt. of Christ-church Cathedral. See also remarks on Column XI.

The Prebend of Rathmichael was demised, in 1583, for 61 years, at 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, Irish currency. In 1665, it was leased for 3 years, the reserved rent was 30*l.* per annum, Irish currency. Min. of Chapt. of St. Pat. Cath.

Columns VIII. and IX. Table II. In these valuations both the parish and townland of Rathsallagh are mentioned as parcels of the Œconomy possessions: in that of 1547, the townland is valued at 40*s.* annually, although it was then demised for 13*s.* 4*d.* The tithes of the parish of Rathsallagh are likewise valued at 40*s.* annually. It is remarkable that this record takes no notice of Ballyogan.

The precise date of that very ancient valuation of Swords parish which occurs in Table II. part 4, cannot be ascertained; Alan says the ancient value of this Prebend was 119*l* the total amount of the items which he gives, and which are to be found in the table annexed, is 117*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yet Alan states it to be 104*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* I have attempted, in vain, to reconcile these variations.

PART II.

Containing the names of the Dignitaries and Prebendaries of St. Patrick's Cathedral; so far as they can be collected from existing records.

Precentors.

1219—Philip de Bray was nominated to this dignity, by the charter of Henry de Loundres.

—– —Simon Blunde occurs as witness to a deed, in the time of the same Archbishop, along with William de Fitzguy first Dean of this cathedral. Al. Reg. fol. 167.

—– —Humphrey de Erlonde was Precentor at the time of Archbishop Henry, who died in 1228.

—– —Galfrid de Elme occurs as witness to a deed of Archbishop Luke's, along with Robert Luttrel, Treasurer. Al. Reg. T. C. D. pag. 616.

1250—Eudo, or, as he is sometimes stiled, Eudo de St. Edmond, occurs as witness to a deed, of Archbishop Luke's, relating to priory of Lantony, executed about the year 1250; he held the church of Kilfernock with his dignity. Eudo died in June 1284. Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 329.

1284—Walter de Wimburn was elevated to this dignity, 14th September 1284, by King Edward I. who directed Stephen de Fulborn, Bishop of Waterford and Justice of Ireland, to inquire whether any property, belonging to this dignity, had been alienated by king's writ or otherwise, since the death of Eudo, and, if any such should be discovered to have been made, he commanded that it should be restored. Prynne, Vol. III. pag. 329.

1306—Richard de Havering was Precentor, when elected Archbishop, in 1306.

1313—Walter Thornbury was Precentor, and likewise Chancellor of Ireland; having been elected Archbishop, he proceeded to Rome to obtain confirmation, but was drowned in the bay of Dublin, in the latter end of this year.

1323—William de Nottingham occurs as witness to the deed, whereby the prior and convent of St. Catherines, near Dublin, made over their possessions to the abbot of St. Thomas; William Douce, Mayor of Dublin, was witness to the same deed.

1366—William de Gaslee, Doctor of Laws, was nominated Precentor, by Archbishop Minot, when he united the church of Kilmactalway to this dignity, on account of the insufficiency of its means.

1373—John Sendall was Precentor. Al. Reg. T. C. D. pag. 657. He was in possession of this dignity in 1389, as appears from a record among the archives of Christ-church, whereby Archbishop Wikford reduced the proxies of that cathedral.

1431—Nicholas Moynagh occurs as Precentor in this year, and also in 1437. Swain. regist.

1465—John Alleyne Precentor, was, in this year, elected Dean. Stat. Roll. 8 Edw. IV.

1468—Robert Warren appeared at the visitation held this year, he was likewise official of the diocess. MS. T. C. D.

1478—Walter Fitzsymon was Precentor, and represented the chapter, as proxy, in a parliament convened in this year; he was elected Archbishop, in 1484.

1505—Thomas Rochford was elected Dean in this year, he occurs, as Precentor, about the 18th of Henry VII. when he collected the customs due to the crown from this cathedral; he was likewise collector of the customs of the port of Dublin. 21 Hen. VII. Rot. Pipæ.

1508—Robert Fitzsymon was Precentor, and official of the diocess, in this year, as appears from the records of Christ-

church; he was president of the chapter in 1529, when Geoffry Fyche was elected dean. He died in 1542. MS. T.C.D. B. 1. 5.

1546—James Humffreye was Precentor when this cathedral was surrendered into the king's hands.

1555—Thomas Crief was nominated to this dignity upon the restoration of the cathedral in 1555. In the year 1569 he was cited by the chapter to purge himself from the scandal of adultery, of which he was accused by the dean, and was required to exhibit six compurgators; those he produced, but four were excepted against, being themselves charged with crimes: he required a longer day. The issue of this business cannot be traced further, on account of the imperfect state of the documents which remain. In the year 1579 he was aged 88 years, as appears from his deposition relative to the liberties of Thomas-court in a cause tried in that year.

1579—Arthur Athie, or Atye, was Precentor, as we learn from the patent roll, 21 Eliz. It appears, likewise, that he was not in holy orders; however, in consequence of the queen's letter of privy seal, dated Westminster, 25th May, in that year, the royal commissioners, Adam Loftus and Robert Garvey, granted him dispensation, not only in that respect, but likewise they indulged him with license to live in whatever part of the queen's dominions he should please, during the space of seven years, for improvement of his health: he was to provide, however, for the cure of souls in the parishes annexed to his dignity. The letter of licence has the following words: "propter multiplicem doctrinam tuam, et bonarum literarum (presertim juris civilis) scientiam, quibus, summa Dei Optimi Maximi bonitate, te instructum esse novimus." We learn, moreover, from the same patent, that he had been presented to this dignity by Robert, Earl of Leicester, who, for some cause not now discoverable, possessed the right of presentation for that turn. On the 31st May 1581, Atye demised his chantership to Robert, Earl of Leicester, "the chauntor's manse only excepted," to hold for 50 years, at the yearly rent of 60*l.* Irish. Rot. Pat. 24 Eliz. dorso.

1615—George Andrew was Chanter in this year, as appears from the regal visitation. In 1635 he was consecrated, in this cathedral, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. He had been dean of Limerick, and held that dignity with the chantership. He was chairman of the lower house of convocation in 1634. His promotion to a bishoprick, without a commendam, was meant as an ill turn by Lord Deputy Wentworth, as it obliged him to renounce better benefices; it seems he had disobliged that nobleman in the convocation. Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. I. page 79.—He was the author of "A Quaternion of Sermons, preached in Ireland 1624;" and printed Dublin 1635, 4to.

1636—Robert Froward, or Forward, S. T. B. was present at a visitation of the dean, held in this year: this appears from a quotation out of a book of chapter minutes, now lost. Vellum Book of Minutes.

1642—Evan Lloyd succeeded upon the death of Forward; he was collated the 6th September 1642.

1660—Robert Mossom was installed Precentor on the 27th Decemb. Minutes of Chapter. With this dignity he held likewise the deanery of Christ-church, Dublin. He was promoted to the bishoprick of Derry, by letters patent dated March 26th, 1666. See Annals of Cath. H. Trin.

1666—John Parry, S. T. D. was installed 5th April. Min. of Chapt. He was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory by letters patent dated 22d April 1672; and held this dignity, as well as the deanery of Christ-church, Dublin, in commendam, with his bishoprick, until his death, which took place in December 1677. See Annals of Cath. H. Trin.

1677—Benjamin Parry, brother to John Parry, succeeded him in the precentorship, and was installed January 18. He succeeded him likewise in the bishoprick of Ossory, which was conferred upon him by letters patent, dated 24th January, with which he was allowed to hold this dignity in commendam. He had previously enjoyed the deanery of this cathedral. See Annals, A. D. 1674. He died the 4th October 1678.

1678—Samuel Synge, A. M. was collated on the 12th, and installed the 14th October. He was likewise dean of Kildare. He died in March 1708.

1708—Elias Bohereau, A. M. was collated March 23, and installed on the same day. Bohereau was a French refugee priest, and first keeper of Primate Marsh's library.

1719—Robert Dougat was collated on the 15th, and installed on the 17th of October; to which dignity, and to the charge of the library, he succeeded upon the death of Bohereau. Dougat was the nephew and executor to Archbishop King. On the 6th March 1727, he was instituted Vicar of St. Andrews, and likewise, on the same day, Vicar of St. Mark's parish.

1730—John Wynne, A. M. succeeded Dougat, as Precentor and Librarian; to the former he was collated on the 21st August, and installed on the 6th November following.

1762—Robert Caulfield, A. M. succeeded to the precentorship, upon the death of John Wynne, D. D. He was installed the 5th March.

1780—Samuel Rastall, A.M. was installed the 24thJanuary.

1781—Thomas Hastings, collated the 10th, and installed the 15th May.

1786—Robert Baylis Dealtry, L. L. D. collated the 5th, and installed the 9th January.

1789—Robert Fowler, A. B. collated the 25th, and installed the 27th June; Dealtry having resigned. He was son to the archbishop of Dublin; was afterwards elected dean of this cathedral, which dignity he resigned for the archdeaconry of Dublin. He was promoted to the see of Ossory by letters patent, dated 17th June 1813.

1794—James Verschoyle, L. L. B. collated and installed the 1st May. He was elected dean on the 23d of April 1794. He held this dignity until the contest with the crown relative to the chapters right to elect was terminated. He was promoted to the bishoprick of Killala, by letters patent dated 2d May 1810.

1798—Hon. and Rev. Richard Bourke, A.M. collated the 30th March, and installed the 3d April, upon resignation of J. Verschoyle.

1800—Charles Mongon Warburton, D. D. was installed the 24th November, upon resignation of R. Bourke. In 1806 he was promoted to the bishoprick of Limerick, &c.

1806—Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby, succeeded to the precentorship by virtue of letters patent from the crown, Warburton having been promoted to the episcopal bench. He was installed on the 7th August. Elected dean of this cathedral in 1817.

1818—Richard Wynne, A. M. installed the 1st August.

Chancellors.

1219—Thomas de Castello was nominated to this dignity by the charter of Archbishop Henry; he was Chancellor in 1227. See Appendix, Numb. V.

1231—Thomas de Cravill had a contest this year relative to the parish of Derlassar; he occurs again as Chancellor in 1235.

1250—William de Culun, or Culn, was witness to a grant from the archbishop to the priory of Lantony. The same person had a lease of Ballyogan from the chapter. See page 70, note v.

1250—Will. de Hattynly was Chancellor in the time of Archbishop Fulco de Sandford. Al. regist. fol. 131.

1250—Thomas Chaddesworth was Chancellor at the time that Richard de St. Martin was Dean, as appears from their names, which are annexed to the same deed, with those additions. Chaddesworth was himself elected dean in 1284.

1297—Robert Wallerand occurs as Chancellor on a plea roll, 25th Edw. I. He was witness, likewise, in 1303, to a deed of Archbishop Ferrynges.

1346—Hugo de Calce, "Chancellor of the church of Dublin," was commanded by the pope to perform certain duties for him in Ireland, an appointment which the king confirmed, as appears from a patent-roll, 20th Edw. III.

1373—Nicholas Chedlyngton was Chancellor 47th Edw.III. as appears from an inquisition held at Kenlis, relative to the archbishop of Dublin's right to present to the church of Dorsenchyll, in the diocess of Meath.

1388—John Karlell, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, was, in 1389, created Second Baron of the exchequer. In 1388 he was appointed by the king, Custodee of the profits of the deanery, which were at that time sequestered; he was at that time Chancellor of St. Patrick's, as appears from a license, whereby he was permitted to enjoy the profits of both dignities, as likewise of all his wardships, during his absence. Rot. Canc. 12 Rich. II.

1410—Robert Fitzhugh obtained, in this year, license of absence for three years, by letters patent, June 12. In 1416, he was elected Archbishop of Armagh, and his election was certified to the council of Constance; for what cause he was set aside does not appear. Swaine's register.

1471—John Leche was present, in 1468, at a visitation of the chapter, held by Michael Tregury; however, there is no addition to his name signifying his dignity. In 1471 he signed a bond, as Chancellor, along with Dean Alleyne and others, indemnifying the canons of the Holy Trinity from any injury they might sustain, in proceeding to elect an archbishop without royal license; in 1475 he appeared as proxy for this cathedral, at a parliament convened for a general assessment. He had license of absence, which was confirmed by parliament of 14 Edw. IV.

1503—Nicholas Cardiff, or Kerdiff, was Chancellor in this year, as appears from the records of Christ-church cathedral; and also in 1511, when he assisted at the funeral obsequies of Archbishop Walter.

1535—Nicholas Alen was nominated on the 9th of August, by the king, the see being then vacant; he was Chancellor in 1546, when the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—Robert Nangle was nominated Chancellor, when the cathedral was restored by Queen Mary. He appeared at the visitation of 1569, as a compurgator of Crief, the precentor, but was excepted against, he being himself charged with divers crimes. He was adjudged, by an inquisition of 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, liable to the penalties incurred by being absent without royal license.

1571—Nicholas Walsh, Chancellor, was concerned with John Kerney, Treasurer, in the introduction of Irish types. He was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in February, 1577.

1581—Thomas Jones was Chancellor when elected Dean upon the death of Weston, in 1581; he was afterwards Bishop of Meath, and finally, Archbishop of Dublin.

1607—James Usher was this year made Chancellor, by Archbishop Loftus, as we are informed by Ware; he occurs as Chancellor in the regal visitation of 1615. In 1621 he endowed the vicarage of Finglas with the glebe and a portion of the tithes which belonged to him as rector; he was consecrated Bishop of Meath in 1621, and translated to Armagh in 1624.

John Chappel, A.M. is mentioned by Dr. Lyon, in a case stated by him for the opinion of council, to have been Chancellor about this time; but I do not find his name in any record.

1636—Ambrose Aungier was collated to the chancellorship the 22d June; he was appointed Sub-dean in February 1649, when Dean Culme went to England. On the 20th August 1642, he was collated, by the archbishop, to the vicarage of Finglas. He appears to have held this dignity until the usurpation.

1660—Thomas Seele, S. T. B. occurs as Chancellor 22d October 1660, on which day was the first meeting of the chapter after the restoration; he was appointed Dean in March 1666. He was likewise Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

1666—Peter Manby was collated on the 9th, and installed the 12th April; he had been a minor canon of this church, and was afterwards Dean of Derry: he became celebrated for his apostacy, in the reign of James II. and was the author of several theological tracts of little importance.

1671—John Worth, instituted the 7th and installed the 8th December. In January 1677 he was nominated to the deanery, by letters patent.

1677—Philip Barber, A. M. collated and installed Jan. 19.

1679—William King, A. M. collated the 27th and installed the 29th Oct. this dignity having become vacant by death of Barber; he was elected Dean in 1688. nominated Bishop of Derry in January 1690, and translated to Dublin in March 1702.

1688—Samuel Foley collated February 4; was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor in September 1694. He was the author of two sermons, and some other small pieces.

1694—Anthony Lucas, A.M. was nominated by letters patent, upon the promotion of S. Foley, and installed the 8th December.

1699—Thomas Vivian, A. M. collated the 8th and installed the 19th June, upon the death of Anthony Lucas.

1702—John Stearne, collated the 2d and installed the 11th September, upon the death of Thomas Vivian. Stearne was elected Dean the 24th February 1704; he was afterwards made Bishop of Dromore in May 1713, and translated to Clogher in March 1717.

1706—Edward Synge, A. M. was appointed Chancellor upon the resignation of John Stearne. He was nominated Bishop of Raphoe in November 1714, and translated to the archbishoprick of Tuam in June 1716.

1714—Theophilus Bolton was advanced to this dignity by letters patent, upon promotion of Synge, and installed the 6th Dec. He was nominated Bishop of Clonfert in Sept. 1722; translated to Elphin in April 1724, and to Cashel in 1729.

1723—Robert Howard, S. T. D. was appointed by letters patent, upon the promotion of Bolton, and installed May 4. He was nominated to the see of Killala in February 1726; translated to Elphin in January 1729.

1727—Edward Synge, A. M. obtained institution on the 28th March, upon the promotion of Dr. Howard: he was nominated Bishop of Clonfert in May 1730; translated to Cloyne in March 1731, and to Ferns in February 1733.

1730—Patrick Delany was installed 10th June, in room of Edward Synge promoted to the see of Clonfert; he was afterwards Dean of Down; was author of "Remarks on Lord Orrery's Life of Swift, by J. R." He published likewise some sermons, &c.

1744—John Blachford, A. M. collated the 15th December, installed the same day, upon the resignation of P. Delany.

1748—Sir Philip Hoby, Bart. A. M. collated the 5th and installed the 7th December.

1766—Edward Bayly, A. M. collated the 7th and installed the 8th August.

1772—Richard Woodward, L. L. D. instituted July 4, installed the same day; he was promoted to the see of Cloyne in 1778. Woodward was the author of a celebrated political tract, which will be noticed in another place.

1778—Cadogan Keating installed the 18th July.

1781—Richard Bourne, A. M. collated the 1st, and installed the 2d March.

1810—Hosea Guinness, L. L. D. installed the 29th June, upon the resignation of Richard Bourne.

Treasurers.

1219—Ralph de Bristol was nominated by Archbishop Henry, when this dignity was first established; he was, in 1223, consecrated Bishop of Kildare, and was succeeded in this dignity by

1223—Robert Luttrel, who was Vice-chancellor of Ireland for Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester. Al. regist. T. C. D. pag. 16.—This was, according to Ware, about the year 1236; he lived probably till 1249, for about that time an arrangement took effect relative to the tithes of Castlenock, which he farmed, and which his life interest therein prevented being settled at an earlier period.

1250—Michael Wallene was, this year, witness to a grant from the archbishop to the priory of Lantony; he is mentioned as incumbent of Ballimore, in the list in the Crede-mihi.

1284—Will. de Monemouth appears, from the deed nominating his successor, to have been Treasurer, and to have died about the year 1284.

———Thomas de Ledington was appointed by the king, during the vacancy of the see, in place of W. de Monmouth, lately deceased, by letters patent, dated the 20th July, at Karnarvan. Prynne, Vol. III. page 329.

1306—Wm. de Rodyard, signed, as Treasurer, the resolution of the chapter of this year, he was elected Dean in 1312.

———Elias Lawless occurs as Rector of St. Audoens, in 1324, and W. de Burgo, in 1337, among the records of the cathedral of the Holy Trinity; it seems reasonable to suppose that they were, therefore, Treasurers of St. Patrick's cathedral, inasmuch as St. Audoen's was, at that time, part of the corps of that dignity. See Annals H. Trin. One Hugh was, in 1361, cited as Prebendary of Ballimore to attend the king. See Life of Wm. Bromley, Dean.

1349—John de Gate, Treasurer, took possession of Culmine, in this year, for the chapter.

1471—Richard Eustace signed, together with other members of the chapter, a bond of indemnity to the canons of the Holy Trinity; he was Treasurer likewise in 1478, as appears from the records of that cathedral.

1529—Geoffrey Fyche was elected Dean this year; he is probably the same person that was, in 1509, Archdeacon of Glendaloch.

1533—Walter Cusack, Treasurer, was official of the diocess in this year.

1533—Nicholas Fitzwilliam was, on the 9th of August, nominated by the king upon the death of Walter Cusack, the see being at that time vacant; he held this dignity at the time the cathedral was suppressed,

1535—Edward Barnewal was nominated Treasurer by the queen, in the charter of restoration.

1567—Edward Bulkley, nominated by patent, dated the 8th August, 1567; he was Sub-dean at a visitation of the chapter, on the 25th February 1569. On account of the resemblance between their names, there is some confusion between the last two persons; Edward Barnewal's occurs so late as 1569

1571—John Kerney was concerned with Walsh, the Chancellor, in the introduction of Irish types, and was author of the first catechism printed in that language; he died about the year 1600, and was buried in this cathedral.

1582—Richard Thompson, Treasurer, witnessed a chapter lease dated 1582; in 1589 he leased the church of St. Mary la Dame to Sir G. Carewe.

1609—William Daniel was Treasurer of this cathedral; and, in August 1609, was consecrated therein Archbishop of Tuam; he held this dignity in commendam, probably till his death in 1628. Daniel was one of the first scholars of Trinity College, and translator of the New Testament into Irish.

1628—Ambrose Aungier was collated the 23d July in this year.

1692—Henry Leslie, chaplain to King Charles I. was installed Treasurer of this cathedral the 16th July; he was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor in October 1635, and afterwards translated to the see of Meath.

1636—William Chappel, S. T. B. was nominated by patent, the 1st June 1636; he was at that time Dean of Cashel and Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; he was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross, in this cathedral, in November 1638. Chappel was the friend of Lord Deputy Wentworth, and the reputed author of the Whole Duty of Man.

1638—Godfrey Rhodes was nominated, by letters patent dated the 6th December, 1638, and obtained institution the 26th of the same month. He was one of the clergy who, in August 1646, signed the address to the marquis of Ormond.

1660—James Margetson was, on the 18th of January, presented to this dignity; on the 26th, he was, by letters patent, created Archbishop of Dublin, and continued to hold the treasurership in commendam, as did likewise his successors in the see of Dublin.

1660—Michael Boyle, who succeeded Margetson in the archbishoprick, was likewise his successor in this dignity, which he held in commendam, until he was promoted to the primacy.

1678—John Parker was, by letters patent, dated January 28, granted this dignity, to hold in commendam with his archbishoprick, in like manner as his predecessors had done.

1681—Francis Marsh, created Archbishop of Dublin, by letters patent, 16 Feb. 34 Cha. II. He held the treasurership in commendam, as did his predecessors. On the 12th November 1686 he was installed in the chapter, as Treasurer, having previously taken the oath of canonical obedience to the Dean. Minutes of Chapter.

1693—Jeremy William Marsh was collated the 24th, and installed Oct. 27, this dignity having become vacant by resignation of the archbishop. He was likewise Dean of Kilmore.

1734—Francis Corbet, A. M. was collated the 6th, and installed the 20th November. He succeeded upon the death of Dr. Jeremias W. Marsh. He was elected Dean of this cathedral in 1746.

1750—Edward Leigh, A. M. collated the 3d of April, and installed on the following day; the treasurership having become vacant by the resignation of F. Corbet.

1739—Richard Chaloner Cobbe, L. L. D. collated the 13th, and installed the 20th July, having succeeded upon the death of Edward Leigh, D. D.

1767—Thomas Smyth, A. M. was collated the 9th, and installed the 11th July.

Archdeacons of Dublin.

——— Torquill, Archdeacon, was witness to a grant to the church of H. Trin. by Archbishop Lawrence. Reg. Nov. fol. 910.

1204—Macrobius, Archdeacon of Dublin, was witness to a deed between Archbishop John Comin, and Patrick, Sub-prior of the Holy Trinity, about the year 1204; he was afterwards Bishop of Glendaloch.

1216—Geoffry de Torville was witness to a grant, by Raymond de Kareu, of the church of Stillorgan to the Cath. of H, Trin. about 1216. He witnessed the charter of Archbishop Henry, establishing the four dignitaries of this cathedral, and likewise, a grant to the dean in 1223. In 1232 he was Vice-chancellor of Ireland, and was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in 1244.

1251—Hugh de Mapilton, or de Glendaloch, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in May 1251, and was, in the following month, made Treasurer of Ireland.

———William de Northfield was Archdeacon of Dublin at the time of the dispute relative to the parish of Rathfarnam, which was concluded by Archbishop Luke. He was witness to a grant of Henry de Loundres to the parish of Lantony. Northfield died in 1274, as appears from the instrument nominating his successor, W. de Salinis.

1274—William de Salinis was, upon the death of Northfield, presented to the Archdeaconry by the King, the see being vacant. He died in 1278. Prynne, Vol. III. page 173.

1278—Geoffry de Aspil was nominated by the king to succeed W. de Salinis. Prynne, Vol. III. page 219.

1301—Nicholas le Clerc, Archdeacon, had a contest this year relative to installing priors throughout the diocess.

1303—John de Havering was witness to the deed which established new prebends, in the time of Archbishop Ferringes. He was nephew to the archbishop of his name. Annals at the end of Camden's Britannia.

1325—Richard de St. Leger, or "de Sto. Leodegario," had a contest this year with the convent and priory of the Holy Trinity, relative to his right of visitation; he occurs as Archdeacon in 1365, and was an agent in the transaction relative to Coolmine, which had been granted by the archbishop to the chapter.

1383—William Chambre was Archdeacon of Dublin, as appears from a plea-roll, 7 Rich. II. In 1385 he was Treasurer of Ireland. He was, for his various services, granted the lands of Corbally and others, to hold for 60 years, paying yearly 6*s.* 8*d.* Rot. Pat. 9 Rich. II.

1406—Richard Carran occurs as witness to a deed of this date among the records of Christ-church.

1415—Nicholas Hill was granted license of absence by let. pat. 3 Hen. V. He occurs also as witness to a deed of pacification between the lord deputy and Dermot O'Tothil, signed at Dublin the 8th of August 1425. Rot. Pat. He was elected dean of this cathedral in 1441.

1431—Robert Dyche, Archdeacon of Dublin, was appointed Master of the Rolls for term of life, in consideration of the services performed to the king, his father and grandfather, both in France and Ireland, from his earliest age. Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. VI. He was, according to Harris, Keeper of the Seals in 1436; and, in 1446, Deputy Chancellor to John Talbot, son to the earl of Shrewsbury, who, by an act of parliament of the 25 Hen. VI. was empowered to appoint a deputy to do all things appertaining to that office, and was to continue in office, notwithstanding the presence of the chancellor, until he should be discharged by a writing under his hand. Stat. Roll, 25 Hen. VI.

1456—Roger Cross was granted license of absence, by letters patent 34 Hen. VI.

1486—Hugo Blackton occurs as Archdeacon in this year, having, under that title, granted certain lands, his patrimony, to the church of Swords. Stearne's Charters, T. C. D.

1488—John Waryng appears, from the records of Christ-church cathedral, to have been Archdeacon this year.

1505—Robert Sutton was nominated executor to the will of Dean Alleyne, who died in this year. He was himself elected dean of this cathedral in 1527.

1529—Walter Cusack was present at the election of Dean Fyche, which took place in this year.

1537—William Power was Archdeacon in 1537, as appears from certain records in Christ-church cathedral; and likewise at the time of the surrender of this cathedral into the hands of Hen. VIII.

1555—William Weslie, or Welleslie, was nominated Archdeacon upon the restoration of the cathedral. He was in that year official of the metropolitical court of Dublin, the see being then vacant. The name of Robert Wellesley occurs frequently in the visitation of 1569; that of Robert Wesley upon the patent-roll, 19 Eliz. He was then acting in the quality of Ecclesiastical Commissioner.

On the 27th of June 1579, by the intercession of Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, the advowson of the archdeaconry of Dublin, upon the next vacancy, was granted to George Cowlie, gent. Chapt. Acts, Christ-church. We find it mentioned in the regal visitation-book of 1615, that the mensal of the archdeacon was much reduced by the late archdeacon having granted the tithes of Rathfarnham to Robert Leicester. This Leicester was the servant of Archbishop Adam Loftus.

1580—Henry Usher was installed on the Saturday preceding St. Patrick's day, at Christ-church; and on St. Patrick's day in this cathedral. In 1595 he was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, but held this archdeaconry in commendam. He disposed of it to his son Luke, or perhaps the latter farmed it from him; for it appears by his will that his son Luke had held this archdeaconry from him during five years. Henry Usher died the 2d of April 1613, and was probably succeeded in the archdeaconry by Bulkeley.

1615—Launcelot Bulkeley occurs as Archdeacon in the regal visitation of 1615; he was promoted from the archdeaconry to the archbishoprick in 1619.

1619—Antony Martin succeeded Bulkeley on the 7th of October 1619. He was consecrated Bishop of Meath in 1625. He held, with this archdeaconry, some other benefices, in commendam. Harris's Ware, page 157.

1625—John Haines was made Archdeacon in April this year. His name appears signed to an order of chapter at Christ-church, 3d December 1635. Min. of Chapt. Cath. H. Trin.

1636—William Bulkeley was present at the dean's visitation in January this year, as appears from a quotation from a chapter-book now lost. Vellum book of minutes. He was installed in Christ-church on the 1st of July 1636. The mandate of the archbishop was dated the 5th April preceding. Min. of Chapt. Cath. H. Trin. A lease of tithes, granted to him by the chapter of St. Patrick's, bears the date of 1645. He occurs as Archdeacon 2d November 1660, in a book of chapter minutes of Christ-church cathedral. He was constituted Vicar-general of the diocess in 1663. Bulkeley was Rector of Enisboheen in 1630.

1671—Michael Delaune, A. M. was collated February 20, and installed on the 26th.

1674—John Fitz-gerald, S. T. B. was collated the 12th and installed the 24th Nov. He was present at chapter the 26th January 1688; but, on the 26th of February, he resigned the archdeaconry in the hands of Dean King. At a visitation held by the same dean, 13th January 1689, the archdeaconry was declared to be vacant, and a sequestration of the tithes of his benefices, directed to Solomon Delany, A. M. was issued on the 9th July 1690. Min. of Chapt.

1690—Dives Downes was installed Archdeacon on the 22d December. It had been conferred upon him by the archbishop on the 20th; being void, as the deed declares, by the resignation of John Fitzgerald, in February 1688. Min. of Chapt. Dives Downes was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross on the 4th June 1699. He died 13th November 1709.

1699—Richard Reader, S. T. D. obtained institution on the 11th May, having been appointed, by letters patent, upon promotion of Dives Downes. He was installed on the same day at St. Patrick's; at Christ-church on the 16th. Min. of Chapt. Cath. St. Pat. & H. Trin. He was likewise Dean of Emly.

1700—Enoch Reader, S. T. D. obtained institution on the 16th May; was installed June 21, at St. Patrick's; and at Christ-church on the 29th October. Min. of Chapt. Cath. St. Pat. & H. Trin.

1710—Thomas Hawley, collated the 6th May, installed the same day at St. Patrick's, and at Christ-church on the 10th of the same month. He was promoted to this dignity upon the decease of Reader, who appears to have been four years absent. In some of the visitation-books he is noted down as excused, on account of the bad state of his health.

1713—Robert Dougat, A. M. was collated the 17th and installed the 27th October, this dignity having become void by the death of Thomas Hawley.

1712—Charles Whittingham was collated December 3, and installed at St. Patrick's February 4. Charles Whittingham applied to be installed at Christ-church, but refused to subscribe the oaths his predecessors had taken. On the 17th December 1723 we find the chapter of Christ-church debating what return they should make to a writ of *mandamus*, which had been presented by him; at length they made answer, that they would admit him if he would take the oaths; but if he refused, they ordered the chapter-clerk to fee lawyers for their advice how to proceed. The suit did not terminate here; he served the dean with an *alias* and *pluries mandamus*, to which they made returns, to the last the 12th October 1724. Min. of Chapt. H. Trin. We find it recorded in the book of chapter-minutes, that he was installed at Christ-church on the 13th February 1724; but there is no mention of his having agreed to take the oaths.

Charles Whittingham was admitted to the vicarage of St. Peter's on the 3d of March 1727; about which time that benefice was perpetually united to the corps of the archdeaconry, by act of council.

1743—Nicholas Synge, D. D. was collated upon the death of Whittingham. He was installed, August 18, at St. Patrick's; and at Christ church on the 22d. It appears, from the minutes

of chapter of the latter cathedral, that Synge took the oaths of canonical obedience to the dean, and to keep the secrets of chapter, &c. which his predecessor had refused to do. Archdeacon Pococke likewise complied with the same request, as did his successor, Isaac Mann. Nicholas Synge was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe in 1745. He died in 1771, and was buried in the church-yard of this cathedral.

1745—Richard Pococke, L. D. obtained letters patent for this dignity, dated the 28th January 1745, upon promotion of Nicholas Synge; installed at St. Patrick's the 1st, and at Christ-church the 3d February. He was promoted to the diocess of Ossory by letters patent, dated 13th March 1756, and translated to Meath 16th July 1765. This very learned prelate, and highly accomplished traveller, died at Charleville, near Tullamore, in 1765, whilst he was engaged in his parochial visitation.

1757—Isaac Mann, D. D. was nominated by letters patent, upon promotion of Richard Pococke; he was installed on the 10th January in St. Patrick's, and at Christ-church on the 8th of the same month. He was likewise Chanter of Christ-church, and, therefore, appears to have held, at one time, two dignities in the same cathedral. In March 1772, Isaac Mann was promoted to the united bishopricks of Cork and Ross. He died in the year 1789.

1772—Edward Baylie, D. D. obtained institution July 4; installed on the same day at St. Patrick's, and also on the same day at Christ-church cathedral.

1785—Thomas Hastings, L. L. D. collated, upon the decease of E. Baylie, on the 19th, and installed the 20th July at St. Patrick's, and at Christ-church on the 22d.

1794—Robert Fowler, A. M. collated the 24th April, installed the 26th, at St. Patrick's cathedral, and at Christ-church on the 28th. He was elected dean of this cathedral on the 24th of September 1793. Robert Fowler was promoted to the episcopal see of Ossory, by letters patent, dated the 17th June 1813.

1813—James Saurin, A.M. nominated by letters patent, upon the promotion of Fowler; installed at St. Patrick's on the 29th October.

On the 1st. Nov. 1813, James Saurin presented to the chapter of Christ-church a mandate from the archbishop of Dublin to be installed: the dean replied, he was ready to install him, "but he would not administer any oaths, as not thinking himself authorized so to do." On the 25th May 1814, the archdeacon produced a writ of *mandamus*, which being allowed, he was accordingly installed. Min. of Chapt. of Christ-church cathedral.

In June 1818, Archdeacon Saurin was promoted, by letters patent, to the deanery of Derry.

1818—John Torrens, A. M. was nominated by letters patent upon the promotion of Saurin; installed at St. Patrick's cathedral on the 16th of June, and at Christ-church on the 13th of July.

Archdeacons of Glendaloch.

1200—Gavinus, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, was witness to a deed from Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, to the abbey of St. Mary, near Dublin. This must have occurred before the termination of the year 1201, for John, Bishop of Leighlin, who died in that year, was likewise a witness, as was the legate O'Heaney, who died in 1206. Archdall's Monasticon, from Ware's MSS. Gavinus, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, witnessed a grant from Roger de Licestria to the abbey of St. Thomas, near Dublin, about the year 1210.—King's Collections, page 168. The signature G. Archdeacon of Glendaloch, appears attached to a document whereby the abbot of St. Mary's, near Dublin, was declared contumacious, about the year 1222. Nov. Regist. fol. 905.

1223—Richard de Gnowissale occurs as witness to a grant from Archbishop H. de Loundres to the dean. Al. regist. fol. 1. He was likewise Archdeacon in 1227. See Append. Numb. V. Archbishop Alan informs us, that he held likewise the prebend of Castlenock with this dignity, whereby he became entitled to a stall in this cathedral. Repert. Viride, voce Donabroke.

———Will. de Cullun was Archdeacon in the time of Archbishop Luke. He was perhaps the same with W. de Culna, who occurs, along with Hugh, Archdeacon of Dublin, as witness to a deed from Archbishop Luke to W. de Belinges. Al. regist. fol. 10.

1242—Hugh, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, is mentioned to have been possessed of a house in the precincts about this time. Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 656. He is probably the same with Hugh de Chaddestone, who was Archdeacon in 1267, when Archbishop Fulco de Sandford annexed the church of Killusky, as a prebend, to this dignity, He was witness along with the dean, R. de Gardino, to a deed of Archbishop Luke.

———Will. de la Corner; his name occurs in the Credemihi. He lived probably about 1275.

1290—Stephen de Brogan was elected Archbishop of Cashel September 4, in this year. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. page 444. He was succeeded by

1290—Richard de Gryndam, who died in 1295.

1295—John de Cadomo was nominated by the king, on the 4th Jan. in this year, the see being vacant. A mandate was directed likewise to the custodee of the spiritualities to induct, and to the dean to install him. Prynne, Vol. III. page 689.

1328—John de Kyneston was Keeper of the spiritualities of the archdeaconry, during the vacancy of that dignity.

1389—John Elys occurs as witness to a grant from the archbishop to the convent of the Holy Trinity.

1399—Thomas Snell was this year consecrated Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to which he had been raised by papal provision; for this transgression he, however, obtained a pardon. In 1405 he was translated to Ossory. It appears from a plea-roll, 20 Rich. II. that John Birmingham had been nominated Archdeacon by the king, it being suggested that Snell was an Irishman, and that his presentation was, by the statute, 40 Edward III. null and void: a trial was held upon a *quare impedit*, but the jury determined that Snell was an Englishman.

1422—James Clement obtained this year a pardon for transgressing the statute against provisors.

1471—William Helusyn, together with other members of the chapter, signed a bond indemnifying the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity from the penalties for proceeding to elect an archbishop without royal license.

1496—Geoffry Fyche was Archdeacon in this year, as appears from the records of Christ-church. In 1509 he was one of the auditors of the oeconomy accounts. Fyche was afterwards treasurer, and, in 1529, was elected dean of this cathedral.

1523—William Power was proctor for the archbishop, in a controversy with the chapter of Kildare.

1529—William Brown assisted at the election of Dean Fyche. See Append. Numb. XIV.

1535—Christopher St. Laurence, alias Howth, was nominated by the king to this dignity, the see being vacant; he held it at the suppression of the cathedral.

1555—J. Willy was nominated by the charter of restoration.

1562—John Standish obtained license of absence for three years on the 23d of August this year.

1569—John Wolpe; at a visitation, held December 12 this year, he was deprived for non-residence; nevertheless he appears afterwards, on the 3d of March, possessed of this dignity.

1572—John Ball probably succeeded Wolpe. It appears, from a visitation-book, that he was Archdeacon 6th June this year. In 1582 he had a power of attorney from the chapter.

On the 19th April 1569, one John Ball, A. M. L. L. B. visited this chapter, as Vicar-general to the archbishop.

1594—Sir Adam Loftus, Knight, a layman, possessed himself of this dignity about this period of time. He was proctor to the oeconomy in 1594, and his name occurs in the regal visitation of 1615.

Adam Loftus was nephew to the archbishop; he was a professor of the civil law, and, in 1595, consituted Judge of the Marshal-court; in 1598 appointed Master in Chancery; in 1619 was made Chancellor of Ireland, and, in 1622, created a peer by the title of Viscount Loftus of Ely.

The circumstance of Loftus holding this dignity did not escape the notice of the celebrated Laud: on the 5th July 1630, that prelate addressed a letter to Primate Usher upon the subject.—"I understand," he writes, "that the lord chancellor of Ireland is in holy orders, and that, being a deacon, he holds an archdeaconry of good value." Shortly after this, some attempts were made to dispossess him. On the 24th of April 1638, the archbishop collated Edward Stanhope to this dignity, who was installed in the cathedral 1st May 1639. Stanhope accordingly appeared at the visitation in 1640; but the name of Viscount Loftus of Ely occurs in those of the three next following years. It appears, from an ancient visitation-book in the Consist. register-office, that a trial was held in the archbishop's court, and the archdeaconry declared vacant. Loftus however appealed, and, being Chancellor of the Realm, maintained his cause, more perhaps by power than right. It is certain that he held the archdeaconry until his death, which happened in 1643.

1643—Edw. Parry, S. T. D. collated the 27th April, it being "void by the death of Adam, Lord Loftus." In 1467 he was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe, but held the archdeaconry in commendam.

1666—James Harwood, B. D. was nominated by the king, soon after his restoration; he obtained institution on the 4th, and was installed on the 14th February.

1667—James Rouse, B. D. collat. June 13, instal. August 2.

1672—William Williamson, A. M. collated the 8th October, and installed the 29th November; he was also Treasurer of Christ-Church.

1722—Thomas Smith, A. M. collated the 7th, installed the 12th February 1722; collated a second time the 6th July 1726.

1751—William Usher, A. M. collated the 28th December, installed the 9th January 1752.

1760—Henry Smith, D. D. collated the 4th July, installed the 7th July, upon the resignation of William Usher.

1764—John Gast, A. M. installed the 25th June; being void by resignation of H. Smith.

1788—James Verschoyle, L. L. B. collated the 28th March, installed the 4th April.

1791—James Hastings, A. M. collated the 5th April, installed the 9th April, upon resignation of J. Verschoyle.

1806—James Langrishe, A. B. collated the 19th and installed the 26th September, J. Hastings having resigned.

Prebendaries of Kilmactalway.

Before the year 1366 this church was parochial; in 1366 it was annexed to the corps of the precentorship; but, in 1746, was erected into a distinct prebend.

1275—J. de Luccombe occurs as "Rector of Kilmatalwe."

1359—Nicholas de Chedlyngton, "Rector of Kilmatalwe," and Notary-public, attested an act of the archbishop declaratory of his right to visit the chapter. Dign. Dec. fol. 64.

1495—Richard Mylne was present at a synod held at the church of the Holy Trinity.

1546—Henry Parker was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral, and likewise at its restoration.

1558—William Ritherche had license of absence for three months, dated 5th May, 4 & 5 Philip and Mary. Rolls of Chancery.

1578—Richard Anumsom this year obtained license to hold this prebend without taking holy orders. Rot. Canc.

1615—Barnaby Bolger, A. M. was present at the regal visitation of this year; he was, at the same time, Dean of St. Canice at Kilkenny.

1630—Launcelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, held this prebend in commendam, and continued to do so until the establishment of the usurped government.

1660—Thomas Potter, S. T. D. installed the 16th February.

1666—Benjamin Phipps, A. M. installed the 3d August, upon resignation of T. Potter.

1682—Moses Viridet, A. M. installed the 26th June, upon the resignation of B. Phipps.

1685—Ralph Rule, A. M. installed the 28th May, upon the resignation of Moses Viridet.

1690—Thomas Hardcastle, A. M. installed the 5th February, upon the resignation of Ralph Rule.

1701—Hugh Wilson collated November 19.

1701—..... Standish, A. M. installed the 24th November, upon the death of Thomas Hardcastle.

1727—Francis Wilson, A. M. installed February 9.

1743—Philip Hoby, A. M. installed December 10.

1748—William Usher, A. M. installed December 19.

1752—William Pountney, A. M. installed February 3.

1771—John Drury, A. M. installed November 15.

1791—Charles Mosse, A. M. installed February 18.

1800—John Grant, A. M. installed March 27, upon the death of C. Mosse.

1815—John Reade, A. B. installed June 30.

Prebendaries of Swords.

1190—Walter Comin was Rector of Swords in the time of Archbishop John Comin, to which prelate he was, probably, related in some degree.

———Alanus, "Decanus de Swerds;" a person so stiled was witness to a deed, in the time of Archbishop Luke. Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 636.

1277—Robert de Blond died in this year, as appears from the instrument nominating his successor, who was appointed by the king, the see of Dublin being at that time vacant. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. page 196.

1247—Iterius Brochard, appointed by royal patent, the see being then vacant. Prynne, Vol. III. page 196.

1302—William de Hothum was nephew to the archbishop of that name. The chapter granted him, this year, a lease of St. Laurence's chapel, and some other tenements in the close, lying to the south side of the cathedral, near the vicar's hall. Al. regist. fol. 1. Hothum was a collector of the tenth of ecclesiastical benefices, which had been granted to the king by Pope Boniface VIII. There are letters addressed by the king to him, and to those joined with him, urging them to be diligent in collecting those dues. See Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III.. pages 1087, 1088.

1366—William of Wyckham held the prebend of Swords, about this time; he held, at the same time, eleven benefices in England. See his Life by Lowth, page 35.

1375—Peter de Lacy; on a roll of 1377 he is stiled, late prebendary of Swerdes. He died 18th October 1375, and was buried at the church of Northfleet, diocess of Rochester, of which place he was rector. Weever. Fun. Mon.

1378—Robert Cruse; being absent without royal license his prebend was seized into the king's hands, and two-thirds applied to the king's use. One John Gryffin's account appears upon the Pipe-Roll, 6 Rich. II. for the issues of three years. It appears that Cruse had executed a lease of this prebend to Griffin for seven years, at the yearly rent of 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for two-thirds of which sum he renders an account into the exchequer.

Robert Cruse was afterwards granted license of absence, by letters patent, dated 14 September 1385, which were renewed in 1389, to continue so long as he should stay in England. Rob. Cruse occurs as witness to a deed, among the records of Christ-church, in 1406; this was probably the same person.

1423—Brande, Cardinal of Placentia, was nominated to this prebend, by letters patent of Hen. VI. dated from Westminster, 9th May; the patent has the words, "Ad regiam donationem spectantem, ut dicitur." Rymer, Foedera, Tom. X. The archbishoprick was not vacant; it is difficult, therefore, to imagine how the king obtained a right to present; there was, moreover, a writ directed to the archbishop, commanding him

to assign to the cardinal a stall in the choir, and voice in the chapter; and another likewise to the dean and chapter.

1431—In this year the prebend of Swords, which had been called the Golden Prebend, was divided; it is said the archbishop's motive was, that it was sought after too zealously by cardinals, and other minions of the papal-see.

———William Cruce was Prebendary, and a consenting party to the dismembering of this prebend, a portion of which was allotted to the prebendary for his maintenance.

———Blackton; a person of this name succeeded Cruce in this prebend, as we are informed by Archbishop Alan in his register.

1468—Walter Kyngdon; his name occurs on the Statute-roll of this year, 7 Edw. IV.

1496—Richard Eustace was witness to the renunciation, made in this year, by Denis White, of the bishoprick of Glendaloch.

1509—Edward Howth; his name occurs in the proctor's account of this year. See Append. Numb. XVII. The name of Edward St. Laurence, alias Howth, occurs in 1522.

1535—Christopher Vesey died this year, and the see being then vacant the king nominated his successor.

1535—Anthony Skeffington was presented to the prebend of St. Columb of Swords, by the king, the 11th May in this year. Shortly after his majesty promoted to this prebend.

1535—John Derricke, or Deythicke, who held this canonry at the suppression of the cathedral.

Andrew Brewerton held a lease of the parsonage of Swords, which was confirmed to him by an order from Queen Mary, dated 23d October 1553. In the letter of privy seal there was, however, power given to the chief governor to determine upon the fitness of this and the other grants therein mentioned. Rot. Canc. Hib. 1. Mariæ.

1554—Anthony, or Arthur, St. Leger; on the 10th of July this year he obtained the queen's order for investiture in this rectory, which had become void by the death of John Derricke. As this happened during the time the cathedral was suppressed, and was in the gift of the crown, by reason of the see being then vacant, the queen's order was directed to the chapter of the Holy Trinity. Rot. Pat. 2 Mariæ.

1555—Patrick Byrne was nominated to this prebend by the charter of restoration. His name occurs in the visitation of 1569. He was proposed by Crief, the precentor, as one of his compurgators; but exceptions were made against him, he being himself charged with crimes.

1576—Edmond Enob occurs this year as Prebendary of Swords, having obtained license to absent himself for five years, or to exchange this benefice for any other. Rot. Canc. 18 Eliz.

1398—William Pratt; his name occurs among the records of Christ-church, his lease of this prebend being confirmed by that chapter the 20th October. Christ-church Min. of Chapt.

1615—Richard Jones, A. M. was Prebendary, as appears by the regal visitation of this year; he held this prebend until 1642, as appears from the visitation-book of that year.

1642—Samuel Pullein, S. T. D. collated October 28, upon the death of R. Jones; he was present at the first meeting of the chapter after the restoration; 22d October 1660.

1661—Roger Holmes, A. M. installed June 28.

1662—William Williams, installed February 19.

1664—John Rogan, Jur. Civ. Bac. installed August 5.

1675—Andrew Saul, D. D. installed April 30. See an account of him in Fast. Oxon.

1612—Henry Scardeville, A. M. installed April 17, upon the death of Andrew Saul; he was likewise Dean of Cloyne.

1703—Thomas King, A. M. installed February 16, vacant by the death of H. Scardeville. It appears from a pamphlet of this time, that he was the archbishop's nephew, as was likehis successor.

1708—Robert Dougat, A. M. installed March 23, vacant by the death of T. King.

1715—John Wynne, A. M. installed October 19, upon the resignation of Robert Dougat.

1727—Hugh Wilson, installed February 9.

1735—John Espin, A. M. installed October 1.

1744—John Owen, D. D. collated August 17, installed September 8; he was likewise Dean of Clonmacnoise.

1761—Fowler Comings, A. M. installed March 27, upon the death of John Owen.

1783—Henry Lomax Walshe, A. M. installed February 25.

Prebendaries of Yago.

1425—John Skyllyngton obtained license of absence in this year. Ant. Repert. Berm. Tur. 3 Hen. VI.

1457—Philip Norris; he was elected Dean in this year.

1546—Henry Danseye held this prebend at the suppression of the cathedral.

1555—Patrick Ffynne was nominated by the charter of restitution.

1569—John Dillon; at the vistitation this year he was adjudged contumacious, being absent without license.

1576—Oliver Foster was presented by letters patent of 12th June; the right of nomination being in the crown by lapse of time.

1615—Gurney Fletcher, A. B. his name occurs in the regal visitation of this year.

1619—John Bynnes, admitted April 20.

———Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, had this prebend previous to his promotion to the archdeaconry of Dublin, which latter he held in commendam with several other benefices. He was consecrated in 1625.

1624—Thomas Doughtie, A. M. admitted Feb. 24; he was Prebendary in 1636, as appears from an extract, in the vellum chapter-book, taken from a volume now lost.

1639—Charles Cullen, instituted Juue 3; his name occurs in all the visitation entries until 1648, although he is always marked, absent.

1661—James Roule, S. T. B. installed December 12.

1674—Richard Dover, A. M. collated by the archbishop June 20: it had been vacant since 1667. Dover was installed January 23.

1681—James Moore, A. M. instituted October 7, installed November 24, upon the death of Richard Dover.

1686—Hugh Leeson, A. M. installed July 21, upon the death of James Moore. James, Earl of Kildare, presented.

1719—Boyle Travers, instituted Nov. 6, installed the 7th.

1759—Daniel Letablare, D. D. instituted November 5, having been presented by James, Earl of Kildare, upon the decease of Boyle Travers, D. D.

1763—William Donellan, A. M. instituted December 6, installed December 9, upon the resignation of D. Letablare.

1784—John Pomeroy, A. M. installed the 1st May 1784, upon the resignation of William Donellan.

1794—Hon. and Rev. Thomas St. Laurence, A. B. instituted July 30, upon the resignation of John Pomeroy; installed September 22. He was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross in 1808.

1808—William Henry Irvin, A. M. appointed by letters patent, the Hon. and Rev. Thomas St. Laurence having been promoted to the united sees of Cork and Ross. Installed September 29.

Prebendaries of St. Audoens.

This church was appropriated to the treasurer by the charter of Henry de Loundres. In 1467 it was erected into a distinct prebend by Archbishop Tregury.

1475—Robert White occurs among the records of Christ-church under the title of "Capellanus ecclesie paroch. St. Audoeni." It is difficult, from these words, to determine whether he was prebendary or curate.

1495—Geoffry Fyche was present at a synod held at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity; he was afterwards Archdeacon of Glendaloch, then Treasurer, and, finally, was elected Dean.

1509—William Power; his name occurs in the proctor's account of this year. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1527—John Andowe; he audited the proctor's account of this year.

1533—John Brown; he was witness in a cause relating to the dean. Dign. Dec. fol. 202, &c.

1544—Nicholas Miagh; there is a lease to him from the bishop of Kildare, dated 4th March, 36 Hen. VIII. In the 1st Edw. VI. he had a lease of this rectory for 21 years, at 20*s.* a year.

1555—Rob. Daly is nominated by the charter of restitution.

1563—John Allen was collated to this prebend the 29th December 1565; he had license of absence for seven years, and a faculty to hold, with this prebend, the vicarages of Laracor and Culmullin, in the diocess of Meath, and the vicarage of Kill, in the diocess of Kildare, during his life; and license to change them for others. His name occurs in the visitation of 1569.

1581—Hamlet Sandre was witness to a lease from the dean and chapter.

1615—Thomas Richardson, S. T. D. his name occurs in the regal visitation; he held likewise, at the same time, the vicarage of Granard, in the diocess of Ardagh.

1617—Robert Usher had, this year, a lease made to him by the chapter of a tenement in St. Patrick's-street. On the 25th February 1635, he was consecrated Bishop of Kildare. He was son of Primate Henry Usher. Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, has given a high character of him, which is to be found in Harris's edition of Ware's Bishops.

1636—Dudley Boswell, A. M. his name occurs in an account of a visitation held the 9th January this year, copied into the vellum chapter-book.

1638—Christopher Davyes, A. M. collated July 19; vacant by the resignation of Dudley Boswell.

1632—Robert Parry, A. M. collated August 2; his name occurs in all the visitations until 1648. He was one of the clergymen that signed the address to the marquis of Ormond, in August 1646.

1660—William Lightborne, S. T. D. installed March 1.

1668—Charles Walsh, S. T. B. collated January 13, upon the resignation of W. Lightborne, S. T. D. Installed the 25th March 1669.

1678—John Finglass, A. M. installed October 14, upon the death of last incumbent.

1719—Edward Synge, A. M. installed August 5, upon the resignation of John Finglass.

1727—John Wynne, A. M. collated September 19, upon the resignation of Edward Synge.

1730—Robert Grattan, A. M. installed November 6, upon the resignation of John Wynne.

———Edward Drury.

1737—Nicholas Synge, A. M. installed October 13, upon the death of Edward Drury.

1741—John Grattan, A. M. installed May 8.

1754—Richard Chaloner Cobbe, installed October 11.

1759—Allen Morgan, A. M. installed August 3, upon the resignation of R. C. Cobbe.

1763—William Usher, A. M. installed November 4, upon the death of Allen Morgan.

1774—William Cradock, A. M. installed May 4. Elected dean of this cathedral in 1775.

1776—Thomas Cradock, installed November 2.

Prebendaries of Clonmethan.

———I. de Nottingham is mentioned in the Crede-mihi; he lived probably about the year 1275.

1402—Thomas de Everdon obtained this prebend, by letters patent dated February 14, upon his resigning the deanery.

1475—Nicholas Dowdall occurs on Statute-roll, 13 Edw. IV. he was granted license of absense for eight years, as he was pursuing his studies at Oxford. Stat. Roll unpublished.

1546—Nicholas Lyn was prebendary at the suppression of this cathedral.

1555—Geo. Browne was nominated in charter of restoration.

1559—Alexander Craike was in this year elected dean.

1561—Walter Hill died June 28. He was also vicar of Luske to the precentor, and contributed largely to the repairs of that church. Obits of Luske.

1561—Robert Daly was in this year collated to this prebend. In May 1564, he was consecrated Bishop of Kildare, with which he held this prebend, and the vicarage of Swords, in commendam. The queen's letter of the 16th April mentions, "that he is well commended to her for his good name and honest living, and the rather because he was well able to preach in the Irish tongue." He probably held this prebend until his death, in 1582, as his name occurs as witness to a lease from the chapter in 1581.

1615—Nicholas Robinson occurs in the regal visitation; he was likewise, at the same time, Chancellor of Christ-church.

1619—William Pulley admitted January 1.

1628—Richard Powell, A. M. collated December 5.

1642—Robert Boyle, S. T. D. collated November 10; he succeeded Powell, and was again instituted the 13th January 1643. His name occurs in all the visitations until 1648.

1661—John Brereton, A. M. installed September 25. He was present at the chapter the 12th October 1678.

1683—John Brereton, A. M. collated June 28, installed the 29th.

1702—Theophilus Harrison, S. T. D. collated April 27, and installed May 6, upon resignation of John Brereton.

1720—John Grattan, A. M. installed December 14, upon the death of Theophilus Harrison.

1741—Bryan Robinson, A. M. installed May 8.

1743—Caleb Cartwright, D. D. installed September 19.

1763—Patrick Kenny, A. B. installed September 23, upon the death of Caleb Cartwright.

1789—Robert Baylis Dealtry, L. L. D. installed January 10.

1795—Lionel, Viscount Strangford, installed June 23.

1801—John Beresford Hill, A. B. installed November 1, upon the death of Viscount Strangford.

1803—Storer Charles Littlehales, A. B. installed June 4, upon the resignation of J. B. Hill.

1811—William Hughes, A. M. installed September 18, upon the death of S. C. Littlehales.

1813—Thomas Radcliffe, A. B. installed July 8, upon the resignation of W. Hughes.

Prebendaries of Wicklow.

This church was parochial until the year 1332, when it became the prebend of the archdeacon of Glendaloch. In 1467 it was made a distinct canonry, by Archbishop Michael Tregury.

1546—John Soningis was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral, and likewise at its restoration.

———Gilbert Coren appears as auditor of a proctor's account, immediately after the restoration of the cathedral; but the roll is imperfect, and the date does not appear.

1559—Edward Coren, on the 15th December, obtained the queen's license to be absent as long as he should please; and likewise to transport three horses, called hobbies, and 40*l.* in money, and to enjoy, during his absence, the full profits of his prebend. Rolls of Chanc.

1566—Christopher Browne, on the 13th January, 9 Eliz. was granted license to hold, with this prebend, the vicarage of Tallaght, and that of Downings in the county of Kildare, during his life. He was present at the visitation in 1569, when he was proposed as compurgator to Crief, the precentor; but was objected to, because he was himself charged with divers crimes. His name occurs upon the patent-roll of 15 and 16 Eliz. His autograph appears on a chapter lease, dated 1581.

1615—Apollo Waller was Prebendary at the regal visitation of this year; he appeared likewise at the dean's visitation in 1636.

1640—Gervais Thorpe; instituted upon the death of the last incumbent, by the archbishop, June 12. He is noted in the visitation-book as sequestrator, in April preceding. This prebend was reported, vacant, in 1642.

1642—Richard Powell, A. M. installed August 1, upon the deprivation of the last incumbent; he was again collated the 6th July 1643, upon the death, says the record, of the last incumbent. He is again reported to have been collated January 27 following. Richard Powell was one of the clergy who signed the address to the marquis of Ormond in 1646.

1660—Richard Ellis, A M. installed February 16.

1683—Dives Downes, A. M. installed February 1, upon the death of Richard Ellis.

1690—Ralph Rule, A. M. installed January 26, upon the the resignation of Dives Downes.

1724—John Blachford, A. M. installed January 7, upon the resignation of Ralph Rule.

1744—Thomas Walls, A. M. installed March 23.

1750—John Jackson, A. M. installed September 11.

1751—Richard Chaloner Cobbe, A. B. installed October 7.

1754—John Walls, D. D. installed December 10, upon the resignation of R. C. Cobbe.

1795—Robert Baylis Dealtry, L. L. D. installed June 27 upon the death of J. Walls.

Prebendaries of Timothan.

———Thomas de Gonneys occurs as Prebendary, in the Crede-mihi.

1509—John Andowe was Proctor this year. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1546—Eustace Browne held this prebend at the suppression of the cathedral.

1555—Thomas Fitzsymon was nominated at the restoration of the cathedral.

1571—J. Ororie was presented, by letters patent dated Feb. 14; the right of nomination being in the crown by lapse.

1588—William Wetherby, presented by letters patent, dated Feb. 14; the right of nomination being in the crown by lapse.

From this period until the beginning of the 18th century, there does not occur any presentation to this prebend.

1716—William Gore was presented by the king, the right of nomination having reverted to the crown by lapse; he obtained institution from the archbishop on the 31st May, and was installed the 2d of June.

1730—Robert Grattan. installed May 7.

1730—James King, A. M. installed December 22, upon the resignation of R. Grattan,

1737—Robert Trotter, A. M. installed July 26, upon the resignation of James King.

1737—Alexander Bradford, S. T. D. installed January 11.

1750—William Fletcher, L. L. B. installed November 23.

1773—Thomas Paul, installed February 15.

1798—Charles Cobbe Beresford, A.B. installed September 8.

1805—Hon. and Rev. James Agar, A. B. installed November 21, upon the resignation of C. C. Beresford.

1809—Lathum Coddington, installed November 17, upon the resignation of J. Agar.

Prebendaries of Mallahidert.

This prebend is stiled, in ancient writings, The Prebend of Castleknock, "ex parte Decani."

1306—John de Patrike is mentioned, in the Crede-mihi, as Prebendary of one portion of Castleknock.

1363—Thomas Minot was, on Palm-sunday in this year, consecrated Archbishop of Dublin.

1412—Maurice Coggerau was, this year, presented by the king, "ad preb. Molaghhidre ex parte decani, vacantem, et ad nostram donationem, ut dicitur, spectantem." Rot. Pat. 13 Hen. IV.

1437—John Sudbery obtained license of absence for two years, dated the 23d July, 15 Hen. VI. He is stiled, "Prebend. alterius partis de Castronock, ex parte Decani."

1483—John Waryng, "Rector of Malaghhidert," was trustee to John Estrete, as appears from a deed of this year, extant among the evidences in Christ-church; he is stiled, in another record of Christ-church, dated 1488, "late Rector of Malahidert."

1495—John Boys was present at the synod held this year in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

1509—Robert Skyrret was Prebendary in 1509. See Proctor's Account, Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1515—David Eustace occurs as Rector of Mallahidert among the charters of Bishop Stearne, in the college of Dublin.

1524—Christopher Lynam; by an inquisition held the 24th Hen. VIII. (1532,) Chistopher Lynam was found to have absented himself without royal license since the 16th year of the same king.

1546—Robert Eustace was Prebendary when the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—Nicholas Miagh, or Miaise, was nominated to this prebend by the charter of restoration; he signs his name as auditor to a proctor's account, wherein he stiles himself, "Preb. de Castronoke ex parte decani."

1567—Richard Bancroft had a license to be absent for six years. Rolls Chanc. He appeared by proxy at a visitation in 1572. In 1593 he was possessed of this prebend, although absent and in England, as appears from a grant, dated May 6, whereby his house in the close was assigned to one of the chief justices. Bancroft was consecrated Bishop of London in 1597, and was advanced to the see of Canterbury in 1604. He was son to Mary, daughter to John Curwyn, the archbishop's brother. He perhaps obtained this benefice from his uncle. See Chalmer's Biog. Dict. Vol. III. page 406.

1597—Lucas Chaloner was promoted to this prebend, by letters patent of May 27, upon the consecration of Bancroft. His only daughter, Phœbe, became the wife of the celebrated James Usher.

1615—Benjamin Culme was prebendary at the period of the regal visitation; he was afterwards Dean of this cathedral.

1626—Richard Moygnes, A. B.

1627—John Fitzgerald, collated May 12.

1642—Henry Hall, A. M. collated January 12. He succeeded J. Fitzgerald. Hall was present at the first meeting of the chapter after the restoration of Chas. II. on the 22d October 1660. Consecrated, in this cathedral, Bishop of Killala and Achonry, on the 27th January 1660.

1660—Thomas Crofton, instituted February 28, installed March 1. He was present at a chapter meeting in 1678.

1683—Henry Rider, A. M. installed September 21; promoted to the bishoprick of Killaloe, by letters patent dated the 5th of June 1693.

1693—Anthony Ireby, S. T. D. instituted June 13, and installed July 3, having been advanced to this prebend, by letters patent, upon the promotion of H. Rider.

1706—Ezechiel Burridge, L. D. installed May 18, upon the death of Antony Ireby.

1707—John Moore, installed August 16.

1716—Charles Whittingham, S. T. D. installed June 14, upon the death of the Hon. and Rev. John Moore; he was afterwards Archdeacon of Dublin.

1719—William Caldwell, collated February 3.

1729—Francis Corbet, installed November 11; he was afterwards Treasurer, and, in 1746, elected Dean of this cathedral.

1735—Edward Drury, S. T. D. installed May 6.

1737—Nicholas Synge, S. T. D. installed October 13.

1743—Gabriel Jas. Maturin, D.D. collated September 5; he was, in 1745, elected Dean.

1746—John Towers, D. D. installed January 15, Dr. Maturin having resigned. He is called Travers in chapter-book.

1752—Keene Percival, D. D. installed January 9.

1764—William Martin, D. D. installed July 6, upon the resignation of K. Percival.

1787—John Lyon, D. D. installed June 23.

1790—Robert Truell, A. M. installed June 22, upon the decease of John Lyon.

Prebendaries of Castleknock.

This prebend is stiled, in antient writings, The Prebend of Castleknock, "ex parte Precentoris."

——— William de Northfield; he was afterwards Archdeacon of Dublin, and died in 1274. In this benefice he was succeeded by,

——— Richard de Gnowessale; who was likewise Archdeacon of Glendaloch, which dignity he held with this prebend. See Archdeacons of Glendaloch.

1306—Anthony Beck and John de Patrike occur, about this time, as Prebendaries of Castleknock; the latter name is, in some writings of this period, joined with that of J. de Dene.

1394—John Lincoln, "Preb. Cas-nock ex parte Precentoris." He had the king's license of absence, 18 Ric. II. Rot. Pipæ.

1495—Nicholas Boys was present at a synod held at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity. His name occurs in the proctor's account for 1509. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1546—Richard Ellercare was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral. He is likewise nominated in the restoration charter.

1562—Thomas Ithel had license of absence this year. He was a lay person. When cited to appear at the visitation in 1568, he produced a dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury. Three licences of absence to this person appear on the rolls, two for three years each, and one for five years. He died about May 1579, as we learn from Bentham's History of the Cathedral Church of Ely, page 244. He probably held this prebend until his death, for he appeared by proxy at a visitation held in 1572.

1605—Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, held this prebend at the time of his translation to this see; he was suffered still to hold it in commendam, which he probably did until his death in 1619, for he occurs as Prebendary in the regal visitation of 1615.

1619—Launcelot Bulkeley, successor to Jones in the see of Dublin, held this prebend in commendam. He died in 1650. It appears, from the records in the First-fruits-office, that Anthony Martin was admitted to this prebend the 16th April 1619; his nomination was in some manner superseded.

1661—William Hill, S. T. D. installed April 30.

1667—Thomas Hill, installed January 7.

1673—Benjamin Parry, D. D. installed November 28.

1675—Edward Wettenhall, S. T. D. installed April 8. In 1679 he was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross.

1679—Joseph Wilkinson, A. M. installed May 10, upon the promotion of Wettenhall. On the 25th May 1690, he entered a *caveat* against the installation of any person, before he or his proctor should first be called. It appears that on the 4th the preb. was sequestered to T. Twigg for service of the cure.

1691—Thomas Twigg was collated the 18th May, it being void, as the archbishop declares, by cession of Joseph Wilkinson. He was again collated the 10th November, and installed the 17th.

1734—Jonathan Rogers, S. T. D. collated May 10, upon the death of T. Twigg.

1741—John Jourdan, A. M. installed April 18.

1758—Peter Sterne, D. D. installed March 6, upon the death of John Jourdan.

1764—Kene Percival, D. D. installed June 8, upon the death of Peter Sterne.

1774—William Warren, A. B. installed May 4.

1803—George Connor, A. B. installed June 4, upon the death of William Warren.

Prebendaries of Tipper.

———Lewis de Savoy; his name occurs in the Crede-mihi. He was nominated by the king during the vacancy of the see, and lived some time about the close of the 13th century.

1494—Robert Skerrit; his name occurs among the records of Christ-church cathedral.

1509—William Walsh is mentioned in the proctor's account of this year. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1527—John Eustace audited the proctor's account of this year.

1529—Christopher Howth assisted at the election of Dean Fyche. In 1535 he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Glendaloch.

1535—Bartholomew Fitzsimons was, in this year, presented by the king, the see being vacant; he held this prebend at the time the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—Henry Dansey was nominated by the charter of restoration. There is a chapter lease to Sir Henry Dansey, Prebendary of Tipper, which bears date of 1558.

1567—Christopher Gafney was Prebendary, when, on the 7th May, he was advanced to the bishoprick of Ossory.

1567—William Leech was presented to this prebend on the 9th May; and, on the 9th of October, he had license to hold with the same the vicarages of Dunsoghlin and Donockmashe, in the diocess of Meath.

1572—Thomas Underdowne; his name occurs in the visitation book of this year.

1615—Gilbert Poordon; by reason of the ill state of his health he had license of absence, and permission to reside in England. Reg. Visit.

1627—Robert Dawson, Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, the 26th July. First-fruits-office.

1630—William Burley, A. M. collated August 30. He appeared, on the 9th January 1661, at the first visitation of the dean that occurred after the restoration of King Charles II.

1669—William Fitzgerald, A. M. installed April 29. He was present at chapter in 1678. In 1691 he was consecrated Bishop of Clonfert.

1691—John Burdet, A. M. installed October 5, upon the promotion of W. Fitzgerald to the bishoprick of Clonfert.

1726—James King, A. M. collated and installed, November 18, upon the death of John Burdet.

1730—John Willoughby installed November 6.

1737—Jas. King, A. M. collated July 9, installed Sept. 12.

1759—Fowler Comings, A. M. installed July 20, upon the death of James King, D. D.

1761—Henry Ware, A. M. installed April 3, upon the resignation of F. Comings.

1778—Robert Green installed September 28.

1795—Richard Ponsonby, A. M. installed December 2, upon the death of Robert Green.

1801—Hill Benson, A. M. installed July 30, upon the resignation of R. Ponsonby.

1814—Thomas Tucker, A. B. installed August 12.

Prebendaries of Tassagard.

———J. Dekene, nominated by the king during the vacancy of the see. His name occurs in the Crede-mihi. He lived about the close of the 13th century.

1393—Monaldus de S. Martin sued out an *amoveas manus* from the profits of this prebend, on the 14th August, 17 Rich. II. which had been seized into the king's hands, on account of the absence of the last incumbent without royal license.

———John Gedeney was possessed of this prebend late in the reign of Rich. II.

Thomas Snell, Archdeacon of Glendaloch, accounts on a pipe-roll, 1 Hen. IV. for 40*s*. yearly, being the amount of two-thirds of the issues of this prebend, then in the king's hands by reason of Gedeney's absence without royal license.

1403—Thomas Chernocks had license of absence for two years, dated the 4th October, 5 Hen. IV. that he might be enabled to prosecute a suit at the court of Rome. Rot. Pat.

1422—Richard Stanihurst had license of absence for one year.

1496—Peter Devenish was witness to the resignation, by Dennis White, of the bishoprick of Glendaloch. His name occurs in the proctor's account for 1509. Append. Numb. XVII.

1530—Wm. Brewyst, by an inquisition held 24 Hen. VIII. was found to have absented himself since the 22d October, 22 Hen. VIII. without royal license.

1546—Thomas Crief was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral. His name occurs on a patent-roll, as witness to a deed from the archbishop to the feoffees of William Brabazon, dated 1544.

1555—George Dowdall, nominated by the charter of restitution; although no addition appears annexed to his name in the charter, he was at that time Archbishop of Armagh.

1569—Richard Bet, A. M. his name occurs in the visitation-book of this year.

1595—Richard Purdon audited the proctor's account, ending midsummer this year.

1615—Roger Danby, A. M. was present at the regal visit.

1636—William Cleburne, A. M. his name occurs in the visitation-book of this year, and also in 1645.

1645—Francis Cockman, collated September 1.

1646—Gilbert Deane, collated July 18, upon the death of F. Cockman.

1660—William Pilsworth, A. B. installed February 16.

1666—Charles Cormock, A. M. installed August 5.

1672—Samuel Hind, S. T. D. installed July 24.

1674—Edward Wettenhall, S. T. D. installed January 23.

1675—Michael Hewetson, A. M. installed November 24.

1693—Richard Reader, S. T. B. installed November 7.

1699—John Travers, S. T. D. installed April 18, upon the resignation of Richard Reader. He was also Chancellor of Christ-church.

1707—Thomas Theaker, collated April 25.

1713—Edward Drury, S. T. D. installed November 14, upon the death of Thomas Theaker.

1735—Nicholas Synge, S. T. D. installed September 25, upon the resignation of Edward Drury.

1737—Roger Ford, A. M. installed June 30, upon the resignation of Nicholas Synge.

1756—George Philips, A. M. installed September 7, upon the death of Roger Ford, D. D.

1770—William Blachford, A. M. installed June 9.

1771—Holt Truell, A. M. installed October 11.

1771—John Lyon, D. D. installed November 15.

1787—Robert Truell, A. M. installed June 16.

1790—Edward Ryan, D. D. installed June 22.

1795—Peter Lefanu, A. B. installed June 6, upon the resignation of E. Ryan.

1799—Crinus Irwin, A. M. installed April 22.

Prebendaries of Dunlavan.

1361—Griffin de Cherleton, at this time resident in England, was summoned, with others, to repair to the king at Westminster, to a council held relative to the affairs of Ireland. Prynne, 4th Instit.

1370—John Bennoke died in this year; he was likewise vicar to the precentor of Luske. Obits of Luske. T. C. D. E. 3, 10.

1382—John Corderay. Richard Chamberlayn accounts upon a Pipe-roll for the sum of 40*s.* being two-thirds of the issues from this prebend, for one year commencing the 12th May, 5 Rich. II. which had been seized into the king's hands on account of the absence of John Corderay.

1425—Thomas Whiteside obtained license of absence for one year, in the 3d Hen. VI. Ant. Repert. Berm. Tur.

1496—Hen. Lennett was witness to Dennis White's renunciation of the see of Glendaloch.

1546—William Pounde, alias Fraunceys, was Prebendary when the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—James Sarsfield was nominated in the restoration charter.

1569—Neynion Meynwell was collated the 26th May 1569. It appears, from an account of a visitation held this year, that he was charged with the crime of usury, before the Barons of the Exchequer; he was therefore objected to when proposed as a compurgator of Crief, the precentor.

1572—J. M'Giver; his name occurs in the visitation-book of this year.

1615—Wm. Lee, A. M. was present at the regal visitation.

1618—William Golborne, admitted March 26. First-fruits-office. Golborne was consecrated Bishop of Kildare in December 1644, and held this prebend in commendam. His name occurs in the visitation-book of 1648.

According to Walter Harris, (Edition of Ware's Bishops,) Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, held this prebend in commendam; but he must be mistaken, for Golborne's name occurs in all the visitation books extant, (from 1639 to 1648;) moreover, there is a lease in the registry whereby the chapter demised to William Golborne, Bishop of Kildare, the house adjoining the gate leading from St. Patrick-street to the close, to hold, during his incumbency as Prebendary of Dunlavan, at 5*s.* per annum rent: from 1645 to 1648 he is noted thus, E'pus Dar. which means, Bishop of Kildare, and, as this nearly resembles, E'pus Der. Bishop of Derry, it might have occasioned the mistake.

1660—John Bladen, S. T. D. installed February 16.

1666—Joshua Golborne, installed March 4.

1686—Thomas Hardcastle, A. M. installed November 12, upon the death of J. Golborne.

1690—John Bolton, A. M. installed February 14.

1700—Jonathan Swift, A. M. installed October 22, upon the resignation of J. Bolton.

1713—Jos. Espin installed June 20, upon the promotion of J. Swift.

1736—William Aishe, A. M. installed March 30, upon the resignation of Jos. Espin.

1752—John Trench, A. M. installed October 2.

1778—Hamilton Morgan, installed May 16.

1799—Peter Lefanu, A. M. installed April 17.

1810—Robert King, installed June 29, upon the resignation of Peter Lefanu.

1814—Moore Morgan, A. M. installed October 27.

Prebendaries of Maynooth.

1248—Richard de Carron was installed first prebendary of Maynooth, when that church was made prebendal. Maurice Fitzgerald, who was patron, continued to possess the advowson thereof.

———John de Sandford was presented by the Baroness of Naas. Crede-mihi. This is probably the same person who was afterwards Dean, and Archbishop of Dublin.

1310—Alex. de Bicknor was Sub-dean this year; from this prebend he was elevated to the archbishoprick of Dublin, in 1317.

1331—Henry Moton occurs as Prebendary of Maynooth, on a Pipe-roll of 5 Edw. III. which accounts for the issues of the 16 Edw. II.

1398—Nich. Walsh was Prebendary, 22 Rich. II. Rot. Pip.

1416—Adam Taillour, "Rector of Maynooth," was witness to a deed, dated 4 Hen. V. extant among the evidences of Christ-church cathedral. The name of Adam Taillour occurs in Al. regist. fol. 168; in 1430.

1529—Edward Dillon.

1534—John Bayly was presented by the king, the 3d April this year, upon the death of Edward Dillon; the right of presentation being in the crown "for certain causes;" probably the rebellion of Fitz-Thomas. The archbishoprick was at that time vacant.

1535—Richard Johnsone was presented by the king the 11th of May; he was Prebendary at the dissolution of the cathedral, in 1546. He is likewise nominated in the charter of restoration.

1562—Tho. Fleming occurs in the visitation-book of this year.

1615—Godfrey Loftus occurs in the regal visitation; where he is branded with the opprobrious epithet of, "desidius predicator."

1619—John Parker, admitted November 21.

1634—Robert Sibthorpe, S. T. B. instituted June 7. He was consecrated Bishop of Kilfenoragh, in this cathedral, on the 11th November 1638, and, in 1642, translated to Limerick.

1638—Robert Price, L. L. B. was nominated, by letters patent dated the 13th December, upon the promotion of R. Sibthorpe; his name occurs in many subsequent visitations.

1643 John Parker, instituted the 5th October, upon the death of Robert Price; he was presented by Robert Sibthorpe, Bishop of Limerick, to whom the advowson, for that turn, had been assigned by George, Earl of Kildare, patron. Consist. Regist. office.

1661—Thomas Price, Bishop of Kildare, obtained this prebend, to hold it in commendam, on the 14th April.

1667— Ambrose Jones was granted license, by letters patent, to hold this prebend in commendam, with the bishoprick of Kildare, to which he was advanced the 1st June this year. He died the 15th December 1678.

1678—Thomas Ward, A. M. instituted to this prebend upon the death of Ambrose Jones, Bishop of Kildare, upon presentation of Henry Ingoldsby, knt. patron of the same, the 31st December. He was installed January 2.

1679—Hugh Anderton, A. M. instituted June 3, and installed July 1. This prebend had become vacant by the resignation of T. Ward. Anderton was presented by Robert Fitzgerald, esq. during the nonage of the earl of Kildare.

1686—James Moore, A. M. presented by John, Earl of Kildare; installed November 24; upon the death of Hugh Anderton.

1703—Thomas Coningsby, instituted the 23d, and installed the 24th March.

1712—Robert Howard, A. M. instituted the 27th, and installed the 28th June, upon the death of Thomas Coningsby.

1722—Samuel Holt, A. M. instituted March 5, upon the resignation of Robert Howard; installed March 16. He was presented by the earl of Kildare.

1763—Daniel Letablare, D. D. instituted the 6th, installed the 9th December, upon the death of Samuel Holt.

1775—Dives Downes, A. B. instituted the 13th, and installed the 16th October.

1794—Thos. Tisdall, A. B. instituted the 5th, and installed the 11th November, upon the resignation of Dives Downes.

Prebendaries of Howth.

———John de Sto. Amaro; he was presented by the king, at some period of time when the see was vacant; towards the close of the thirteenth century.

1380—William Beverly; he was likewise a canon of Westminster.

1509—John Fitzsymon, "Rector of Howth," is mentioned in the proctor's account of this year. See Append. Numb. XVII.

1522—Thomas Darcy was, in this year, Prebendary of Howth. He was elected Dean in 1529.

1529—William Power; his name, as Prebendary of Howth, occurs in the register of Archbishop Alan.

1546—Simon Geffrey was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral; his name occurs likewise in the queen's letter for restoring the cathedral; however, in the patent, John Dongan is nominated; perhaps Geffrey had died in the interval, which was four months.

1555—John Dongan was nominated by the restoration charter; in 1584 he had a letter of attorney to receive the rents of the chapter. His name occurs in the visitation of 1569.

1595—Robert Conway, L. L. D. audited the proctor's account, ending midsummer 1595.

1615—Christopher Hewetson, A. M. occurs in the regal visitation of this year; he was likewise Vicar of Swords, and Treasurer of Christ-church cathedral.

1636—Thomas Lloyd, A. M. his name occurs in the visitation of the 9th Jan. this year, the account of the transactions whereof are preserved in the vellum book of chapter minutes. His name occurs also in every subsequent visitation until 1648.

1660—William Sheridan, A. M. installed February 16. It is not improbable that this was the same person who, in 1669, was made Dean of Down, and afterwards, in 1681, consecrated Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

1671—Patrick Grattan, S. T. B. sequestrator in 1670; instituted to the prebend November 28, and installed January 24.

1704—Robert Grattan, A. M. installed August 9, upon the death of Patrick Grattan.

1723—Samuel Webber, A. M. installed May 4.

1742—John Jackson, A. M. installed October 13.

1750—Arthur Mahon, L. L. B. installed October 11.

1753—John Walls, A. M. installed January 2.

1755—John Wynne, A. M. installed May 14, upon the resignation of John Walls.

1771—William Blachford, A. M. installed October 11.

1773—Moses Roquier, installed May 26.

1774—Thomas Stewart, A. B. installed July 29.

1789—Walter Blake Kirwan, installed January 10.

1800—John Lewis, A. B. installed the 6th of January.

Prebendaries of Monmohenock.

———Hugh de Vienna, presented by the king, during the vacancy of the see, at some period near the close of the thirteenth century.

1546—Thomas Festane was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral.

1555—Jn. Galbalie was nominated in the restoration charter.

———Thomas Moigne, afterwards, in 1608, elected Dean, is said to have been Prebendary of Monmohenock.

1604—William Pilsworth was, in this year, consecrated Bishop of Kildare; he was, at that time, Prebendary of Monmohenock, which benefice he continued to hold in commendam, with his bishoprick. His name occurs in the regal visitation of 1615, and he probably held this prebend until his death in 1635. W. Harris, in his edition of Ware's Bishops, mentions, that Thomas Moigne held this prebend, as well as the deanery, in commendam, with his bishoprick, but I apprehend he is mistaken. He was consecrated Bishop of Kilmore in 1612.

1635—Henry Tilson was presented to this prebend, by letters patent, dated the 15th May, 11 Chas. I. He was installed Dean of Christ-church cathedral in 1634, and consecrated Bishop of Elphin in 1639.

1636—Hugo Cressey was present at the visitation of this year.

1647—Henry Birch, collated April 1.

1660—Clement Payman, S. T. D. installed February 16.

1663—Thomas Rigby, A. M. installed July 1.

1673—Henry Price, A. M. installed September 10, upon the resignation of T. Rigby.

1706—Theophilus Bolton, installed February 1, upon the death of Henry Price.

1707—John Travers, S. T. D. installed April 26, upon the resignation of Theophilus Bolton.

1727—Ralph Hansard, A. M. collated September 21, upon the death of John Travers.

1759—Cadogan Keating, A. M. installed May 18, upon the death of Ralph Hansard.

1778—Richard Bourne, A. M. installed July 27.

1781—Arthur Champagnè, A. M. installed March 2.

1791—James Verschoyle, L. L. B. installed April 13.

1794—Hon. and Rev. John Pomeroy installed June 18.

Prebendaries of Rathmichael.

———Adam de Wetherall was presented, by the king, during the vacancy of the see. Crede-mihi. He lived some time about the close of the thirteenth century.

1452—Richard Whiteacres obtained license of absence for ten years, by letters patent dated the 8th Jan. 31 Hen. VI.

1523—Walter Cusack occurs as witness to some law proceedings of the see of Dublin against the dean and chapter of Kildare. Al. regist. T. C. D. fol. 477.

1537—Robert Eustace, Prebendary of Rathmichael, occurs as feoffee of J. Allan in the manor of Newbridge, together with the other three dignitaries of this cathedral. Patent-roll.

1546—Anthony St. Leger was Prebendary at the time of the suppression; he lived until the restoration of the cathedral, and his successor, T. Lockwood, was ordered, by the letter of privy seal, dated the 23d February 1555, to continue to him his pension during life.

1555—Thos. Lockwood was nominated upon the restoration of the cathedral. He was made Dean of Christ-church cathedral in 1543.

1569—Edward Crofts was suspended, at the visitation of this year, for non-residence.

1570—Richard Dixon was made Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, by letters patent of the 6th June this year.

1570—Nicholas Barnwall was promoted to this prebend, by letters patent, dated the 14th March, 13 Eliz.

1583—Godfrey Loftus leased this prebend for 61 years, the 2d March this year. Min. of Chapt. Christ-church Cath.

1615—John Parker was Prebendary of Rathmichael, and also of St. Michan's, at the time of the regal visitation; his name occurs in 1617, in which year the dean and chapter demised to him a tenement in the close.

1619—William Philips, admitted November 22.

1629—William Floyd, A. M. admitted August 28; he was present at the visitation in 1636, and is mentioned in all the subsequent visitations until 1648.

1649—Thomas Seele, collated the 24th May 1648, installed the 15th October 1649.

1660—Cæsar Williamson, S. T. D. installed February 16.

1663—Thomas Reilly installed July 1.

1669—Ezechiel Hopkins was presented by the crown; he obtained institution December 8; in 1671 was consecrated Bishop of Raphoe, and, in 1681, translated to Derry.

1675—James Wall, A. M. instituted January 27.

1680—John Burton, A. M. installed October 26.

1693—John King, A. M. installed September 29, upon the death of John Burton.

1695—John Hinton, A. M. installed October 5, upon the death of John King.

1702—Christopher Jenny, S. T. D. installed the 11th of February, upon the resignation of John Hinton.

1713—Philip Chamberlaine, installed May 26, upon the resignation of Christopher Jenny.

1751—John Lyon, A. M. installed April 12.

1764—Hon. and Rev. William Beresford, A. B. installed September 1, upon the resignation of J. Lyon; he was afterwards Bishop of Ossory, and Archbishop of Tuam.

1768—Thomas Leland, D. D. installed March 17.

1773—Benjamin Domville, D. D. installed October 14.

1774—Thomas Cradock, A. M. installed November 25.

1776—Thomas Torrens, installed November 2.

1792—William Henry Barnard, A. M. installed July 3.

1796—James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M. installed October 22, upon the resignation of W. H. Barnard, student of Pembroke-hall, Oxford.

1800—Edward Mangan, A. M. installed January 17, upon the resignation of J. W. Ormsby.

1805—James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M. installed October 22.

1811—Edmund Knox, A. M. installed November 7, upon the resignation of J. W. Ormsby.

1817—Hon. and Rev. Chas. Knox, A. M. installed Sept. 20.

Prebendaries of Stagonil.

———Simon Fitzwalter was presented by the king, during the vacancy of the see, as appears from the Crede-mihi: the date is not particularly expressed; but it was about the close of the thirteenth century.

1427—J. Barrington exchanged this prebend with Thomas Donegan, on the 26th September, for the church of Rathwire, as appears from Swayne's register.

1427—Thomas Donegan.

1471—James Hacket, together with other members of this chapter, signed a deed of indemnity to the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity in this year.

1509—Richard Trevers; his name occurs in the proctor's account of this year. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1546—Martin Stanton was Prebendary at the suppression of the cathedral.

1555—Rd. Betagh was nominated by the patent of restoration.

1568—Thomas Lancaster was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh on the 13th June this year; he held this prebend, and several other benefices, in commendam, among which were the treasurership of Salisbury, and two other English livings; likewise the archdeaconry of Kells and the rectory of Nobber. He was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth.

1615—Edward East, A. M.; his name occurs in the regal visitation of this year. He held with this prebend the vicarage of Norragh.

1629—Ambrose Aungier, A. M.

1636—Edward Parry, S. T. D. his name occurs in the visitation of the 9th January this year.

1643—Joseph Ware, A. M. collated May 18, upon the resignation of E. Parry.

1648—William Davis, collated May 6, upon the death of Joseph Ware.

1660—John Parry, S. T. B. installed February 16.

1662—Thomas Ledsom appeared at the dean's visitation the 8th January.

1670—John Fitzgerald collated.

1675—Philip Barber, A. M. installed November 24.

1677—Adam Usher, L. L. D. installed March 19.

1680—James Kyan, A. M. installed October 26.

1682—John Torway, A. M. installed August 25, upon the death of James Kyan.

1689—Daniel Jackson, A. M. installed June 28, upon the death of J. Torway.

1706—Theophilus Bolton, installed April 26, upon the death of Daniel Jackson.

1713—Theophilus Bolton, collated the 14th, and installed the 15th October, vacant by his own resignation.

1714—John Wynne, A. M. installed December 6, upon the resignation of T. Bolton.

1715—Edward Synge, A. M. installed November 2, upon the resignation of John Wynne.

1719—Thomas Smith, installed November 24, upon the resignation of Edward Synge.

1723—Francis Corbet, A. M. installed July 10, upon the resignation of T. Smith.

1726—John Towers, A. M. installed February 7, upon the resignation of F. Corbet.

1747—Kene Percival, A. M. installed April 7, upon the resignation of John Towers.

1752—Peter Sterne, installed February 3.

1758—John Drury, A. M. installed March 6, upon the resignation of Peter Sterne.

1771—Holt Truell, A. M. installed November 15.

1772—Michael Truell, installed November 13.

1775—Michael Sandys, A. B. installed June 7.

1813—Robert Daly, A. M. installed March 12.

Prebendaries of Tipperkevin.

In the year 1303 this church was appropriated to the support of two prebendaries, by Archbishop R. de Ferringes.

———De Lucombe; this name occurs in the Crede-mihi: the time in which he lived is uncertain.

1305—Robert de Carleton was nominated by the king, during the vacancy of the see, by letters patent, dated 26 April, 33 Edw. I. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. Vol. III. page 1118.

1380—Thomas de Thelwall was Prebendary of one portion of Tipperkevin; it appears he had assigned all his profits to Robert Sutton; two-thirds thereof were however sequestered, on account of his absence, but afterwards they were restored to Sutton.

1438—Roger Stedman and John Bucknall; their names occur on a pipe-roll of 14 Hen. VI.

1523—Robert Eustace witnessed a copy of the proceedings of the archbishop against the dean and chapter of Kildare.

———Humphrey and Seemen were Prebendaries at the time of Archbishop Alan. Al. regist. fol. 177.

1534—James Humfrey was Prebendary of Tipperkevin, "ex parte Decani," as appears from the presentation of his successor.

1534—Richard Wakefield was nominated by the king, the see being at that time vacant.

1535—John Baily, Vicar of Norragh, was presented to one portion of this prebend, by the king's letters patent of the 11th January; the see of Dublin being at that time vacant.

1546—Richard Wakefield and William Cockys were Prebendaries of Tipperkevin when the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—John Wogan and William Yong were nominated, by the queen's letter of privy seal, to the two portions of this prebend; but, in the patent, the former was appointed to one part of Donoghmore, and John Cane to the other: the patent makes no mention of Tipperkevin.

1559—Richard Johnston held one portion of this prebend, to which he was collated on the 12th of June; his name occurs in the visitations of 1568 and 1569.

1560—John Garvey, Prebendary of one portion of Tipperkevin, obtained, on the 27th January, a patent granting to him all the franchises of an English-born subject. He was Dean of Christ-church; in 1585 he was consecrated Bishop of Kilmore, and, in 1589, translated to Armagh.

1593—Edward Edgeworth was, this year, consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor, with dispensation to hold this prebend, and that of St. Michan, together with other benefices, in commendam. He died in 1595.

1615—Richard Bath, A. M. held this prebend, together with the vicarage of Clondalkin, at the time of the regal visitation. The two parts of this prebend were at that time united.

1627—Edward Parry was collated to one portion of Tipperkevin the 1st November.

1636—John Ware, A. M. his name occurs in the visitation of this year; he was prebendary of both portions.

1643—Donat Connor, A. M. collated to both portions, the 4th September, upon the resignation of John Ware.

The archbishop resolved, with consent of the dean and chapter, that the two portions of this prebend should be from thence-forward perpetually united, "propter exilitatem, &c." Consist. regist. office.

1660—James Vaughan, S. T. D, collated February 16 to both portions, and installed the same day.

1680—John Syddall, A. M. installed February 5, upon the resignation of James Vaughan.

1697—Philip Walsh, A. M. installed December 4, upon the death of John Syddall; he occurs as prebendary in 1722.

1740—Allen Morgan, installed June 25.

1759—Robert King, L. L. D. installed August 3, upon the resignation of Allen Morgan.

1782—Robert Baylis Dealtry, A. M. installed August 8, upon the resignation of Robert King.

1786—John Bradshaw, A. B. installed January 9.

1817—Frederick Eyre Trench, A. M. installed June 30.

1817—Joseph Druit, A. M. installed November 28.

Prebendaries of Donoghmore in Omaile.

1267—Richard de Hauriberge and Anselm Gubeon were Prebendaries when Archbishop Fulco de Sandford meditated to change the nature of this prebend.

1509—Mathew Rochford was Prebendary of Donoghmore, "ex parte Precentoris," as appears by the proctor's account of this year. See Appendix, Numb. XVII.

1534—Vessey and Holgyll are mentioned by Alan as possessing this prebend in his time; that is, about the year 1534. Al. regist. fol. 177.

1546—Thomas Wafre and John Wogan held this prebend at the time the cathedral was suppressed.

1555—John Wogan and John Cane were nominated in the charter of restoration; although the queen's letter of privy seal joins Christopher Brown with John Cane.

1568—Geoffry Crosby, Prebendary of one portion of Donoghmore, produced a license of absence, at the visitation held the 12th July, being at that time pursuing his studies at Oxford.

1615—Michael Bellerby, A. B. and Henry Walsh, A. M. were Prebendaries at the time of the regal visitation. Michael Bellerby and Robert Wilson were Prebendaries in 1630.

1631—Donat Connor was collated on the 14th July to one portion of this prebend; he was reported, at the visitation of 1636, to be then suspended, but he occurs as Prebendary at the visitation of 1640.

1630—Robert Wilson, S. T. B. occurs as Prebendary of the other portion of Donoughmore; likewise at the visitation of 1636.

1642—Anthony Proctor, A. M. was collated on the 11th January to one portion of this prebend, in which he succeeded Wilson; on the 4th of September following he was nominated to the other portion, upon the resignation of Connor.

The archbishop resolved, with consent of the dean and chapter, that the two portions should be from thenceforth perpetually united, "propter exilitatem, &c." Consist. regist. office.

1660—Morgan Hopton, collated February 15.

1661—Tempest Illingworth, installed February 11.

1663—Henry Stiles, A. M. installed January 15, upon the resignation of Tempest Illingworth.

1669—John Fitzgerald, instituted March 15, upon the deprivation of the last incumbent.

1670—John Christian, collated July 2.

1671—James Hierome, S. T. D. installed December 8.

1679—John Sterne, A. M. installed May 17.

1681—William Staughton, installed November 24, upon the resignation of J. Sterne.

1718—John Blachford, A. M. installed May 13, upon the death of William Staughton.

1720—Henry Brenn, A. M. installed February 4, upon the resignation of John Blachford.

1726—Francis Corbet, A. M. installed February 7, upon the death of Henry Brenn.

1729—Patrick Delany, S. T. D. installed December 18.

1730—James King, A. M. installed July 9, upon the resignation of P. Delany.

1730—Zachary Newton, A. M. installed December 22, upon the resignation of James King.

1731—Thomas Fetherston, A. M. installed April 27, upon the resignation of Z. Newton.

1772—Joseph Pasly, A. M. installed October 22.

1785—George Philips, A. M. installed January 11.

1790—Lionel, Viscount Strangford, installed December 11.

1795—Edward Ryan, D. D. installed June 6.

1819—William Cleaver, A. M. installed January 11, upon the death of E. Ryan.

N. B.—The particulars of collation and institution given above, unless where other authorities are specially cited, are taken from the reports made by the archbishop to the barons of the Exchequer for the purpose of collecting the first-fruits, except where the death or resignation of the preceding incumbent is given, and then the authority is the register of collation or institution. The particulars of installation are taken from the books of Chapter-minutes.

NOTE C.

Containing some further particulars relative to the Patent granted 8th George I. to William Wood, Esq. for coining Halfpence and Farthings, to be current within the Kingdom of Ireland.

The reader will perhaps think, that the subject of Wood's copper coinage has already occupied a larger portion of this work than from its importance it is entitled to: I should be ready to acquiesce in the same opinion, had I not witnessed that the great body of evidence comprised in the Drapier's Letters has failed of producing, upon some late critics and biographers, that conviction which it so powerfully effected upon the minds of all contemporary persons.—Mr. Walter Scott, for instance, seems to consider the engraving, which embellishes the fifth section of his memoir, as a more convincing argument than any that has been adduced by Swift.—"The halfpence of Mr. William Wood were remarkably handsome, and well executed, as appears from the engraving prefixed to this section, the gift of the learned Dr. Hill, of Dublin, to the editor."—This is the first time I ever heard the beauty of the impression upon a coin brought forward as a proof of its value; and I wish that Mr. Scott would try, by a few experiments in parallel cases, the force of his own argument, and note how often his remarks upon the beauty of the image would produce the effect of recommending a light guinea to a tradesman, much less a piece that was not pure gold, or perhaps not gold at all. After adducing this, and a few other such like arguments, Mr. Scott at length, towards the close of the same paragraph, maintains the following proposition which he makes the appearance of having arrived at, as a legitimate conclusion:—"It may be doubtful whether, *in the abstract*, a more oeconomical and unexceptionable mode of supplying the acknowledged want of copper money in Ireland, could have been devised by government." Life of Swift, page 285. Mr. Walter Scott may have, however, some meaning in this passage which I cannot discover, because I cannot comprehend what he means by considering a fact, *in the abstract*: if his conclusion be a mere abstract proposition, to wit, that to coin money is as oeconomical and unexceptionable a way of supplying the want of it as can be devised, I admit the truth, to the fullest extent that Mr. Scott can require, and will consent that he may extend it to all sorts of money as well as copper and to all countries as well as Ireland, to which he has limted this *abstract proposition*: but, when he clothes it with all the circumstances which accompanied the identical patent of Wood, I must maintain the converse of Mr. Scott's proposition to be the truth; and that a less oeconomical, or a more exceptionable, could not have been devised, neither was there any want of copper money in Ireland.—Having considered Mr. Scott's conclusion, let us look back to his premises.—"The hazard of Mr. Wood misusing the patent was not so great but that it *might* easily be guarded against—they *were proved*, by the experiments at the mint, to equal, or *exceed in weight*, purity, and value, *coins of the same denomination in England*—the coinage being exposed to be counterfeited, is an evil incidental to current money of *every description*—precaution were taken, by the nomination of a comptroller, that the patentee should not lower its value."—Let us examine the nature and conclusiveness of these several arguments.—The first is theoretical, and does not apply to the fact; the hazard of misusing the patent *might* have been easily guarded against, *but it was not*—there *were not* any experiments made at the mint upon the *rejected coin*, but upon a distinct sort, and this is proved by the words of the report itself; moreover, the report does not say that even such of Wood's copper as was assayed, *exceeded in weight*, purity, and value, coins of the same denomination in England; it says, that the *copper* used by Wood was worth 12*d*. or 13*d*. per pound, but it likewise say that the copper used in the mint in England was worth eighteen pence per pound. The reporters could not have asserted that the coin of England was of the same weight with that of Wood, because the fact is otherwise; a good English halfpenny of that period weighed 146 grains, the average weight of Wood's halfpence is 104 grains each; and, according to the report, such of them as were submitted to inspection, averaged 119½ grains each: indeed I never heard this matter asserted but by Mr. Scott himself.—Neither is it an evil incidental to *every description* of coinage that it may be counterfeited, and least of all to a copper coinage, which, if it were made of materials nearly equal to the real value, there would have been little chance, and less danger, of its being counterfeited. Against the danger of its being counterfeited by the patentee himself, Mr. Scott will not pretend to say that there was any provision whatsoever.—As to the security Mr. Scott mentions, from the nomination of a comptroller, it has been proved to have been ineffectual, by the result; for all the different sorts of money coined by Wood were not submitted to the assay-masters, the comptroller must therefore have been either ignorant or corrupt, it matters not which, for either supposition will prove, equally well, that his appointment did not constitute an effectual check.

Indeed it is rather odd Mr. Scott should maintain such a proposition, as, "that Mr. Wood's scheme was the most oeconomical and unexceptionable could be devised," when he had before him such a body of evidence to the contrary as that comprised in Mr. Coxe's Memoir, who was the minister's own advocate; for it appears manifest from his account, that the oeconomy of the scheme, or the utility of it to Ireland, never occupied, for one moment, the thoughts of the English *premier*. If it was so vastly oeconomical, why was it so zealously contended for by the patentee? or, why was he paid so large a sum for renouncing his pretensions?—If it was so advantageous to Ireland, (for nothing could make it unexceptionable, except an advantage proposed to be derived to the nation at large,) why was it persevered in against the wishes of the people to whom it was intended to be a benefit? It seems to be rather a bold assertion to say, that the minister had determined to sacrifice his popularity to his duty, or that he had resolved to make the nation happy and prosperous against their will; I profess, at least, I should not have had faith enough to believe Sir Robert Walpole capable of so glorious an act of martyrdom, even had Mr. Coxe asserted it, which indeed he has not done, but has eased our consciences of this heavy burthen, by proving the direct contrary, for he has shown that the measure was nothing less than a ministerial job, devised for the sole purpose of gratifying one individual at the public expense.

The Edinburgh Reviewers, moved possibly by Mr. Scott's irrefragable arguments, have ruled, that "every body is now satisfied of the perfect harmlesness, and, indeed, of the great utility of Wood's scheme for a new copper coinage." By the phrase "Every body," I presume we are to understand the company of Reviewers, for we find it is an expression, in particular societies, when they apprehend themselves to be the persons of chief consequence in any city or town, to call their community, "Every body," or, "the Whole World."—Considering the phrase in this limited sense, (for I am sure it is not true in any other,) it will not be necessary to intrude upon them further than simply to notice the peculiarity, for fear of misconception; indeed it would be a truly barbarous act to interrupt their blissful dream of ignorance, neither can it serve to any useful purpose, for, as no arguments are adduced, there are none to confute.

As this contest appears, to my senses, to have been a rational struggle for liberty; as the resolutions of our legislative bodies appear to have been wise and resolute, and the conduct of our great countryman virtuously patriotic, I am desirous, so far as is in my power, to vindicate his character, which has suffered at least as much from the feeble defence of his luke-warm advocates, as from the party zeal of the minister's panegyrist. I feel perfectly sensible of the difference between a factious demagogue, who will seek popular applause at any rate, and the disinterested patriot, who maintains the true interest of his country. In which class Swift should be placed is not a matter of indifference to his countrymen. Neither do I doubt but, upon consideration of the whole subject, it will appear manifest that the high authorities who resisted the measure were not deceived in their appreciation of its probable consequences, nor did our first patriot act from any motives but those which he has avowed in the celebrated letters of M. B. Drapier.

The Report of the Committee of the English Privy-council contains the whole substance of whatever has been alleged in favour of Wood's scheme. That important state-paper is said to have been drawn up by Sir Robert Walpole himself; it may be therefore considered as the best defence the minister was capable of making. In the first section of this note the reader is presented with an abstract of the contents of this document, the most important sentences are, however, expressed in the words of the original. Against each clause I have opposed contradictory evidence, derived chiefly from sources which have not been hitherto placed before the public; the unpublished letters of Archbishop William King.

As I am desirous of laying those valuable documents before the reader in their original state, it must, of necessity, happen, that all the passages in those letters will not reply directly to that clause in the report to which they are confronted, but, occasionally, to some others. This matter will occasion an appearance of want of method, but the defect will, I presume, be sufficiently recompensed by the advantage of having the documents themselves preserved in their original state. To mould them into any other form than that in which they were cast by the most reverend prelate himself, as it would affect their authenticity, so it would, in some degree, diminish the force they derive from the character of the virtuous and intelligent writer.

Whatever may be the public opinion, as to the motives for Swift's opposition, I believe there is no one hardy enough to say, that Archbishop King was urged by any other but that of pure, disinterested patriotism. In proof of his virtue and intrepidity I shall cite three passages from his letters to General Gorge, which are so illustrative of his character and principles, that it would be an act of injustice to suppress them; the first from his letter dated the 3d November 1724, and the two latter from that dated the 12th December, in the same year. They were both written upon the subject of his having signed the declaration of the county of Dublin against Wood's copper coin.

Extract from a letter to General Gorge, dated 3d Nov. 1724.

"—I signed the declaration of the county of Dublin, for which I was chid, and asked, how it would look in the Archbishop of Canterbury to sign a declaration, made at the quarter sessions for Middlesex?—to which I answered, that I thought it would look very well, if it were to save his country, and I should reckon him a paltroon if he declined."

Extract from a letter to the same, dated the 12th Dec. 1724.

—"You blame me for signing the declaration of the county of Dublin, that we were resolved not to receive the halfpence; but pray, if I had refused to do so, who would have signed it? and, if the county of Dublin had refused such a declaration, all the other counties would have, in all probability, followed their example, which would effectually have damped that spirit in the kingdom that hitherto prevented the currency of them. I do not see how this is flying in the face of government, or acting against the patent, which offers them to none but those who are willing to receive them; and sure it was but justice to tell our tenants and dependants, that they may know, it is at their own peril they take them."—

"—You seem resolute against the passing of this brass, and yet wish me out of the way: I must say to you as Nehemiah said to those that advised him to hide himself from the enemy, when he was building the temple; 'should such a man as I fly?'—If ever I expect to do my country any good, now is the time; and I am sure no harm that can befal me can grieve me so much, as to see the mischief that must attend the whole kingdom, if this patent be executed; and therefore I reckon it my duty to do all in my power to prevent it, and leave the issue to Providence; which has been my principle and practice all my life; and God forbid I should fall from it now, when I have one foot in the grave."—

Every argument which is urged by the committee, in the following report, is, I apprehend, satisfactorily answered by Swift in his third Drapier's Letter; but it would be necessary, now, to prove a self-evident proposition, if it were maintained by Swift—

"————For that dye is on *him*,
"Which makes *his* whitest part black.——"

Indeed, if it were not for the circumstances above alluded to, it would be an act of supererogation to go about to strengthen the arguments there advanced, which are the most powerful that have ever been adduced by any political disputant whatsoever. These arguments, with the letters of Archbishop King, do, I apprehend, as Shakespeare says,

"————So prove it,
That the probation bears no hinge, nor loop,
To hang a doubt upon.————"

In the second section of this note the matter is considered merely in an oeconomical respec; abstracted from the political question, and simply as a project for supplying the kingdom with a quantity of copper coin.

Sect. I.

Containing an abstract of the Report, from the Committee of His Majesty's Privy-council in England, relative to the Patent granted to William Wood, Esq. for coining Halfpence and Farthings for Ireland; and a reply to each respective paragraph of the same, extracted chiefly from the original letters of Archbishop King.

The Report of the committee of the English privy-council begins by stating—That, in obedience to his majesty's order of reference, they had taken into their consideration the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of Ireland, the address from the lords-justices and privy-council of that kingdom, the petitions of the county and city of Dublin, relating to Wood's patent, and the petition of William Wood concerning the same; that they had examined all such persons as were desirous and willing to be heard on the subject, and had agreed on the folowing report, "containing a true state of the whole matter, as it appeared before them, with their humble opinion; to be laid before his majesty, for his royal consideration, and determination, upon a matter of such importance."

They proceed, then, briefly to recount the substance of those petitions, which state the objections to the coinage, represent the ill consequences likely to ensue, and pray that his majesty would give directions to prevent the fatal effects from uttering the said coin. They mention likewise his majesty's answer to the addresses of both houses of parliament, which assures them, that if any abuses had been committed, they should be inquired into, and punished; and that his majesty would do every thing in his power for the satisfaction of his people.

In pursuance of this declaration, say they, his majesty took the matter into his consideration, and, for that purpose, directed that an order should be sent over to the lord lieutenant, dated the 10th March 1723-4, to signify, "that he would give directions for sending over such papers and witnesses as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, and against the patentee, in the execution of the powers given him by the patent."—That, upon receipts of these orders, the lord lieutenant, by letter of the 20th March, represented the great difficulty he found himself under to comply with them; and that, by a second letter from the same, dated March 24, he signified that he had consulted the principal members of both houses, who were in his majesty's service, and of the privy-council, but, "That none of them would take upon them to advise, how any material persons or papers might be sent over on this occasion; *but they all seemed apprehensive of the ill temper any miscarriage in a trial, upon* scire facias, *brought against the patentee, might occasion in both houses, if the evidences were not laid as full before a jury, as it was before them.*" The lord lieutenant did, therefore, a second time, decline sending over any persons, papers, or materials whatsoever.

"*As this proceeding,*" say the lords of the committee, "*seemed very extraordinary, that, in a matter which had raised so great and universal a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland; that no papers, no materials, no evidence whatsoever of the mischiefs arising from this patent, or of the notorious frauds and deceit committed in the due execution of it, could now be had, to give your majesty satisfaction therein*; your majesty however, desirous to give your people of Ireland all possible satisfaction, *but, sensible that you cannot, in any case, proceed against the meanest of your subjects, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice,* repeated your orders to your lord lieutenant of Ireland, that by persuasion, and making proper allowances for their expenses, new endeavours might be used to procure and send over such witnesses as should be thought material to make good the charge against the patent."

The lord lieutenant, as the Report informs us, replied to this letter, on the 23d of April. He mentioned, that at a meeting of the lord chancellor, the chief judges, the attorney and solicitor general, he had earnestly solicited their advice and assistance, to enable him to send over such witnesses as might be necessary, to support the charge against the patent; but that "the result of this meeting was such, that the lord lieutenant could not reap the least advantage or assistance from it; every one being so guarded with caution against giving any advice or opinion in this matter of state, apprehending great danger to themselves from meddling in it."

"The lords of the committee *think it very strange that there should be such great difficulty in prevailing with persons, who had already given their evidence before the parliament of Ireland, to come over and give the same evidence here*; and especially, *that the chief difficulty should arise, from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an enquiry before your majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law,* in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the most solemn manner."

But this will not appear so strange or inexplicable, after perusing the following letter from Archbishop King, himself one of the council, to Edward Southwell, Esq. who was, I apprehend, at that time secretary of state. Archbishop King's letter is dated three days after that above quoted from the lord lieutenant; this important state paper may, therefore, be considered as an official communication of the sentiments of the Irish privy council upon this matter.

Letter from William King, Archbishop of Dublin, to Edward Southwell, Esq. dated the 23d March 1723.

"I have not had any occasion of late to trouble you with my letters; but yester-night I came to the knowledge of an affair which gave me some uneasiness, and, I believe, will do so to the whole kingdom, when it becomes public. My lord lieutenant sent for several lords and commoners of the privy council, and communicated to them a letter from my Lord Carteret, writ by his majesty's command, in which was repeated the answer given to the addresses of the lords and commons, about one William Wood's farthings and halfpence; and his grace is required to send over witnesses and evidences against the patentee or patent: this has surprised most people, because we were borne in hand that that affair was dead, and that we should never hear any more of it.

"His grace's design was, to be advised by what means and methods he might effectually comply with his majesty's commands; and, by what I could perceive, it was the sense of all, that it was not possible, in the present situation of affairs, to answer his majesty's expectations, or those of the kingdom; and that, for these reasons:

"1st, because this is a controversy between the parliament of Ireland and William Wood; and, the parliament being now prorogued, nobody either would, or durst, take on them to meddle in a business attacked by the parliament, or pretend to manage a cause which so deeply concerned the parliament and the whole nation, without express orders. If this letter had come whilst the parliament was sitting, and had been communicated to the houses, they could have appointed certain persons to have acted for them, and raised a fund to support them, as has been done formerly in this kingdom on several occasions; but, for any, without such authority, to make himself a party for the legislature and people of Ireland, would be a bold undertaking, and, perhaps, dangerous; for, if such undertaker or undertakers should fail in producing all evidences that may be had, or any of the papers necessary to make the case evident, they must expect to be severely handled the next parliament for their officiousness, and bear the blame of the miscarriage of the cause. For these reasons, as it seemed to me, the privy counsellors were unwilling to engage at all in the business, or to meddle with it.

"But, 2dly, the thing seemed impracticable; because it would signify nothing to send over the copies of the papers that were laid before the parliament, if the design is, as it seems to be, to bring the patent to a legal trial; for such copies, we were told by lawyers, could not be produced in any court as evidence; and as to the originals, they are in possession of the houses, and (as was conceived) could not be taken from the proper officers, with whom they were trusted, but by the like order.

"And, as to the witnesses, it was a query, whether my lord lieutenant by his own power could send them; and, if he have such power, yet it will not be possible to come at the witnesses, for several in each house vouched several facts on their own knowledge, to whom the houses gave credit: my lord lieutenant can neither be apprized of the persons nor of the particulars which the members testified; whereas, if the parliament was sitting, those members would appear, and make good their assertions.

"There were four several sort of farthings and halfpence produced to the houses, differing in weight, and there was likewise a difference in the stamp. These were sent over by William Wood to his correspondents here, and by them produced. But can it be proved, on a legal trial, that these particular halfpence were coined by him? It is easy for him to say that they are counterfeited, as (if I remember right) he

has already affirmed in the public prints, in his answer to the address of the commons.

" But, 3dly, it was not on the illegality of the patent, nor chiefly on the abuse of it by the patentee, (which was not so much as mentioned by the lords,) that the parliament insisted, but on the unavoidable mischief and destruction it would bring on the kingdom, and on its being obtained by most false and notorious misinformation of his majesty; it being suggested, as appears by the preamble, that the kingdom wanted such halfpence and farthings. Now, if the king be misinformed, the lawyers tell us, that the grant is void; and, that his majesty was deceived in this grant by a false representation, it was said, needed no other proof than the patent itself.—William Wood by it was empowered to coin 360 tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, which would have made 90,000*l.* about the fifth part of all the current cash of Ireland; for that is not reckoned, by those who suppose it most, to be 500,000*l.* Now, the current cash of England is reckoned above twenty millions; in proportion, therefore, if Ireland wants 90,000*l.* England will want four millions. It is easy to imagine what would be said to a man that would propose to his majesty such a coinage; and it is agreed, that the people of England would not be more alarmed by such a patent, than the people of Ireland are, by the prospect of turning the fifth part of their current coin into brass.

" This, so far as I can remember, is a brief of what passed in the meeting before my lord lieutenant; and you will excuse me, if I thought it would be grateful to you to be apprized of it.

" I shall only add an observation or two of my own.

" The first is, that looking over all the former patents for coining halfpence, we found that the method was, to refer the matter to the chief governor and council, to report, whether the kingdom wanted such coin, and how much; and, on their report, the patent was granted, and the coinage was to be in the kingdom. The reason I suppose was, that the coiners might be under the eye of the chief governor, who might judge whether the metal was good, and examine, on oath, whether, and when, the assigned quantity was coined; but, this patent not having gone these steps, I suppose was the reason of the lords complaining, in their address, that it passed in a clandestine and unprecedented manner.

" I further observe, that I do not remember any thing which so universally disgusted the people of Ireland as this patent, insomuch, that I never met or heard of any one person that was not in a kind of fury when it was talked of; and, if any one should now seem to encourage the execution of it, or any way concur towards it, he would have an ill time of it, and must incapacitate himself, for ever, from doing any real service to his majesty or the country, by losing all credit here.

" And let me discover a sort of secret to you: the people entertained (at least a great many) a jealousy that my lord lieutenant had some hand in it, or had not opposed it with that vigour they expected from him; and nothing but this has done his grace any harm in the opinion of the people of Ireland.

" I write this in haste, and would not venture it to any person of whose friendship I were less assured than of yours, and, therefore, excuse the blunders made in it."

" In my humble opinion," says Swift in the Drapier's third Letter, " the committee of council has already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland 'an universal clamour.'—I desire to know, how such a style would be resented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many impeachments would follow upon it?"—For what Swift has said upon the subject of this matter, previously decided upon by the high court of parliament, and re-examined afterwards by a committee of the English privy council, I refer the reader to page 340 of this volume.

The lords of the committee then proceed to state, that, at the same time orders were transmitted to the lord lieutenant to send over evidences to support the charge against the patent, his majesty, to the intent that the abuses and frauds, alleged to have been committed by the patentee, might be fully and speedily inquired into, did likewise order, that an assay should be made of the fineness, value, and weight of this copper money, and the goodness thereof, compared with former coinages of copper money in Ireland, and at the mint in England; and it was accordingly referred to Sir Isaac Newton, Edward Southwell, and John Scroop, Esqrs. to make the said assay and trial.

The lords of the committee then annex what they call " The Report made of this Assay;" it is not, however, a copy of the report, but an abstract from it, and is as follows:—" That the pix of the copper money coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at your majesty's mint at the tower; that the comptroller's account of the quantities of halfpence and farthings coined agreed with Mr. Wood's account, amounting to 59*t.* 3*c.* 1*q.* 11*lbs.* 4*oz.*; that by the specimens of this coinage, which had, from time to time, been taken from the several parcels coined, and sealed up in papers, and put into the pix, sixty halfpence weighed 14*oz.* 18*dwt.* troy, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight avoirdupois; and thirty farthings $3\frac{3}{4}$*oz.* 46*grs.* troy, which is also above the weight required by the patent. It also appears, that both halfpence and farthings, when heated red-hot, spread thin under the hammer without cracking; that the copper of which Mr. Wood's coinage is made, is of the same goodness and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in your majesty's mint for England, and worth in the market about thirteen pence per pound weight avoirdupois; that a pound of copper wrought into bars or fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the mint at the tower of London, is worth 18*d.* per pound, and always costs as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale, for England. It likewise appears, that the halfpence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II. King James II. and King William and Queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in weight, very far exceeds them all in goodness, fineness, and value of the copper, none of them bearing the fire so well, not being malleable, wasting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all."

The report of the assayers has been given in page 339, note d; it differs in some very material respects from the above abstract, which does not seem to have been adopted for the sake of brevity, for it is nearly as long as the original. The abstract omits the following passage of the report:—" But, although the copper was very good, and the money, one piece with another, was full weight, yet the single pieces were not so equally coined in the weight as they should have been."—The very exact description of the particular coins which had been assayed is likewise omitted to be set forth; and it appears, from this description, that the coin assayed, and referred to by this report, was not of that sort which had been transported to Ireland; so that the parties were at cross purposes in this respect. In the abstract there is a seeming contradiction: it is said, that the copper used by Mr. Wood was worth 13*d.* per pound, and of the same value with that used at the mint; but afterwards, it says, that the copper when used at the mint was worth 18*d.* per pound: there is no such variation in the statement made by the assayers; I therefore apprehend that it is a mistake in the printing, and that the last number should be 13, not 18. If the passage be rightly printed, it will make materially against the patent, because it will then appear that copper used in the coinage for England was higher manufactured, and more pure than that used by Wood: moreover, it

appears from the abstract, that one pound of copper was coined at the mint into 23 pence by tale, whereas Wood, by his patent, was allowed to coin the same quantity into 30 pence by tale: there is an advantage in this respect of one-fifth part, or 20 per cent. granted to the patentee, for which indulgence no sufficient reason has been assigned, and which would have produced very ill effects upon the exchange between the countries."

As a further comment upon the report of the assayers, I shall annex two letters from Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell, who was himself one of the assayers; those letters are placed here, because they refer particularly to their report, but they have likewise some reference to other parts of the report of the committee of the privy council. The first of these letters is dated the 10th September 1724, and the second the 6th February in the same year.

Letter from Archbishop William King to Edw. Southwell, Esq. dated the 10th September 1724.

"I am honoured with yours of the 3d instant. I hope you are very happy in the good company and retirement of Kings-Weston. I find the business of the halfpence still sticketh, and is like to do, all mankind having declared against taking them. Let me tell you, that you do not altogether escape without blame for signing Sir Isaac Newton's report; great care being taken in it, as is alleged, to say every thing in favour of Wood, and omitting every thing that made against him.

"The report sayeth, that the pix of the copper money, coined at Bristol, was opened and tried before us; and, by the comptroller's account, (to which Mr. Wood agreed,) there hath been coined, from Lady-day 1723, to March 28th, in halfpence, 55 tons, &c. and in farthings, 3 tons, &c. the whole coinage amounting to 59 tons, &c. Now by this it is concluded here, that there was none coined before the 25th March 1723, at least, that there was no specimen or account given of them by the comptroller, whereas, all that came into Ireland were coined in 1722; from whence they conclude that this was no fair trial. They say, that the several parcels ought to have been distinguished, when and where coined, with the difference of the stamps; there being two or three sorts that I have seen, and, if I remember right, a fourth. By these, and other considerations, they conclude that the triers were no friends to Ireland.

"There are orders come over to the government here, to transmit the report of the council, with his majesty's approbation, to the commissioners of the revenue, with such intimations as in effect amount to oblige them not to refuse them in receipts for his majesty; and I hear that orders more positive are come from the treasury there to the commissioners here. This is not construed here to be doing 'all in his majesty's power to give his people satisfaction.'

"These orders are most grievous to the governors and commissioners. You know my lord chancellor and Mr. Conelly are speakers to the two houses of parliament; and, if they should give any assistance to the passing of these halfpence, without consideration had to what passed concerning them in those houses, how must they expect to be received?—And as to my lord Shannon, his case may perhaps be harder, for the army will be the first that will suffer by them; and, if the brewers, butchers, and bakers, should not take them from them, quarrels and mutinies it is probable would ensue; and, if the general should interpose, as he must, it may go hard with him; at best he must lose the affections, and his interest in the soldiers, who are as averse to them as any other body of men, and would certainly declare against them, if it were not mutiny.

"As to the commissioners of the revenue, they are to act conformably to the laws that settle the funds, and these require them severally to be paid and received in sterling, or lawful money of, and current in England: therefore, without a positive and express command from his majesty, the lawyers are of opinion, that it is not safe for them to receive them in halfpence, since they want those qualifications; if they do, they will be obliged to make them good, if ever called to an account, which may happen. Now, such a command will imply, at least, a dispensing power with acts of parliament; and query, if valid, if not under the great seal; though some even question, whether that be sufficient to justify them? The parliament will therefore think, I am apt to believe, that they were modest in petitioning his majesty to order that the halfpence should not be received in his revenue, since they might have put it on a stronger foot, which would indeed have touched his prerogative, which petitioning did not.

"The patent obligeth none to take them, but those who are willing: the whole kingdom, both by their representatives in parliament and in separate bodies, have declared themselves unwilling to take them: many of the nobility and gentry, living in England, who have estates in Ireland, have writ to their respective receivers not to accept any of these halfpence in their rents. I suppose there is no offence in this, since these refusers only make use of the liberty the patent allows them: their declaring publicly, that they will not receive them, is a fair warning to the patentee to stop coining; nor can he reasonably complain, if they lie on his hands, and he become a loser by them.

"The people here do not apprehend how either his majesty's honour or prerogative is concerned in this affair: Mr. Wood has his patent; nobody takes it from him; let him make the best of it; if he lose by it, let him blame himself, that got it by suggesting falsehoods to his majesty.

"Let me deal ingenuously with you: the generality here are of opinion, that the insisting on honour or prerogative is but a pretence, and that the true reason of all the zeal and art used to put this copper on Ireland proceeds from another motive. Mr. Wood, as I am assured by a person that was with me the other night, offered him 10,000*l.* to be his agent to procure such a patent for him; if it came for less, all the surplus should be his own; but he refused to be concerned in it: this is no secret, and the conclusion is, that the like, or perhaps a greater sum, was placed somewhere. The receiver, to be sure, is not willing to refund; and, if the affair does not succeed, Wood will squeak, and that may not be for the honour of somebody. I think I durst swear his majesty had none of the money, and, therefore, all this zeal and bustle to force the resolution, judgment, inclination, and interest of a whole nation, is, to secure the honour and profit of some other persons.

"I confess there are some methods taken to obstruct the currency of these halfpence which I can by no means approve of, such as mobs and scurrilous papers, which were as little necessary as proper; but who can stop the madness of an enraged people, who reckon themselves not only undone, if this copper take place, but that they are treated with the utmost contempt and scorn? which is more intolerable to a free people, than oppression and robbery in their fortunes: and, to say truth, could a greater contempt be put on a nation, than to see such a little fellow as Wood favoured and supported against them, and such profligates as Brown and Coleby believed before a whole parliament, government, and privy council! But I have said too much to you, who cannot, I persuade myself, but be, in your conscience, of the same opinion with us."—

Letter from Archbishop William King to Edw. Southwell, Esq. dated the 6th February 1724-5.

"In my last to you I gave you an intimation, that I had something to impart to you that more nearly concerned you than the particulars of that letter; I take this opportunity to tell you what I meant in that hint.

"1st, it is observed that you plead the strictness of your order, for examining Wood's halfpence, in excuse of the defective and partial report returned by Sir Isaac Newton, Scroop and you, as if it did not allow you to make any further inquiry than you did. I find most people demur on this, and cannot be persuaded that any such restraining order could be given,

though your friends, you see, are willing to understand it so; but it seems to me, that letting us have a copy of the order by which you acted, would be the most effectual justification of your conduct, which, though I am certain it has happened contrary to your intention, has proved most pernicious to the kingdom; for, in a great measure, your report has been made the foundation of most of those hard proceedings that have been put in use to force the halfpence on us; there appearing no other ground for that assertion, in the Duke of Newcastle's letter to the lords-justices here, that it is manifest, beyond contradiction, that Wood has complied with the terms of his patent, but your report; whereas, if the report had been full, and matters of fact represented as they really were, the contrary would have been evident. It could not be doubted but Woods had vended great quantities of his brass in England and Scotland, directly contrary to his patent; and that they were received there with a prospect of sending all into Ireland for our commodities: it could not be doubted, if due inquisition had been made, but the false representation made by him and his comptroller, of the time and quantity of his coinage, would have appeared; and, from thence, how unsafe it must be for the kingdom to have the interest thereof in the management of such hands; and, therefore, I cannot but wish that this affair were put in such a light as might clear you from suspicion of any way contributing to our oppression.

"2dly, I find it averred in the aforesaid letter of the Duke of Newcastle, that it was represented, and with great reason depended upon and concluded, that the reducing the quantity of halfpence to 40,000*l.* would give satisfaction to the people of Ireland. This, instead of satisfying them, has contributed as much to put them out of humour as the patent itself; for they look on it as treating them as fools and children, who could not see, that admitting 40,000*l.* of brass, was to make way for what quantity Wood pleased; for who could stint or controul him if he had sent in 200,000*l.*? How then could any honest or thinking man represent, or give reasons to persuade the council, that such a sum would give satisfaction? But in this, as in every thing else, we are kept in the dark, and must not know who they are who thus misrepresent and abuse us; whoever they are, they must expect to undergo the utmost odium and abhorrence of the whole kingdom: great industry has been used to find them out, and it has been laid to the charge of a gentleman here, who denieth it in the most solemn manner, and with the strongest asseverations to the contrary. The reason I apprize you of this is, because I find some hints and intimations are come over, in private letters, as if you had been concerned, and had some hand in it. I therefore conceive it would be for your honour to justify yourself; which will be best done by putting the matter in a clear light, and let it be known who they were that have so greatly injured us, and imposed upon the council there, by so false a representation.

"3dly, whereas it is alleged by the lords of the committee, that Mr. Wood produced several witnesses that directly proved the great want of small money for change, and the great damage retailers and manufacturers suffered for want of such copper money; we are still in the dark who these witnesses should be, as in the other matters; we never heard of any but Brown and Coleby, and surely their testimony would not pass for one of these halfpence in Ireland. It is very true, indeed, that we want small money in Ireland, such as sixpences, shillings, &c., as I formerly told you, most of our current coin being moydores and pistoles; and we saw the design was, to change these for brass, and leave us nothing but Wood's copper; and this has been one of the chief reasons of theejection of them unanimously by the kingdom: but, as for halfpence, we had, and have, enough of them.

"As for the petitions offered by several for a patent to coin halfpence, we do not wonder at it; we shall never want men desirous to promote their own gain, though to the mischief of the public: we have formerly had such petitions, which being referred to the government here, we gave such reasons against them, as prevailed with the crown to lay them aside, and, if the same course had been taken in this, I doubt not but the event would have been the same; but, to take the opinions of self-interested persons, pursuing their private gain, for evidence of what the kingdom wanted, without further inquiry, is new and unprecedented.

"As for the raps that pass here, it might prove something if we had no counterfeited sixpences, shillings, pistoles, or moydores, that pass; these are taken by the ignorance of the people, and the coiners, when discovered, are punished, and so are those that coin raps.

"But you say, What is all this to you? But, let me tell you, that your report, in the opinion of people, is so contrived, that it hath given more colour to this notorious falsehood of our wanting halfpence than all other evidences, which, indeed, are none. You report, that those coined in King Charles the Second's reign, King James's, and King William's, are of worse copper, and lighter, than Wood's; those picked up by Wood might be so, but I have seen the trial, and four halfpence of the old stamp weighed five of Wood's, and I was assured that the copper was better: this makes people imagine that you favoured the patent, and did all in your power to make it effectual.

"I hope that you will believe that I write these things with a design really and sincerely kind, that you may not suffer by the whispers of people, without being apprized of them, and that you may, as opportunity offers, justify yourself, in which every body is willing to assist you, &c."

The lords of the committee proceed to say, that, inasmuch as no evidence had been transmitted from Ireland, to prove the frauds and deceit alleged to have been committed by the patentee, and, as there was not the least expectation given of any that might be obtained, and as the assays and trials which had been taken, proved so unquestionably the weight, goodness, and fineness of the copper money coined, "they cannot," they say, "advise his majesty, by a writ of *scire facias*, or any other manner, to endeavour vacating the said patent, *when there is no probability of success in such an undertaking*."

As a comment upon this part of their lordships' report, which states the difficulty of vacating the patent by process of law, I shall annex the following abstract from a letter of Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell, dated the 4th July 1724:

"—You seem to me to be of opinion, that the ministry would willingly be rid of this affair, but that it is difficult how to make the prerogative have the victory without hurting the people in their purses, or even in their minds: to me there is another point more difficult than that, and that is, how to come off with Wood and his accomplices; but, methinks, there should be no difficulty at all in the case: his majesty has so good and so proper a precedent for the course he should take in this affair, that I should think it a happiness that he has an opportunity to follow it; I mean that of Queen Elizabeth about monopolies; you will find the whole proceeding in Sir Simon Dewe's Journal, page 43 of Eliz.; That queen's message, page 652, and her speech, page 659, are remarkable; the queen seemeth to have suffered several irregularities to have passed, on purpose to shew her zeal to redress every thing that was grievous to her subjects; by which, as she managed it, she gained the hearts and admiration of her subjects, more than if she had never suffered them to be committed. Compare her answers to those the people of Ireland have had to the representations of their grievances; and this will account for several accidents that have happened, which I am not willing to mention."—

In truth, these difficulties furnish an argument against the patent itself. An extract from another letter of the same Archbishop to Mr. Southwell will satisfy the reader better than any other argument: it is dated the 28th January 1724:

"— You tell me that lawyers there say, that the patent cannot be legally vacated without some legal proof made on your side the water; if so, pray, who do you think will make such proof?—You know, that the title to an acre of land in Ireland cannot be tried but by a jury here; and can any one imagine, that the parliament or people of Ireland will ever submit to try the issue of the halfpence, on which the very subsistence of the kingdom depends, by a Middlesex jury, perhaps of braziers? You see, though called on by the king, the council, and the ministry, we would never make any step that way.

"This shews the iniquity and wickedness of the patent, which, by being passed in England without any notice here, has put it out of the power of the people of Ireland to obtain justice, except they will submit to a method, in a concern on which the welfare and interest of a whole kingdom depends, that is neither looked on as legal or equitable for the trial of the title to an acre of land.

"They, therefore, who put the passing of this patent out of the method wherein former grants passed, have made the difficulty, if there be any; and they had best think of some means to remove it, if they design to quiet the minds of the people, and make the next sessions of the parliament easy to the government; for I cannot hope that such an answer as we had last parliament will take again: you may deceive a people once, but I doubt if they will be twice catched with the same bait."—

The lords of the committee, in the four next paragraphs, intermix two distinct matters, which require to be considered separately. 1st, That such patents had been often granted, but never before disputed; and, 2dly, That the patent to Wood was better guarded by covenants, restrictions, &c. than any preceding one. To avoid confusion and repetition, I shall postpone the consideration of what is here advanced upon the first matter, until we come to that part of the report, where the subject of the king's right, by his prerogative, to grant such a patent, is resumed, and proceed to consider the second point.

These trials and assays, say the lords of the committee, prove, not only that the patentee has acted fairly, but moreover, that, through the great care and caution made use of in this patent, by proper checks and controls, it has been "effectually provided, that the copper money coined, by virtue of this patent, should far exceed the like coinages for Ireland, in the reigns of his majesty's predecessors."—By these former patents, say they, the sole power of coining "was granted to the patentees for 21 years, to be coined in such places as they should think convenient, and such quantities as they could conveniently issue within the term of 21 years;" *without restriction of the quantity to be coined within the whole term, or in any year of the term: no provision was made for the goodness and fineness of the copper, no comptroller appointed, previously to inspect the copper, and subsequently to assay the coin:* neither was the power of issuing limited to such as should voluntarily receive the same; but, by the patent to John Knox, the money coined, by virtue of that patent, "*was made and declared to be the current coin of the kingdom of Ireland;*" a pound of copper was allowed to be coined into two shillings and eight pence; "a rent of 16*l.* per annum only was reserved to the crown; *and* 700 *tons of copper were computed to be coined within the* 21 *years, without complaint:*" but, by the present patent to Mr. Wood, the term was limited to 14 years; the quantity of copper for the whole term to 360 tons; 100 tons only to be coined in the first year, and 20 tons in each of the remaining 13 years: a comptroller had been appointed to inspect and assay the copper and the coin; the copper to be fine British copper, cast into bars and fillets, which, when heated red hot, should spread thin under the hammer; a pound weight of copper was to be coined into two shillings and six pence; *no compulsion to enforce the currency was used;* it was to be received by such only as would voluntarily accept the same; *a rent of* 800*l. per annum was reserved to his majesty, and* 200*l. per annum to the comptroller,* which, for 13 years, when 20 tons of copper only were to be coined, was not inconsiderable:—"These great and essential differences," say their lordships, "in the several patents, that have been granted for coining copper money for the kingdom of Ireland, seem sufficiently to justify the care and caution that was used in granting the letters patent to Mr. Wood."

I shall observe, in answer to what is here alleged; first, that the case is not truly stated as to the comparative merits of this and the preceding patents: secondly, even though the patent to Wood had those advantages over the others which are here pretended, this would not sufficiently excuse the measure: thirdly, there is an assertion made, which seems to furnish an important argument; it is, however, not only advanced without proof, but, whatever evidence exists tends to prove it to be altogether false.

First, the case is not truly stated: it is not true that there was no restriction of the quantity to be coined, or provision for the goodness or fineness of the copper, in those former patents; there was a much more simple, and, beyond comparison, more effectual check, than any thing contained in Wood's patent, comprised in that clause of Knox's patent, which provided, that in case any persons should be surcharged with more than they could utter, the patentee was required to repay gold and silver for the copper coin that should be brought in. This condition was, as Swift remarks, "worth a hundred tines all limitations whatsoever."—Neither is it true, that the coin to be issued was made, by Knox's patent, the current coin of the kingdom, for that was done by the lord lieutenant's proclamation, which was an act of the government of Ireland; and, as the coin derived that qualification from the proclamation, it follows that it might be limited, in any degree, by the same authority. But, in Wood's case, it was argued, that the patent being once granted, it was out of the power of the crown to restrain it in any respect. A circumstance which is recorded of Sir Thomas Armstrong's patent for coining farthing tokens will serve to illustrate this: When, in 1680, he petitioned for a renewal of the patent, which had been granted to his father in 1660, he stated expressly, "that neither his father nor himself were ever admitted to make use of the said grant, nor could obtain allowance from the chief governor of Ireland to issue the said farthing tokens as royal coin amongst the king's subjects in Ireland."—See page 334 of this volume, note y.—The truth is, neither Knox's patent, nor the proclamation, did absolutely pronounce his coin to be the current coin of the kingdom. Besides the limiting clause above mentioned, which obliged him to take it back from those who should be surcharged with it, there was another, which provided, that no one should be obliged to take more than five shillings in the payment of 100*l.* and a like proportion in payments of less amount. This is very far from being, what the report calls, an "enforced currency."—In truth, the minister, in Wood's case, claimed credit for a greater degree of moderation than he seems possessed of: he says, that the coin was issued only to those who would voluntarily receive it; but was this the case in point of fact? There was perhaps less compulsion threatened, but there was more practised.—"The committee," says Swift, in the third Drapier's Letter, "advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, &c. to pass, and be received as current money by such as are willing to receive the same. It is possible," he craftily insinuates, "that the first *willing* receivers, may be those who *must* receive it *whether they will or not*, at least under the penalty of losing an office, &c." I have already, in page 327, pointed out another mistatement that occurs in the printed copy of the Report. The rent reserved to the crown is stated to be 800*l.* per annum, whereas it was, in truth, but 100*l.*

Secondly, even though the patent to Wood was less liable to exceptions than those which preceded it, such sort of com-

parative merit would not excuse the measure. Admitting the fact, all that will follow from thence is, that it was not worse than a bad precedent. The ill effects which arose to the kingdom from former coinages have been already described in pages 333 and 334 of this volume; they were quite fresh in the memory of the nation and of its rulers; they had determined that the like should not again happen, and had accordingly resisted every application, from private individuals, for patents to coin copper money: it was upon this account that the advice of the lord lieutenant and privy council was not required in the case of Wood's patent. Swift, alluding to this precedent, says, "What is all this to the present debate?—If, under the various exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, insurrections, &c. the kings of England were sometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixed or base money, God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, order, and settlement."

Thirdly, the report states, that 700 tons of copper were computed to be coined within the twenty-one years of Knox's patent, without complaint. There is not the least attempt made, to prove the truth of this very extravagant assertion. Swift replies to it in the Drapier's third Letter: "Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of 2*s.* 8*d.* per pound, would amount to about 190,000*l.* which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet, during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all. Besides, I am assured that, upon inquiry into the custom-house books, all the copper imported into this kingdom, from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one, (beside one year allowed for the troubles,) did not exceed 47 tons; and we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive to the design for which it was produced."

The report of the comparison between Wood's coin and that of the preceding reigns is likewise fallacious, as shall be clearly proved by and by.

The lords of the committee proceed next to consider that part ~~of~~ the representation made to his majesty, which states, "That the letters patent to Mr. Wood were obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by gross misrepresentations of the state of Ireland."

Their lordships say, that they had inquired into this fact, and had found, that when Mr. Wood's petition for obtaining this coinage was presented, several others were made for the same purpose, *by divers persons, well acquainted and conversant with the affairs of Ireland, setting forth the great want of small money and change in all the common and lower parts of traffick:* that the terms of Mr. Wood's petition seemed *most reasonable:* thereupon a draught of a warrant, directing a grant of such a coinage to Mr. Wood, *was referred to his majesty's attorney and solicitor general of England*, to consider and report their opinion to his majesty: Sir Isaac Newton was consulted in all the steps of *settling and adjusting the terms and conditions of the patent*; and, after *mature deliberation*, his majesty's warrant was signed, directing an indenture, in such manner as was practised at the mint in the tower of London, to pass the great seal of Great Britain, *which was carried through all the usual forms and offices without haste or precipitation.*—Their lordships profess, that they could not discover the least pretence to say this patent *was obtained in a clandestine or unprecedented manner*, "unless it is to be understood that your majesty's granting a liberty of coining copper money for Ireland, under the great seal of Great Britain, without referring the consideration thereof to the principal officers of Ireland, is the grievance and mischief complained of. Upon this head it must be admitted, that letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper money for Ireland, *are legal and obligatory*, a just and reasonable exercise of your majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberties or privileges of your subjects of Ireland." When any matter occurs that concerns or may affect that kingdom, concerning which his majesty may have doubts, he is frequently pleased, they say, to refer the consideration of it to the chief governors of Ireland; "but the lords of the committee hope it will not be asserted, that the legal orders or resolutions of your majesty can or ought to be called in question, or invalidated, because *the advice or consent of your chief governors* of that kingdom was not previously had upon them." They allege, that there were many precedents wherein things of great importance to Ireland had been ordered by the authority of his majesty and his predecessors, under the royal sign manual, without any previous reference to the officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force; and, as it could not be disputed but this patent might pass the great seal of Great Britain, so their lordships could not find any precedent of reference to the officers in Ireland, of what passed the great seal of England: on the contrary, there were precedents of patents, passed under the great seal of Ireland, where, in all the previous steps, the references were made to the officers of England.—By the *misrepresentations of the state of Ireland*, their lordships say, they presume is meant, that the information given to his majesty of the great want of small money in Ireland was groundless. In reply to this they state, that *they had inquired very particularly into this article*, and Mr. Wood had produced *several witnesses*, that directly asserted the great want of small money for change.—"Evidence was given, that considerable manufacturers have been obliged to give tallies, or tokens in cards, to their workmen, for want of small money, signed upon the back, to be exchanged afterwards for larger money." The want of small money, they allege, was farther proved *by the common use of raps*, a counterfeit coin, of such base metal, that what passed for a halfpenny was not worth half a farthing, *which raps appeared to have obtained a currency out of necessity and for want of better small money to make change with.*—"*By the best accounts*," say the lords of the committee, "we have reason to believe, that there can be no doubt that there is a real want of small money in Ireland, which seems to be so far admitted *on all hands, that there does not appear to have been any misrepresentation of the state of Ireland in this respect.*"

These paragraphs of the report embrace two different subjects. The first relates to the qualifications of the patent; whether it was obtained or passed in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, or the contrary: and the second, whether the statement was true or false, that there was a great want of copper money in Ireland.

The first of these is a matter of great importance; as it involves the consideration of the extent of the king's prerogative to coin copper money, and make it a legal tender amongst his subjects; and likewise, the great political question of the independence of Ireland in its legislative and executive capacities.—The lords of the committee spend some useless words in proving, that the patent had passed through the regular official forms. They say that it was referred to the attorney and solicitor general; and that Sir Isaac Newton was consulted in all the steps of settling and adjusting the terms of the patent; and that it was not passed with haste or precipitation. Did those lords imagine that a nation could be duped by such idle and frivolous assertions? Does not every one know, that when a matter of this sort is referred to the great law officers, it is expected that they should confine themselves to the mere point of law? That neither the political expediency, nor the terms of the patent, were submitted to their consideration, any more than the conditions of a bargain and sale, between two persons buying and selling, are submitted to the attorney who draws the deed of assignment. The same remark applies to the advice asserted to have been given by Sir Isaac Newton: he never was, nor could, with any propriety, have

been consulted upon any other points but such as were merely official. In these respects there was no objection to the patent; there is little fear but it was quite agreeable to official forms, and better guarded by technical terms of law, than any that preceded it; Wood took care of this, and paid, doubtless without demur, all the fees of office: but this is nothing to the purpose, and their lordships might have spared themselves the trouble of defending the patent upon these grounds.—But that, amongst the variety of proposals, the terms offered by Wood were *most reasonable*, is a matter which we will not believe. Mr. Coxe, in his private history of this patent, has let us into the secret: if what he relates be true, Mr. Wood's proposal could have been no otherwise *more reasonable* than those of his competitors, except in the respect of his having offered a greater bribe, or, to speak in more courtly language, a higher premium. See page 328 of this volume, note w.—Upon the question of the king's prerogative, which is asserted in this, and in other parts of this report, as much has been said already, in page 342 of this volume, I shall only make a few remarks in this place. The patent itself does not unreasonably extend the prerogative in this respect, for it does not oblige any person to take the coin; but there is a passage in the report, which declares letters patent under the great seal of England, for coining copper money for Ireland, to be *legal and obligatory*. "After long thinking," says Swift, "I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither obliges him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can oblige the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in one kingdom can bind another, and not itself."—Drapier's third Letter.—Archbishop King's observation upon this plea of prerogative is well worth inserting; I have extracted it from a letter addressed by him to Edward Southwell, Esq. dated the 24th November 1724; it is as follows:

"— It is said this is done to maintain his majesty's prerogative: I am sure no man can be more sincerely concerned to maintain his prerogative than I am; but sure there is a great difference between a prerogative and the use of it; the one may be undoubted, the other mischievous. A prerogative is, in my sense, a power lodged in the crown to do certain things, and in another manner than any subject can do, for the common good; there is reason to complain of the abuse, and such abuses have frequently been the cause of taking away such prerogatives, as happened in the Courts of Wards and Liveries, and in the case of Purveyors, &c."—

"It is added," says Swift, "that such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the king's subjects of Ireland. If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing, for half a crown, as was practised by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse, from the necessity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberties or privileges of the subjects of Ireland, it ought to have been expressed what our liberties and privileges are, and whether we have any at all; for, in specifying the word *Ireland*, instead of saying, 'his majesty's subjects,' it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same foot with our fellow-subjects in *England;* which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted."—Drapier's third Letter.

According to my apprehension, the principles professed in the passages which follow next in the report after that above quoted, are subversive of the acknowledged rights of British subjects. To maintain the right to exercise any act of regal power, without reference to those constituted authorities, who are the counsellors to the crown in matters of state, and in whose hands the more immediate exercise of those particular branches of the executive is vested, or to place it in persons who are beyond the reach of the supreme power of the legislature; what is this, but to make an absolute monarch of a limited prince? The king's British ministers, being resident in England, could not be impeached by the parliament of Ireland; nothing could be, therefore, more unsafe to the liberties of either country, than to allow those persons to act in the capacity of accredited advisers or agents. It is a fundamental principle of law, that the king can do no wrong; that is, there is no act for which the king can be legally punished: but, although there is an apparent, there is no real danger in an admission of this sort; for, although the king is not punishable, his ministers are: to allow, therefore, a person to act in that capacity who is beyond the reach of punishment, is a dangerous precedent. It is with great diffidence I suggest opinions so important; but the principles professed in this state paper, although penned by a great Whig minister, seem to border close upon rank Toryism. The point at issue is generally stated to be one which concerns merely the claim of Ireland to independence as a distinct sovereign state; it appears to me of greater consequence, and to have some remote reference to the legal and constitutional rights of every subject of the British empire.

The lords of the committee proceed, in the next place, to investigate the truth of that part of the representation, made by the parliament of Ireland, which insinuates, that there was no want of copper money in Ireland. Upon the one side they had the testimony of the whole body of the nation, the report of the privy council, the resolutions of both houses of parliament, and of every corporate body, assembly, or association: on the other side, there was *the testimony of divers persons, who had presented petitions to obtain a license to coin money for Ireland, and who were well acquainted and conversant with the affairs of Ireland;* there were, moreover, *several witnesses produced by Mr. Wood:* upon the evidence of these latter, which their lordships are pleased to call, *the best accounts*, they ruled, "that there was no misrepresentation of the state of Ireland in this respect;" or, in other words, they resolved, that the kingdom of Ireland did want copper money, notwithstanding any thing they might say to the contrary: "There can be no doubt," says the minister and his partisans, "that there is a real want of *small money* in Ireland, which seems to be so far admitted *on all hands*, that there does not appear to have been any misrepresentation of the state of Ireland in this respect." Besides this proof, they allege another; they assert that a counterfeit coin, denominated *raps*, was used for want of small money to make change with: this is absolutely false; raps never had nor could have had any currency, after their detection; it might with as much truth be said, that forged notes are current money, as that raps were a current coin; the word *rap* is the first syllable of the word *Rapparee*, which, being an ignominious term, applied to outlaws and rebels, was, in a figurative sense, applied to base coin: to decree a piece of copper to be a *rap*, was, as it still is, to deny it currency.

There appears to be a manifest prevarication in their lordships' report upon this part of the subject: they state, that the witnesses testified, that there was a want of *small money* in Ireland; they attempt, therefore, to impose a copper currency, which certainly was not wanted. To satisfy the reader upon this point, I shall quote, from the unpublished correspondence of Archbishop King, the following extracts: the first, from his letter to General Gorge, dated the 17th October 1724, is to the following purpose:

"— As to our wanting halfpence for change, it is most false; we have more halfpence than we need already: it is true, we want change; but it is sixpences, shillings, half-crowns, and crowns; our silver and our guineas being almost all gone; and the general current coin of the kingdom is now moydores, which are thirty shillings a-piece; at least nine pence above the value in silver: now, they would have us change these for halfpence, and so the whole cash of the kingdom would be these halfpence."—

But the true state of the case, as to coin, is more circumstantially developed in the following letter of the same prelate to Mr. Southwell, which was written a few months before, viz. on the 9th June 1724:

"— And yet, after all, we want change, and I will take leave to acquaint you with the state of this kingdom as to coin. We used to have hardly any money passing here, but foreign ducatoons, plate pieces, perns, dollars, &c. but, when the East India company were forbid sending the coin of England abroad, they contrived to buy up all our foreign coin, and give us English money in lieu of some part of it, by which we lost two pence in every ounce: the consequence of this was, that in two years there was not to be seen in Ireland a piece of foreign silver.

"If any be brought, it is immediately sent away; the two, or, as I am informed, three pence in the ounce, given by the East India company, being a temptation not to be resisted: but the truth is, very little is brought in; for the merchants, that carry our commodities to foreign markets, find it more to their advantage to carry directly to London whatever they receive in cash: and whereas formerly they used, when they had disposed of their cargo, to load their vessels with such commodities as there was a demand for in Ireland, and bring the rest in cash; they bring now only the commodities, and send the silver to London; and when they have got the two pence in every ounce from the East India company, the rest serves to answer the returns we are obliged to make to England, for the rents we are obliged to pay to noblemen and gentlemen who have estates in Ireland and live in England, and for the pensions, and other occasions, which are many: by this means they gain likewise the exchange, which is commonly four or five per cent. better to them than if they sent cash.

"It is farther to be observed, that 21 shillings, which is the value of a guinea in England, makes in Ireland 22 shillings and 9 pence, whereas a guinea passes for 23 shillings with us; therefore, he who sends silver into England, gains three pence more by it than if he sent guineas. This advantage, though it may seem little, yet in a manner has entirely drained us of our English money, which was given in lieu of foreign silver.

"But farther, if any carry foreign gold to England, they cannot easily pass it, and if they do, it is at a greater loss than there is in the guineas: this has taken away our guineas, so that there is hardly one to be seen; we have hardly any coin left but a few moydores and pistoles, which can by no means serve the inland trade of the kingdom.

"To give, therefore, a short view of our case, it is thus: We can have English coin but by stealth, there being an act of parliament forbidding the exportation of English coin; if, therefore, we should send our gold or silver to England to be coined, we cannot have it back again, or, if we could, we cannot keep it for the reason above; we cannot for the same reason have foreign silver. Let us add to these, that by the act of navigation and other acts, we cannot make our markets of buying where we make our markets for selling; though we might have the commodities we want much cheaper there, than we can have them in England, viz. all East India and Turkey goods, with many others: nor is it to be expected that any nation will trade with us with their silver only, when we will not exchange commodities with them.

"Except, therefore, England designs entirely to ruin Ireland, a kingdom by which it is demonstrable that she gains yearly thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, she ought to think of giving us some relief.

"This brings into my mind a passage I find in Sir John Davis's report about mixed money, and for which he has good authority, which may be produced; it is, that by the original contract on which Ireland subjected itself to King Henry II. it was covenanted, that Ireland should have a mint, and there are several acts of parliament to that purpose. Now, if his majesty would do us the favour to allow us a mint, which is but justice according to our contract, to coin half-guineas, quarter-guineas, shillings, nine-pences and six-pences, of the same weight and standard as in England, to pass only in Ireland at the same value they pass now, only observing the same proportion between gold and silver that is settled in England; if this were granted us, it would ease us of the great trouble of weighing our money, by which, on the account of different scales, most people, on exchange of theirs, lose two pence or a groat in a Lewis-d'or, and more in a moydore; and these small pieces would enable us to go to market, and carry on our inland trade, which is hardly possible for us to do as matters now stand.

"I doubt not but the parliament of Ireland would give a good sum of money yearly to support such a mint, and pay the officers, so that the crown should be no loser.

"I imagine you will think that, having regained the power of handling a pen, I am fond of writing, and will never have done; but I assure you, the compassion I have for the suffering of the people is the only reason; that has made me uneasy till I could vent my thoughts to some friend that would condole with me, and join in making our miserable case known to those who can help us: such a friend I hope you to be, and have often found you, and therefore I hope you will excuse this trouble."—

Although the parliament of Ireland "who, in matters of this nature," as Swift remarks, "are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be destructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people," the lords of the committee thought fit, nevertheless, to go into the examination of witnesses. Of what sort these witnesses were, we meet with some intimation, in those letters from Archbishop King which have been already quoted.—"Could a greater contempt be put upon a nation," says he, "than to see such a little fellow as Wood favoured and supported against them, and such profligates as Brown and Coleby believed before a whole parliament, government, and private council!"—The same prelate communicated to Mr. Southwell, on the 15th of August 1724, some further particulars relative to those persons. From this letter the following passages are extracted:

"— When I returned to Dublin, I met with resolutions concerning our halfpence, founded chiefly on the testimony of two infamous persons, John Brown and Coleby: as to the first of these, you will find his character in the votes of the house of commons, last parliament, Tuesday, the 5th of November.

'Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that a wicked conspiracy was maliciously contrived and carried on against John Bingham, to take away his life and fortune.

'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that John Brown, of Rabens, Esq. and his accomplices, were the chief promoters and advisers of the said conspiracy.

'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the said John Brown is a person not fit to serve his majesty, in any office or employment, civil or military, whatsoever.

'Resolved, that the said John Brown has, in the course of his examination, grossly prevaricated with this committee.

'To all which resolutions, the question being severally put, the house did agree, *nemine contradicente*.

'Ordered, that the said John Brown be, for his said prevarication, taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms attending this house.

'Ordered, that his majesty's attorney-general do prosecute the said John Brown, for contriving, and maliciously carrying on the said conspiracy to take away the life of the said John Bingham, and others.'

"As to Coleby, he was turned out of the treasury for robbing it of a considerable sum of money. I was present at his trial at the King's-bench, and the evidence was such as convinced every one, in his conscience, that he was guilty; but, the proofs being presumptive, and not direct, the jury acquitted him; on which the judge (Pine, if I remember right) observed the happiness of English subjects, that, though every body was convinced of a man's guilt, yet, if the evidence did not

come up to the strict requisites of the law, he would escape; and he instanced it in the criminal.

"These, by what I understand, are the two persons whose evidence is believed before the lords and commons of Ireland. How this will relish with the parliament at meeting, time will shew."—

The third witness was Mr. Finlay, a banker of Dublin, "who," as Swift says, "honestly confessed that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper or not; but his only intention was, to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a large discount, and sell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself."—Drapier's third Letter.

The lords of the committee advert, in the next paragraph, to that part of the second address from the house of commons, wherein they beseech his majesty, that he will give directions to the several officers intrusted with the receipt of his revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatever, receive or utter Mr. Wood's copper coin; they mention, too, that Mr. Wood had, in his petition to his majesty, complained, that the officers of the revenue had already given such orders to all the inferior officers.

Their lordships then quote some of the clauses contained in the patent, which command, that all his majesty's ministers and officers should aid and assist the said William Wood in the execution of all matters and things to be executed by him or them, in pursuance of the said indentures, &c.—"If," say they, "the officers of the revenue have, upon their own authority, given any orders, directions, significations, or intimations, to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering the copper money coined and imported, pursuant to your majesty's letters patent, this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding."

It having been expressly covenanted in the patent, that Mr. Wood should, without let or molestation, enjoy all the powers, privileges, and advantages thereby granted, upon performance of the covenants stipulated on his part, and there appearing to have been no failure in those respects on his part, "the lords of the committee cannot," they say, "advise his majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue, not to receive or utter any of the said halfpence or farthings, as has been desired."

There is a passage in Archbishop King's letter of September 1724, (page lxxxix.) which sufficiently explains this matter, of the officers of the revenue having refused to receive Wood's copper money: from thence it appears, they had been advised by lawyers, that they might be obliged to make them good, if ever they should be called to account; and that it was not unlikely this should take place, appears from what has been mentioned in page 334, note y; much detriment having happened to the revenue from the former patent.

The lords of the committee then proceed to announce, that Mr. Wood, being desirous of clearing himself from the imputation of attempting to enrich himself at the expense of the kingdom of Ireland, by endeavouring to impose upon them a greater quantity of copper money than the necessary occasions of the people should require, had delivered in a proposal; and their lordships advise his majesty, to "give orders and directions for the execution and due performance of such parts of said proposal, as shall be judged most for the interest and accommodation of his subjects in Ireland."—In the mean time, as Mr. Wood had done nothing to make void his patent, they recommend, that his majesty should send orders to the commissioners of the revenue, and all his other officers in Ireland, to revoke all directions or intimations whatsoever, that might have been given by them to obstruct the currency of this copper money; and that the halfpence and farthings already coined by Mr. Wood, amounting to about 17,000*l.* and such further quantity as should make the same 40,000*l.* should be permitted, without molestation or denial of his majesty's officers, to pass as current coin, amongst such persons as are willing to receive the same; they likewise recommend, that orders should be issued, that Mr. Wood should not coin or import into Ireland more copper money than to the amount of 40,000*l.* according to his own proposal, without his majesty's special license or authority to be had for that purpose; which proposal, they recommend, shall be transmitted to the chief governor, and other officers and ministers of Ireland, to give them an opportunity to consider whether, after the proposed deduction, any thing can be done for the further satisfaction of the people of Ireland.

This proposal had not the desired effect: instead of satisfying the people of Ireland, "it contributed," as Archbishop King says, in his letter of February 1724-5, above quoted, "as much to put them out of humour as the patent itself, for they looked upon it as treating them like fools and children, who could not see, that admitting 40,000*l.* of brass, was to make way for what quantity Wood pleased; for, Who could stint or controul him if he had sent in 200,000*l.*?"—See page xc.

"I must beg leave," says Swift in his Drapier's third Letter, "to caution your lordships and worships in one particular: Wood has graciously promised to load us at present only with 40,000*l.* of his coin, till the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest. I entreat you will never suffer Mr. Wood to judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of silver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an exigency. He will double his present *quantum* by stealth as soon as he can; he will pour his own raps and counterfeits upon us.—France and Holland will do the same: nor will our own coiners at home be behind them."—

Sect. II.

Containing some Œconomical Remarks upon the terms of the Patent granted to Mr. Wood, and upon the conduct of the Patentee; and likewise, a Comparison between Mr. Wood's Copper Coinage, and those of the preceding and the subsequent reigns.

We have heretofore considered this grant, chiefly, as a political measure: it may be necessary, before we conclude, to view it in the light of a contract; and, for that purpose, I shall submit to the reader the following calculations.

Mr. Wood was granted a license to coin 360 tons of copper into halfpence: supposing that quantity to be coined in the manner prescribed by the patent, that is, every pound of copper worth 12*d.* into coin of the value of 2*s.* 6*d.*, the material, worth 40,320*l.* would be rendered, by coining, of the value of 100,800. The loss to the public would, therefore, amount to 60,480*l.* From this, if we deduct the crown rent and comptroller's salary, which, during the term, amount to 4,200*l.* there remains a gross profit to the patentee of 56,280*l.*: from hence, if we deduct the expense of coinage, which, according to Snelling, if performed at the mint, would cost the master 8,064*l.* there would remain to the patentee a clear profit of 48,226*l.*; but, as we cannot suppose the charges to a simple contractor would equal those of the mint, we may estimate his clear profit at 50,400*l.*, or fifty per cent.

This is the scheme which Mr. Walter Scott calls, "the most œconomical and unexceptionable plan that could be devised."

But we learn from the concurring testimonies of all contemporary authorities, that the patentee was not satisfied with this enormous profit: and it is highly creditable to Swift, whose admirable tracts upon this subject we are too apt to consider as the compositions of a mere partisan, that whatever he has advanced has been confirmed in every, even the most minute, circumstance. Mr. Simon, in his Essay on Irish Coins, has given an account of the four different sorts of coin sent over by Mr. Wood. I was much surprised when I discovered the table which he has published, amongst the evidences which had been produced before the committee of the Irish house of commons: it appears that it was the computation of Mr. William Maple, a chemist of Dublin, and had been delivered in to the committee, upon oath. The original document is still extant among the parliamentary records; from thence I have compiled the following table.

Different parcels.	Wt. of each coin.	Current value.			Loss to the public.		
	grs.	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
First sort,	120	97,994	8	0	57,674	8	0
Second sort,	111	105,940	16	0	65,620	16	0
Third sort,	103	114,172	16	0	73,852	16	0
Fourth sort,	96	122,488	16	0	82,168	16	0
Main proportion,	107	109,384	16	0	69,064	16	0

"I have seen," says Swift, "a large quantity of these halfpence weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, the patentee will be a gainer, only by that difference, of 24,494*l.* and, in the whole, the public will be a loser of 82,168*l.* 16*s.* even supposing the metal in point of goodness to answer Wood's contract, and the assay that has been made, which it infallibly does not. For this point has likewise been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these halfpence, have found them to be at least one-fourth part below the real value.—Now, the coinage of 360 tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his halfpence, will amount to 122,488*l.* 16*s.* and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real value, by the base mixture in the metal, we must add to the public loss one fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper, which in 360 tons amounts to 10,080*l.*; and this, added to the former sum of 82,168*l.* 16*s.* will make in all 92,248*l.* loss to the public, beside the raps or counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor, do I know whether he reckons the dross exclusive, or inclusive, with his 360 tons of copper, which, however, will make a very considerable difference in the account."—

"It is likewise to be considered, that for every halfpenny in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer, in the coinage of 360 tons of copper, of 1,680*l.* profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his comptroller easy upon that article."

What is here alleged by Swift, and the other authorities that I have cited, is, moreover, confirmed by proofs actually existing. I weighed near a score of pieces of this coin, which are in my own possession, and in the cabinets of other collectors of coins in this city, and have found the main proportion of the weight of Wood's copper to be rather under than over that stated in the table above printed. There can, therefore, I apprehend, be but little doubt, that Mr. Wood had it in contemplation to augment his legitimate profit of 50,400*l.* or fifty per cent. to that which Swift represents, 92,248*l.* or ninety per cent. All this fraud, it is to be observed, took place before the coin got into currency. Other patentees have coined money inferior in weight to the standard prescribed to them; "but," as Swift says, "not immediately after the grant, nor before the coin grew current: for this circumstance, Mr. Wood must serve for a precedent in future times."

Indeed, that part of the report of the assayers, which states the superiority of Wood's coin over those of the preceding patentees, is remarkably erroneous. Having weighed a number of specimens of those coinages, none of which were in so good condition as those of Mr. Wood, I here present the reader with the fruits of my investigation, which exhibits the weights of the respective coins eighty years antecedent, and the like number of years subsequent to the time of Mr. Wood. When this report of the weight of old and worn pieces is compared with that of the new coin by Mr. Wood, it will appear manifest, that the decision of the assayers was partial, or else not grounded upon a fair and diligent investigation.

Antecedent to Wood's copper coinage, the halfpenny of,

Charles II.	1681,	127 *grs.*	good impression.
	1683,	131 *grs.*	good impression.
James II.	1685,	110 *grs.*	worn.
	1686,	117 *grs.*	good impression.
	1688,	131 *grs.*	good impression.
Will. & Mar.	1693,	106 *grs.*	worn.
	1694,	113 *grs.*	much worn.
Will. III.	1696,	116 *grs.*	much worn.

Subsequent to Wood's copper coinage, the halfpenny of,

George II.	1737,	117 *grs.*	very much worn.
	1741,	139 *grs.*	worn.
	1742,	136 *grs.*	worn.
	1751,	135 *grs.*	worn.
	1760,	145 *grs.*	good impression.
George III.	1766,	135 *grs.*	somewhat worn.
	1775,	137 *grs.*	somewhat worn.
	1782,	138 *grs.*	somewhat worn.
	1805,	137 *grs.*	somewhat worn.

It may not be improper to insert, likewise, some account of the variations between the different pieces, coined by Mr. Wood, which have occurred during the course of this investigation.

The following varieties of Wood's copper coin have been noticed by Simon, in his Essay on Irish Coins, Dublin 1749, 4to. by Snelling, in his Supplement to Simon, 1767, 4to. and by the late editor of Simon's Work, republished Dublin, 1810, 4to. They have all on the one side, (except No. II.) the king's head laureat, looking to the left, with this inscription, GEORGIUS, DEI GRATIA, REX. On the reverse is the figure of Ireland, represented by a woman sitting; beside her, a harp: the differences consist chiefly in variations in the attitude of the figure, and in the date of the coin.

No. I. 1722—Hibernia, with both her hands on the harp, which is placed on her right side; her figure is a full front, but she looks towards the right; round her this inscription, HIBERNIA, 1722. Simon, plate 7, Numb. 160.

No. II. 1722—Hibernia is seated as in the last, but has her head turned to the left, on which side there is a rock; round her is inscribed HIBERNIA; in the exergue, 1722; on the obverse the usual head, the incription GEORGIUS, D. G. REX. Snelling, plate 2, Numb. 24.

No. III. 1722—Hibernia, in profile, looking to the left, holding, in her right hand, a palm branch, resting her left on a harp; round it, HIBERNIA, 1722. Simon, plate 7, No. 161.

No. IV. 1723—Hibernia, as in the last; round her, HIBERNIA, 1723. Simon, plate 8, Numb. 169. It was some of this coin that was submitted to the inspection of Sir I. Newton, &c.—This coin is in appearance handsome; but, I apprehend, even the best specimens are not of the weight required by the patent.

No. V. 1724—Hibernia, as in the two last, differing only in the date. Mentioned by Simon, but no engraving given.

No. VI. 1724—Hibernia, seated as in the three preceding; round her, HIBERNIA; in the exergue, 1724. Snelling, plate 2, Numb. 26. Mr. Snelling does not specify, particularly, in what respect this coin differs from those which precede; his words are, "different from any other, and very good work, especially the halfpenny, which is the finest and broadest piece of his

money I ever saw, and belongs to Mr. Bartlet."—They do not, however, appear to have attained to circulation in Ireland. A few might, perhaps, have been struck off by the patentee, to distribute among his own, and the minister's friends.

No. VII. ———Mr. Snelling mentions "another halfpenny, which has Hibernia pointing up with one hand to a sun in the top of the piece;" but of this he has not given any engraving.

There are other varieties not so easily to be defined; but it is needless to go into any minuter description, inasmuch as the variations above described will prove sufficiently, that no regular assay of all the coins were made by Sir I. Newton, &c. therefore their report is of no importance towards settling the question.

But a comparison of the conditions of Wood's patent with those of the next following contract, that of 1736, will clearly exhibit the iniquity of the latter. There is a striking contrast between them, not only in the weight of the coin, and the quantity of copper to be coined, but in the whole manner of procedure, in the regulations to prevent fraud, and in the description of persons to whom the matter was entrusted. That the reader may be enabled to make the comparison, I proceed to give the following particulars of the contract in 1736.

In that year the lords justices and privy council, for the purpose of remedying the inconveniences arising from the scarcity of copper coin, applied to his grace the duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant, to lay the same before his majesty, and to obtain the royal license to coin 50 tons of copper, at his majesty's royal mint of London, under the following regulations; viz. each pound avoirdupois to be coined into 52 halfpence, of equal weight the one with the other, except so far as accident, and not design, might make; the moniers of the mint not to distribute any coin, before the same should be duly assayed.—His majesty was graciously pleased to direct the same to be contracted for, by the said lords justices, or lord lieutenant, and that the charges of coining, and transmitting the said coin to Ireland, should be paid by the treasurer or vice-treasurer of that kingdom; and whatever profit should arise from said copper coinages (after paying all necessary expenses) to go to the public revenue at large of this kingdom.—A quantity of this coin was sent over to Ireland, in April; and, after it had been assayed before the council, by the assay-master of Ireland, the lords justices and council issued a proclamation on the 6th May, for making this coin current in the kingdom, declaring, however, that it should not be enforced on any person, but paid only to those who were willing to receive it; and not above six pence value in one payment.—Simon on Irish Coins, page 72, and Append. Numb. CVII.

Having opposed to the respective weights of the several varieties of Mr. Wood's copper money, the weights of particular coins of preceding and subsequent times, it will not be improper to institute a comparison between the quantity of copper, too, which Wood was licensed to turn into coin, and that which was actually converted to that purpose, during the fifty years immediately subsequent. It appears from the original contracts, that, notwithstanding the vast increase of population and wealth which had taken place, no more than 340 tons of copper were coined during the whole of that period. The following is a specific account of each contract:

In 1737, .	50 *tons.*	In 1760, .	50 *tons.*
In 1741, .	100 *tons.*	In 1766, .	50 *tons.*
In 1750, .	39 *tons*, 4 *cwt.*	In 1769, .	50 *tons.*

Making the coinage of 50 years, 339 *tons*, 4 *cwt.*; to which term is to be further added that of 40 years preceding, during which period there was no coinage of copper money.

This comparison proves satisfactorily, that the quantity which Wood was permitted to coin was extravagantly great, and, if it had been carried into effect, must have been attended with ruinous consequences. This is moreover confirmed by a remark in primate Boulter's letter of 26th March, 1737, wherein he suggests that the value of 2000*l.* in copper coin would be sufficient for the currency of Dublin at that time. The same prelate's arguments, contained in his letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated 19th June 1724, against the issuing of so large a sum as 40,000*l.* applies with accumulated force to the issuing such a sum as that which was originally intended. The primate's words are as follow:

"By the best computations or conjectures here, the current coin of this nation, in gold, silver, and copper, is thought not to exceed 400,000*l.* The addition of 40,000*l.* in new copper, to the present copper money, will make the copper money of this nation, at least one-eighth of their whole specie. They think where the copper money is so considerable a part of the whole specie, it is impossible to keep it from making a sensible part in all payments: that if it be once admitted to have a currency, it will the more work its way into all payments, as men of substance in trade will be tempted, by a premium from the patentee of 20, 30, or 40 per cent. to force its currency among the meaner people; and they again can only pay their landlords, and others, in such as they receive: that (when, instead of serving for change, it enters into all payments) it will be impossible to hinder the Dutch, and others, from pouring in large quantities of counterfeit copper: that the consequence of this must be the loss of our silver and gold, to the ruin of our trade and manufactures, and the sinking the rent of all the estates here. This is the substance of what men of sense and estates here are fully possessed with; and when I tell them the copper money of England is considerably short of the intrinsic worth of what it goes for; and that yet I never could hear of any surmise of the Dutch pouring in any counterfeit copper there; nor, was it ever attempted to make payments in copper there; what they answer is, that probably all the copper money there in being, at once, seldom exceeds one hundredth part of the whole specie of money, and so is kept barely for use of change."—

The primate then proposed, as he informs us, that they should allow the coinage of 10 or 20,000*l.* in copper; but he adds, "they all agree, in the present ferment, it is impossible to admit any: and they all express a jealousy, that the admitting any new copper would open a door for such a quantity, as would prove ruinous to the nation."—"These," he adds, "are the present notions of the people here, which 'tis in vain to try to remove; and as long as the fear of the new halfpence lasts, there is no hope of any peace and quiet in people's minds; and much less of any so much as decent proceedings, if a parliament were to sit."—Boulter's Letters, Vol. I. page 10, &c.

Upon review of the whole matter, and inspection of the evidences which have been here adduced, I think there is no candid investigator of the truth, who will not admit, that the apprehensions, which the natives of this realm entertained of the probable ill consequences from this memorable patent, were not unfounded. They will agree, I apprehend, that the patent was not necessary, nor did the public exigencies require it; not beneficial, nor even designed to be so, to the nation at large, either when first granted, or when afterwards persevered in; but, in truth, a corrupt job of the minister's, devised for the sole purpose of gratifying one individual at the public expense. That it was moreover passed in an informal and unprecedented manner; that there was no sufficient security against the patentee's abusing his trust; a matter of which he did avail himself, in a most shameful manner, even though the coin did never get into public currency. But, had the patent been never so unexceptionable, the earnest solicitations made for its revocation ought to have prevailed: nor is it fair to designate opposition to such a measure by the name of faction, especially when every national constituted authority was of the same opinion. If it partakes not of the nature of true patriotism, the whole nation were mistaken in their own interests.

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The history and antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin from its foundation in 1190. to the year 1819

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